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THE

CONSTITUTION

OF

SOCIETY,

AS DESIGNED BY GOD.

EFFINGHAM WILSON,
ROYAL EXHANGE, LONDON.

MDCCCXXXV.

Of LAW there can be no less acknowledged, than that her seat is the bosom of God,—her voice the harmony of the world. All things in Heaven and earth do her homage; the very least as feeling her care, and the greatest as not exempted from her power: both angels and men, and creatures of what condition soever, though each in different sort and manner, yet all with uniform consent, admiring her as the mother of their peace and joy.—(*Hooker's Eccl. Pol.*)

If this work be of men, it will come to nought,—but if it be of God ye cannot overthrow it, lest haply ye be found even to fight against God.—(*Acts* v.—38, 39.)

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INSCRIBED

TO THE KING,

THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS,

AND

THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

(See the Appendix, page 631.)

PREFACE.

NEWTON has evinced that a portion of the material world is governed by the great law of *attraction*. Every atom of matter of which the sun is composed, gravitates or is attracted towards its centre. The earth and the other primary planets revolve around the sun; and the secondaries, as the moon, &c. around their primaries. Each of the planets of both classes, is, like the sun, held together by attraction, as all are thereby kept in their orbits. And, reasoning by analogy, it cannot be doubted that the great Law of Attraction regulates the whole Material Universe.

LOCKE and succeeding writers, who have written on the Philosophy of Mind (among whom the late Dr. Thomas Brown of Edinburgh deserves especial mention), have evinced, though not with the clearness the importance of the subject demands, that the law of *association* regulates our ideas. It remains for succeeding writers to remove the obscurity, as it will without doubt be found, that by this great Law all the operations of mind are governed. And reasoning by analogy, it may be considered to apply to created intellectual beings of whatever rank. Hence, the Law of Association regulates the operations of the whole created Intellectual Universe. The word attraction, applied to the material world, and the word association applied to the intellectual, are strictly synonimous.

As far as humble abilities will allow, it is proposed in the following Essay, to do for the Moral, what Newton did for the Material World;—that is, consider of *the application of the Law of Association to the Moral World*. As to this, it is called LOVE (*Mat.* XXII.—37 to 39), and should regulate all our actions. Had all created intellectual beings, from the first moment the Most High commenced the work of creation, been obedient to his will; it may be presumed that the whole Universe would have formed one Great Association, all the members of which would unceasingly have gone on educing nothing but good to each other, and the glory of their Great Creator! His will might have been done less

perfectly than it ought, by created beings educing less good to themselves than he designed that they should. It might also have been rebelled against, by created beings either singly or in association educing positive evil to themselves and others. The intimations in sacred writ of the "angels which kept not their first estate," and the past and present state of our world, too sadly evince that both have been realized! All the good effects educed throughout the three great departments of the Universe, may therefore be considered to arise from right obedience to the ONE simple and sublime Law of Association; all the less beneficial, and positively evil ones, from Moral Agents not obeying such law according to their Creator's will. The Material world, from its having no volition, must necessarily ever be obedient to the divine will. Some modes in which men may associate so as to educe evil, are obvious to the most superficial observer. The manner in which they may associate commercially and politically so as to educe evil, is less apparent. To this, and other matters therewith connected, the reader's attention is solicited in the following Essay.

A necessity has arisen to treat of political questions of the highest import. But any allusion, direct or indirect, to any person or persons whatever that have lived, do now, or shall hereafter live on the British Islands, or any part of the globe under the control of the British government; is to be considered as entirely avoided (except when any one or more of such persons are expressly adverted to); though, to prevent tautology, he, she, or they, is not, or are not, declared to be excepted, when allusion is made to a part or the whole of mankind.

To prevent misapprehension, an explanation may be given of some expressions. The word *oppression*, following the Bible, we apply in two senses,—political, that which abstracts from men their rights;—commercial, that which deprives them of their labour or any part of its produce; either by reducing them to that kind of slavery where they are sold and bought like bales of goods, or by buying labour or its produce at a rate unfairly low, or selling either at a rate unfairly high;—in other words, buying too cheaply, or selling too dearly. The commercial term *competition* may thus be explained:—Suppose there are three linendrapers in a country town, each desirous of doing as much business as possible. Each buys as cheaply as he can, that by underselling his neighbours he may engross a large share of trade. And thus they compete with one another. In a lower sense, competition consists in all the modes commercial men adopt, each to augment his own trade, without regarding how prejudicially he influences his brother competitors, or mankind in general. This, then, is willing competition. Another kind exists which may be thus explained:—Mechanics and others, who labour by the day, must sell their time at any price they can ob

tain for it. Ordinarily, they have only one of two courses—to reduce themselves to starvation, or to outbid one another in lowering the value of each other's labour. This, then, is unwilling competition. Oppression, competition, and *opposition*, having nearly the same signification, the first and second are frequently used by us synonimously with the third. The word *pauperism* is not always applied to signify extreme destitution, but to the not having sufficient wealth for all reasonable desires. By the expression *national churches*, we mean those wherein the ministers are not appointed by the persons over whom they preside; and which ministers are consequently supported by compulsory taxation. An awkwardness has been felt in the application of the term *love* in reference to mankind, but we know of no other to supply its place. It is ever used by us in the way our Lord applies it.—(*Mat.* xxii.—37 to 39). By the phrase *political right*, we mean the right of making and executing the laws of a nation. This right, in every country and age, we shall endeavour to make appear, is alone centered in all the native adult males. When the word *lawfully*, or terms of similar import, are used, we mean them in reference to that which accords with the law of God; and wholly irrespective of the human laws of any country.

Against some of the things advanced in the following Essay, the most violent opposition may be expected from a certain class. Whenever, therefore, we found any thing expressing our views, we gladly seized the opportunity to transfer it to our pages; that such of our readers as are unaccustomed to the inquiries therein pursued, may see that a most material part of what we advance, is fully supported by preceding writers. Many of the quotations are extracted from various parts of their authors' works. They do not in the Essay always follow each other in the order they stand in the originals. An apology is due to the reader, as to these, for not noting that they are composed of isolated passages. The having failed so to note them arose entirely from inadvertence. It is, however, unimportant. The titles of the works and names of the authors being given, the reader may refer to the originals. The sole object in thus giving the quotations, was to condense the most important truths into the smallest compass. To certain opinions, entertained by some of the writers, from whom quotations are made, no man can be more opposed than the author of the following Essay. With these opinions he has nothing to do, but to lament that they were ever formed. What is by him quoted from the authors alluded to, he believes to be some of the most important truths that have ever been promulgated; and the most material of them are acquiesced in by Milton, Locke, Hooker, Blackstone; and other writers of equal celebrity. With reference to the views of any persons whatever, he has been, as far as his judgment allowed, guided by the words of Dr. Watts:—

"Seize upon truth where'er 'tis found,
Amongst your friends, amongst your foes,
On Christian or on heathen ground:
The flower's divine where'er it grows;—
Neglect the prickles, and assume the rose."

'Prove all things, all fast that which is good,' says Paul. The quotations from the scriptures are distinguished by single inverted commas. When reference is made to a paragraph in the same chapter of the Essay, the number of the paragraph only is given; when to one in another chapter, both the number of the chapter and of the paragraph are mentioned. For the greater convenience of reference, all the chapters are numbered consecutively.

The author wholly disavows any connection whatever with any religious or political party, as far as the following Essay is concerned. He considers all the various sects, whether relating to religion or politics, into which mankind are divided, as human inventions. Both as to belief and practice, one mode only in these important matters for the whole world, can be in accordance with the divine will. In the last chapter allusion is made to a party;—should it be founded, the author will gladly ally himself to it,—if allowed so distinguished an honour.

"Of all employments of the mind," says Sir W. Young, "surely that is the worthiest, and as it were divine, which tends to establish order in society; to humanize the great Leviathan, to adopt the various parts of the vast machine of social government, and nicely fit each spring where it can best act, each wheel where it can best move to the purposes of the general combination; to duly weigh and obviate the friction that might impede, or swerve to the detriment of the diverse parts, until the whole proceed in just and invariable concert."

Should any thing advanced in the following pages differ from the preconceived notions of some of our readers, that they may avoid coming to a too hasty conclusion, we may address to them the following observations. Opinions, says Locke, come to be settled and fixed in men's minds, which, whether true or false, there they remain in reputation as substantial material truths; and so are seldom questioned or examined by those who entertain them. And *if they happen to be false, as in most men the greatest part must necessarily be*, they put a man quite out of the way in the whole course of his studies; and though in his reading and inquiries, he flatters himself that his design is to inform his understanding, in the real knowledge of truth; yet in effect, it tends and reaches to nothing but the confirming of his already received opinions; the things he meets with in other men's writings and discoveries being received or neglected, as they hold proportion with those anticipations which before had taken possession of his mind. The great difference

that is to be found in the notions of mankind, is from the different use they put their faculties to: whilst some, and those the most, taking things upon trust, misemploy their power of assent, by lazily enslaving their minds to the dictates and dominion of others; in doctrines which it is their duty carefully to examine, and not blindly, with an implicit faith, to swallow:—others, employing their thoughts only about some few things, grow acquainted sufficiently with them, attain great degrees of knowledge in them, and are ignorant of all others, never having let their thoughts loose in the search of other inquiries. Who is there almost that dare shake the foundations of all his past thoughts and actions, and endure to bring upon himself the shame of having been a long time wholly in mistake and error? Who is there hardy enough to contend with the reproach, which is every where prepared for those who dare venture to dissent from the received opinions of their country or party? And where is the man to be found that can patiently prepare himself to bear the name of whimsical, sceptical, or atheist; which he is sure to meet with, who does in the least scruple any of the common opinions? And he will be much more afraid to question those principles, when he shall think them, as most men do, *the standard set up by God in his mind to be the rule and touchstone of all other opinions.* And what can hinder him from thinking them sacred, when he finds them the earliest of his own thoughts and the most reverenced by others? *(Essay on the Human Understanding.)* What a late writer affirms of the negroes, will, we fear, in a less or greater degree, apply to their white brethren. Thoughtless habit, says he, is so much the rule of their belief and the supreme law of their behaviour, that they tread always in the footsteps of their predecessors; and constantly go the very same way that others have taken, be it ever so tortuous, inconvenient, and wide from the mark.—(*Meiner.*) "Custom," says Lord Bacon, "is the principal magistrate of man's life."

The discovery of truth, and the perception of it after it is discovered, are distinct operations of the mind. Different minds, according to their original constitutions, are suited to particular objects of inquiry. Many, from the abuse of their faculties, so far from being able to discover recondite truths of any kind, are scarcely able to perceive them, with whatever perspicuity of language they may be laid before them. The great truths insisted on in the following pages, may be properly appreciated by all who make a right use of the talents God has bestowed on them. Every man thus 'hath the witness in himself.' A compendious way to attain moral truth, is perhaps, to imagine a new world; and beings constituted as men are,—placed upon it, without ever having heard of the existence of our earth, or any of its errors and vices;—and then to consider how they ought to think and conduct themselves. "Though,"

(to adopt the words of the excellent Dr. Campbell,) " I have not affirmed anything as my opinion, which did not at the time, and does not still appear to me probable, and though many things" " appear certain, *I desire nothing to be admitted by the reader upon my affirmation.* My wish is that every thing may be candidly and deliberately examined, that my reasons, which I commonly give where the subject requires it, may be impartially weighed."—" If to make proselytes by the sword, is tyranny in rulers;—to resign our understanding to any man, and receive implicitly what we ought to be rationally convinced of; would be, on our part, the lowest servility." Some are too impatient to hear or to read the whole of what is addressed to them, before they are anxious to decide upon its merits. To all of this class the words of Solomon may be addressed,—' He that answereth a matter before he heareth it, it is a folly and shame unto him.' In the concluding chapter, we have replied to the most important objections that are likely to be made.

If man never acts but for some end, nothing can be more evident than that the Divine Being does not. What, then, can his end be in the creation and preservation of the Universe?—obviously, to promote the happiness of his creatures, and thus magnify his own glorious and fearful name! To understand how we may be able, under the divine blessing, to educe this happiness, and therefore his glory; comprehends all real knowledge, or THE TRUTH. If any thing in the following pages be opposed to it,—it must utterly fall, as all error should. But to those that are desirous of rejecting what cannot be confuted, we may apply the language of the Most High, who thus declares to them by the mouth of a prophet,—' *My thoughts are not your thoughts, neither are your ways my ways, saith the Lord. For as the heavens are higher than the earth, so are my ways higher than your ways, and my thoughts than your thoughts!*'

" The belief of the perfectibility of human nature, and the attainment of a golden age, in which vice and misery have no place; will," says Dr. Hamilton, " only be entertained by an enthusiast;—but an inquiry into the means of improving our nature and enlarging our happiness, is consistent with sober reason; and is the most important subject, merely human, that can engage the mind of man. No moral writer was ever censured for laying down as perfect a system of duty as he could, although it was not expected that this would be practised, even by the best, to its full extent."

" The question," says Dr. W. L. Brown, " is not what is the present practice of mankind; but what they are qualified ultimately to attain? Not how far any theory is conformable to the present state of things, but how far it is founded in nature, adapted to the human faculties, and conducive to human felicity?"

Nothing can be more clear, that no line can be drawn between every individual humbly endeavouring, as perfectly as possible, to do the divine will; and every individual utterly rebelling against Heaven!

Whatever may be found impracticable in the following pages, is, it is believed, solely so, from the wickedness of mankind. Any points placed in a new light, that cannot be impugned, will at least, to a certain extent, prevent all those who become cognizant of them, from sinning *ignorantly*. This is, however, now done by countless multitudes, and to an awful extent!

When, reader, you consider, that such is the care Heaven has for you, that 'even the very hairs of your head are all numbered.'—When you consider that such is the extreme circumspection of conduct required on your part, that for every idle word you shall speak, you shall give account thereof in the day of judgment, and consequently, that the language of the psalmist applies to you;—'O Lord thou hast searched me and known me. Thou knowest my downsitting and mine uprising, thou understandest my thought afar off. Thou compasseth my path and my lying down, and art acquainted with all my ways. For there is not a word in my tongue, but, lo, O Lord, thou knowest it altogether. Thou hast beset me behind and before, and laid thine hand upon me.'—You cannot but be sensible, that was our inquiry simply as to the attainment of a virtuous and prosperous life for yourself; as the Most High is so solicitous about you, our inquisition would be of unspeakable importance; but when it is considered, that it refers not to you, or to any one man alone;—not to one family;—not to one nation;—not to one generation of all nations;—but to all generations of all nations;—when, consequently, both the temporal and eternal happiness of such mighty! mighty! mighty multitudes! are involved in a right knowledge and practice of the subject on which we are about to enter; you cannot but be sensible, that not only are all the powers of language incompetent to convey an adequate idea; but all the powers of the mind are utterly unable to form even the lowest conception, of its transcendent importance!

CONTENTS.

PART THE FIRST.

ASSOCIATION.

Herein is considered the Application of the Productive Powers of Men, or the great Principles of POLITICAL ECONOMY.

CHAP.		PAGE
I.	The Divine Law	1
II.	The Various Modes of Association	26
III.	Perfect Association	34
IV.	Imperfect Association	51
V.	Vicious Association	55

PART THE SECOND.

HUMAN LAWS.

Herein the Rights of Men are considered: that is, the Right to the Use of the Means of employing their Productive Powers, or the great Principles of LEGISLATION.

VI.	Lawful Constitutions	183
VII.	Unlawful Constitutions	291
VIII.	Mode of Superseding Unlawful Constitutions	337
IX.	Laws Relative to the Land of Nations	348
X.	The Rights of Women	388
XI.	Examination of Certain Passages in the Bible	397
XII.	Titles of Honour	410
XIII.	International Law	446
XIV.	National Churches	456
XV.	The Hebrew and British Laws Compared	472

PART THE THIRD.

The Various States of Society alluded to in the BIBLE, &c.

CHAP.		PAGE
XVI.	Before the Fall	541
XVII.	The Hebrews in Canaan	548
XVIII.	First Christians	558
XIX.	Christians in all Ages	559
XX.	The Restoration of the Jews	584
XXI.	The Heavenly Association	588
XXII.	Conclusion	593
	APPENDIX	631

PART THE FIRST.

ASSOCIATION.

CHAP. I.

THE DIVINE LAW.

1. Man, at his entrance into life, is altogether helpless. During the earlier years of his existence, he is entirely dependent on those about him for every thing he requires. It is not until advanced considerably in age, that he is able to take his part in the great duties of social life. Arrived at years capable of thinking and acting for himself, inquiries like the following may be supposed to occur to him. Whence came I? Whence originates this vast system, of which I form so inconsiderable a part? For what purpose does it exist? and what is my particular business in it?

2. He perceives, he is one of the last of many generations that have preceded him; and from accounts handed down by past ages, he learns, that the whole Universe proceeded from one great Creator, whom we call God. It is indeed asserted by some, that this truth is discoverable by the light of nature; but this is obviously an error, it being from revelation alone that we acquire it: though thus made known, the light of nature abundantly confirms it.

3. Consequently, however incomprehensible it may be to man's limited faculties, it is obvious that, as God alone is 'the high and lofty One, that inhabiteth eternity;' there must have been some period, prior to the work of creation commencing, when he must have been the only existing Being. As to the time when he first commenced the work of creation, we are wholly ignorant: all that we know is, that other creatures existed before the human race was called into being; and this was probably the case, for a period vastly beyond our limited faculties to conceive.

4. With regard to ourselves, we find the provision Heaven has made for our happiness, is indeed worthy of infinite Wisdom, Power, and Love; God having so constituted us, that we are all capable of deriving felicity from him, and reciprocating it with each other; or in other words, that we are capable of making a large measure of temporal happiness, the preparation to an inexpressibly larger measure of eternal felicity. This is the obligation Heaven lays upon man. Thus only

can he obey the great law of his being. If any one will consider the degree of happiness he has been in the habit of receiving from, and imparting to, his most valued friend, and that, but for the wickedness of himself and the rest of mankind, he might derive from every other human being, and impart to as many as can come within his influence, an equal, or greater degree of happiness, he may form some notion of the inexhaustible felicity which, by the bounty of heaven, men may educe from each other. This is evident, from considering, that as all may become denizens of heaven but from their own guilt, so all, from their constitution, must necessarily be capable of communicating happiness here; and beyond all this, each individual may derive from God himself a yet greater degree of happiness than the whole aggregate of created beings can impart to him.

5. God being infinitely benevolent, and thus the great principle of all his actions being love; the Son of God being love; other intellectual creatures higher in order than ourselves being governed by this great law of love, and therefore sympathizing with us; and we being, as we have said, so constituted as to be capable of reciprocating felicity with each other, and thus also being governed by the law of love, it cannot be questioned that intellectual beings, from the lowest to the highest, in whatever part of the universe they exist, are also governed by this same great law: i.e. all, of whatever rank or order, are so constituted, as to be capable of deriving felicity from God, and reciprocating it with all other ranks, orders, and individuals throughout the universe. That no being can exist without dependence on God, is abundantly obvious; and to suppose the contrary of what is here assumed, is to imagine, that though love is the great principle of action of the Father, of the Son, and of the angels in heaven, and designed to be that of mankind; there exists in some part of the universe an order of intellectual beings who are a family of themselves, i. e. deriving felicity from God and themselves only, and incapable of interchanging it with other orders of intellectual beings; a supposition altogether opposed to what analogy teaches us, from the constitution of those orders with which we are acquainted, and therefore destitute of all probability whatever.

6. These views will be confirmed by considering, that there can be only three modes in which intellectual beings can associate; namely,—

1. To educe to each other nothing but good.
2. To educe nothing but ill.
3. To educe a combination of good and ill.

As to the second, it is not for a moment imaginable, that a constitution, emanating from Infinite Wisdom, Power, and Benevolence, can be made to educe nothing but ill. And the supposition is wholly opposed to the actually existing state of things. It is

also as little to be imagined, that heaven can have decreed, that intellectual beings may sometimes educe good, and sometimes ill, to each other, as the one would be destructive of the other. It follows, therefore, that the Divine Being must have designed that all intellectual beings, in all places, and at all times, and in all their relations, shall educe nothing but good to each other. Consequently, when they act otherwise, they are rebelling against his holy will. Any other order of things, on the part of the Divine Being, would argue a want of wisdom, if he voluntarily chose it, of power, if he was able to have constituted them differently ;—or, if able, a want of will to exercise such wisdom and power most beneficially for his intelligent offspring; but as no deficiency of wisdom, power, or benevolence, can be attributed to the Most High, it is clear, that he has constituted the Universe as has been assumed,—namely, so that intellectual beings, if they live according to the law of their existence, shall, in all their relations, educe nothing but good to each other.

7. We shall acquire a better notion of such a state of society by imagining one exactly opposite to it, or that in which all the associates are constantly exerting all their powers to educe the greatest degree of ill to one another; i. e. where they are governed by the following maxims: 'All things whatsoever ye would' not 'that men should do to you, do' to them. And 'all things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do' not to them; adding, what may be supposed its necessary concomitant, if such a state of society could exist any where but in the imagination—a total neglect of God. If, then, such a state of things would be an unquestionable evil, any degree of it would be so proportionately.

8. To prevent the possibility of our mistaking in what our felicity does truly consist, we are so constituted, that we can live only in association with each other and the Divine Being. Man cannot begin to exist, nor, if he does, can he support that existence, without being associated with his fellows and Heaven. Nor, after he has lived to years of maturity, can the generations of men be carried on but by association. This principle, therefore, has dominion over all men, at all times, and in all places, and controls all their relations, corporeal, mental, and moral, and for the whole duration of their being. Dissociated, man can do nothing; and as this universally applies, so a thousand millions of human beings, unconnected with each other, would be as inefficient as so many grains of sand. This may be illustrated by an example: Suppose a man to endeavour to manufacture woollen for himself, the labour of a whole life would not produce a single yard; the same individual must keep the land in order, grow the wool, dig the iron and coals out of the earth, make his own tools, and perform every other operation directly and indirectly connected with the manufacture, &c. &c., besides

providing for himself food, other clothing, and habitation; all which is obviously impracticable.

9. The woollen coat, says Adam Smith, which covers the day labourer, as coarse and rough as it may appear, is the produce of the joint labour of a great multitude of workmen. The shepherd, the sorter of the wool, the wool-comber or carder, the dyer, the scribbler, the spinner, the weaver, the fuller, the dresser, with many others, must all join their different arts, in order to complete even this homely production. How many merchants and carriers, besides, must have been employed in transporting the materials from some of those workmen to others, who often live in a very distant part of the country! How much commerce and navigation, in particular; how many ship-builders, sailors, sail-makers, rope-makers, must have been employed, in order to bring together the different drugs made use of by the dyer, which often come from the remotest corners of the world! What a variety of labour, too, is necessary to produce the tools of the workmen; to say nothing of such complicated machines as the ship of the sailor, the mill of the fuller, or even the loom of the weaver! Let us consider only, what a variety of labour is requisite, in order to form that very simple machine, the shears with which the shepherd clips the wool. The miner, the builder of the furnace for smelting the ore, the feller of the timber, the burner of the charcoal to be made use of in the smelting-house, the brickmaker, the bricklayer, the workmen who attend the furnace, the millwright, the forger, the smith, must all of them join their different arts in order to produce them.

10. Were we to examine, in the same manner, all the different parts of his dress and household furniture, the coarse linen shirt which he wears next his skin, the shoes which cover his feet, the bed which he lies on, and all the different parts which compose it, the kitchen grate at which he prepares his victuals, the coals which he makes use of for that purpose, dug from the bowels of the earth, and brought to him perhaps by a long sea, and long land-carriage; all the other utensils of his kitchen, all the furniture of his table, the knives and forks, the earthen or pewter plates, upon which he serves up, and divides his victuals; the different hands employed in preparing his bread and beer; the glass window which lets in the heat and light, and keeps out the wind and rain; with all the knowledge and art requisite for preparing that beautiful and happy invention, without which these northern parts of the world could scarce have afforded a very comfortable habitation; together with the tools of all the different workmen, employed in producing those different conveniences;—if we examine, I say, all these things, and consider what a variety of labour is employed about each of them, we shall be sensible, that without the assistance and co-operation

of many thousands, the very meanest person, in a civilized country, could not be provided; even according to what we very falsely imagine, the easy and simple manner in which he is commonly accommodated.—(*Wealth of Nations*, book I. chap. 1.)

11. From the land, including the fisheries, emanates all wealth; and the application of labour to it fits it for the purposes of man. Labour and land, therefore, may be likened to the two halves of a pair of scissors: and as land, or one of the halves of the scissors, is of no value, so neither is labour, nor the other half of the scissors. But unite the land and the labour, or the two halves of the scissors, and either becomes effective. We thus see, that land, and associated labour, is the source of all wealth; riches, of whatever kind, being simply the accumulation of labour.

12. To interchange the produce of labour, is the great business of men's lives. And all are necessarily exchangers, or as it may be otherwise expressed, as in the corporeal body,—'The eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of you:' so, in the social body, those who provide food cannot say to the clothiers, we 'have no need of you;' nor again, the clothiers to the builders, we 'have no need of you.'

13. And as in the corporeal body, 'if the whole were an eye, where were the hearing?'—or, 'if the whole were hearing, where were the smelling?' So, if all that was necessary for the social body was food, where were the clothing?—Again, if all that were required was clothing, where were the want of habitation? Thus, the necessity for associating would, to a very considerable extent, be at an end, and the great purpose for which society on earth was ordained, i. e. the making us indispensable to each other's well-being, and thereby, if we lived according to the divine will, generating love, the source of all the felicity we are capable of attaining, either in this or another state of existence, would be almost entirely frustrated. And instead of that progression in wisdom, and virtue, and happiness, which we should be making from the commencement of our existence, through all eternity, we should be misapplying ourselves during our whole sojourn here, and have to commence our education for eternity, after having passed into it. From what has been observed, we may perceive that—

14. MEN CAN LIVE ONLY IN ASSOCIATION.

15. It is, therefore, the sole source whence all its members can be benefitted.

16. The prosperity of an association must ever be proportional to the means each of its members possesses, and exerts, for the promotion of such prosperity.

17. It is, therefore, for the interest of all the members of an association, that each should have the greatest plenitude of means

in common with all the rest of his fellows; and that he should employ those means for the general good.

18. All the members of any nation of the world may be considered as forming one great or primary association.

19. And the law of association may thus be summed up. As the whole association is equal to all its members, and all the members are equal to the whole association, every member is under an obligation, as far as lies in him, to exert all his powers to bring himself, and all the other members, to the highest separate state of excellence; and the whole association to the highest combined state of excellence, which they are capable of attaining; or, as may be otherwise expressed, every member is bound to do all that lies in him, that the highest degree of good may be educed to all other members. In the language of inspiration,—'There should be no schism in the body, but' 'the members should have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.' This, then, is the *Law of Nature*, deducible from the constitution of man.

20. In strict accordance with it, is its republication, which thus commands every man, that cometh into the world,—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;' or thus, 'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them.' As the Most High is, as we have intimated, the Creator and Conservator of all things, the prosperity of all association is ever principally dependent on his favour; and men are promised the divine blessing proportionably as they love one another, and himself. To *all men*, therefore, of *all nations*, and in *all ages*, the following words of the Lord Jesus Christ are addressed:—'Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind. This is the first and great commandment: and the second,' which we have just quoted, 'is like unto it, Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' Here, then, is the *Law of Revelation*.

21. The *Law of Nature*, thus republished in the *Law of Revelation*, may be called

THE DIVINE LAW.

Of this most holy law, from its being interwoven into our very constitution, it may be said to all men: 'It is not hidden from thee, neither is it far off. It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? Neither is it beyond the sea, that thou shouldest say, who shall go over the sea for us, and bring it unto us, that we may hear it, and do it? But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart,

that thou mayest do it.'—(Mat. v. 19.) Until a new dispensation arrives from heaven, this holy law is therefore *universally binding.* The period elapsing between the time of our Lord's appearance on earth, and the arrival of any new dispensation, is that which is always referred to in the following pages, unless the contrary is expressed.

22. All the obligations and rights of men, then, emanate from the divine law, and none being able to live but in association, and the constitution of human nature, confirmed by divine revelation, *equally obliging* every individual of the human race to do all that lies in him, to promote the well-being of all his associates, it is obviously necessary for the purpose, that he should have an *equality of rights* with all of them; *for, if the rights differ, the obligation must;* as it is not for a moment supposable, that God, who is infinitely wise, powerful, and benevolent, would have laid all men under the same obligation, and yet have assigned to some a less measure of rights than to others, thereby abridging the means of performing such obligation. Such a procedure would prejudice, not only the particular members, from whom such rights are abstracted, but, in a less or greater degree, the whole association, its welfare being, as has been seen, dependent on all its members having the greatest plenitude of means, and exerting those means for the general good. It is therefore derogatory to the wisdom and goodness of God to affirm, that though he has placed all men under the divine law, therefore, under an obligation to perform it, rendered them liable to the same penalty for the non-performance of it, and appointed the same ransom for penitent offenders against it, yet he has abstracted from any the means, or a portion of the means, of doing it. If, therefore, such means are or have been withheld from any one or more members of any nation in any age, it is manifestly against the will of God. Nature, says Vattel, imposes no obligations on men, without giving them the means of fulfilling them. They have an absolute right to the necessary use of those means—nothing can deprive them of that right—as nothing can dispense with their fulfilling their natural obligation.—*(Law of Nations.)*

23. The rights of every man comprehend the unrestricted use of his faculties, and an equal right to the property in the land, with all his fellows. These rights can only be secured to him, by his enjoying an equal share of political right with all his fellows. We shall hereafter see, that a government cannot be formed in any nation or age, in accordance with the divine law, without assigning an equal share of political right to every man; and shall thus perceive how this *all-important right,* comprehending all other rights, *emanates immediately from God, to every man that cometh into the world,* in all ages and

all places. The divine law thus determines the obligations and rights of men; and thus we arrive at the only righteous foundation of all human laws; no other law, but that holy rule, being deducible, either from the constitution of human nature, or divine revelation; and exactly as the rules which are deduced from it are obeyed, the happiness of mankind is promoted. The law of nature, says Locke, stands as an eternal rule to all men, legislators as well as others. The rules that they make for other men's actions must, as well as their own and other men's actions, be conformable to the law of nature: i. e. to the will of God, of which that is a declaration.—(*On Govt.*) Human laws, says Hooker, are measures in respect of men, whose actions they must direct; howbeit, such measures they are, as have also their higher rules to be measured by; which rules are two—the law of God and the law of nature. So that laws human must be made according to the general laws of nature, and without contradiction to any positive law of scripture; otherwise, they are ill made.—(*Eccl. Pol.*) As man, says Blackstone, depends absolutely upon his Maker for every thing, it is necessary that he should, in all points, conform to his Maker's will. This will of his Maker is called the law of nature.—(*Com. on the Laws of England.*)

24. The excellent Vattel, just quoted, makes the following observations on the law of nature:—It is, says he, by the desire alone of happiness, that we can bind a creature possessed of the faculty of thought, and form the ties of that obligation which shall make him submit to any rule. Now, by studying the nature of things, and of that of man in particular, we may thence deduce the rules which man must follow in order to attain his great end,—to obtain the most perfect happiness of which he is susceptible. We call those rules the natural laws, or the laws of nature. They are certain, they are sacred and obligatory on every man possessed of reason, independently of every other consideration than that of his nature, and even though we should suppose him totally ignorant of the existence of a God. But the sublime consideration, of an eternal, necessary, infinite Being—the Author of the universe, adds the most lively energy to the law of nature, and carries it to the highest degree of perfection. That necessary Being necessarily unites in himself all perfection. He is, therefore, superlatively good, and displays his goodness by forming creatures susceptible of happiness. It is, then, his wish, that his creatures should be as happy as is consistent with their nature. Consequently, it is his will that they should, in their whole conduct, follow the rules which that same nature lays down for them, as the most certain road to happiness. Thus, the will of the Creator perfectly coincides with the simple indications of nature; and these two sources, producing the same law, unite in forming the same obli-

gation. The whole reverts to the first great end of man, which is happiness. It was to conduct him to that great end that the laws of nature were ordained; it is from the desire of happiness that his obligation to observe those laws arises.

25. There is, therefore, no man who is not bound to obey the laws of nature. They are necessary to the general happiness of mankind; and whoever should reject them, whoever should openly despise them, would by such conduct alone declare himself an enemy to the human race, and deserve to be treated as such. Now, one of the first truths which the study of man reveals to us, and which is a necessary consequence of his nature, is,—that in a state of lonely separation from the rest of his species, he cannot attain his great end—happiness; and the reason is, that he was intended to live in society with his fellow creatures. Nature herself, therefore, has established that society, whose great end is the common advantage of all its members; and the means of attaining that end constitute the rules that each individual is bound to observe in his whole conduct. Such are the natural laws of human society.—(*Law of Nations.*)

26. The law, says Dr. Brown, on which right and wrong depend, did not begin to be law when it was written; it is older than the ages of nations and cities, and contemporary with the very eternity of God. There is, indeed, to borrow Cicero's noble description, one true and original law, conformable to reason and to nature, diffused over all, invariable, eternal, which calls to the fulfilment of duty, and to abstinence from injustice, and which calls with that irresistible voice, which is felt in all its authority, wherever it is heard. This law cannot be abolished or curtailed, nor affected in its sanctions, by any law of man. A whole senate, a whole people, cannot dispense from its paramount obligation. It requires no commentator to render it distinctly intelligible; nor is it different at Rome, at Athens, now, and in the ages before and after; but in all ages, and in all nations, it is, and has been, and will be, one and everlasting; one, as that God, its great author and promulgator, who is the common Sovereign of all mankind, is himself one. Man is truly man, as he yields to this divine influence. He cannot resist it but by flying as it were from his own bosom, and laying aside the feelings of humanity, by which very act he must already have inflicted on himself the severest of punishments, even though he were to avoid what is usually accounted punishment. We feel that the laws of nature are laws which no lapse of ages can render obsolete, because they are every moment operating on every heart, and which, for the same reason, never can be repealed till man shall have ceased to be man.—(*Lectures on the Philosophy of the Human Mind, by the late Thomas Brown, M. D. Lecture* 15.)

27. Nor can there, says a late prelate, in reference to the law of nature, be any one so absurd and unreasonable as not to see and acknowledge the absolute equity of this command in theory, however he may swerve and decline from it in his practice; and to agree upon it, as that golden mean, which, if universally observed, would make the world universally happy; every man a benefactor, a good angel, a deity, as it were, to his fellow creatures, and earth the very image of heaven.—(*Atterbury.*)

28. As to the government of the relations of men, by the divine law, we find the connexion of husband and wife so intimate, and the affection each should bear to the other so strong, as to be thus expressed:—'They are no more twain, but one flesh:' men ought 'to love their wives as their own bodies. He that loveth his wife, loveth himself.' In allusion to the coming of the Son of Man, we are told, there 'shall two be in the field; the one shall be taken and the other left.' What an unspeakably affecting consideration must it be to married persons, of the possibility of one being saved, and the other lost. And seeing the great influence those in this most intimate connection necessarily have on each other, with what solicitude should it be entered into! And after it has commenced, how zealous should each party be to provoke the other 'unto love, and to good works,' and by thus working out their 'own salvation, with fear and trembling,' insure, as far as possible, both the present and everlasting welfare of themselves, their families, and connections. The regard of parents for their children is compared with the infinite love of God;—'like as a father pitieth his children, so the Lord pitieth them that fear him.'

29. With regard to the obedience of a child, we find it directed in a very remarkable manner by God;—in the Mosaic Code it is made one of the commandments,—'Honour thy father and thy mother, that thy days may be long upon the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.' And a malediction was pronounced on those who neglected it. 'Cursed be he, that setteth light by his father or his mother.' A stubborn and rebellious son was liable to be punished capitally, if both his parents required it.—(Deut. xxi. 18 to 21.);—it being possibly considered, that such a son might not only be the cause of introducing anarchy, and all its attendant evils, into his father's house; but not be likely to fill any relation of life, either with advantage to himself or others, nor consequently to the glory of God. But as this may to some appear severe, we may observe, that the punishment was of course directed against those only, who were so utterly contumacious, that nothing would reclaim them. It is obvious, that the bias of parents is generally to screen the faults of their children. For the most part, the case must be an extreme one, which will induce parents to do any thing prejudicial to their children. Few would be willing

to be instrumental to the death of a child; fewer still to a violent one judicially inflicted. And both father and mother were required to be present at the condemnation.

30. According to the divine law, whereby all are to consider themselves as bretheren, little distinction is made between those who are so by descent from the same earthly parent, and those who are so only by the common ties of humanity; this holy law, as we have seen, thus directing all:—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' In the Mosaic Code, the same language is adopted:—'The stranger that dwelleth with you, shall be unto you as one born amongst you, and thou shalt love him as thyself.' The parents, says Dr. Brown, who hang over our cradle, thinking for us before we have formed what can be called a thought, and who continue during life to be viewed by us with a peculiar sort of tender veneration, which no other created being seems to us entitled to possess;—the comrades of our pastimes in boyhood, and the friends who partake with us the graver occupations and the graver pastimes of mature years;—these are they, who transfer into us their feelings, and from whom, without thinking of them as examples, we derive all that good or evil which example can afford, and yield ourselves more completely to the influence, because we are not aware that we are yielding to any influence whatever. The great source of the fraternal regard is in that general susceptibility of our nature, to which we owe all our friendships, that susceptibility which has made brothers of mankind, at least of all the nobler individuals of mankind;—a regard which,

> Push'd to social, to divine,
> Gives thee to make thy neighbour's blessing thine.
> Is this too little for thy boundless heart?
> Extend it—let thy enemies have part.
> Grasp the whole worlds of reason, life, and sense,
> In one close system of benevolence:—
> Happier as kinder, in whate'er degree,
> And height of bliss, but height of charity.—POPE.
>
> (*Dr. Brown's Lectures*, 85 *and* 60.)

31. We find servants commanded as follows:—'Obey in all things your masters according to the flesh; not with eye service, as men-pleasers, but in singleness of heart, fearing God.'—Job, 'the greatest of all the men of the East,' and that 'was perfect and upright, and one that feared God, and eschewed evil,' thus speaks:—'If I did despise the cause of my man servant, or of my maid servant, when they contended with me; what then shall I do when God riseth up? And when he visiteth, what shall I answer him? Did not he that made me in the womb make him? And did not one fashion us in the womb?' The consideration, that 'we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ,' and that the joyful salutation,—'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you, from the

foundation of the world;' will be said alike to masters and servants, should be a most powerful incentive to make us treat those with kindness, with whom we may spend an eternity of happiness; where human distinctions will be lost, in the glorious appellation, of the 'sons of God.'

32. With regard to the relations arising from the application of our productive powers, we shall see, that precisely as men conform to the divine law, the benefits deducible from these powers augment. The same thing obviously may be affirmed of the classes not concerned in the production of wealth; one of which it will only be necessary to instance, that charged with the legislative and executive functions in a nation. In the attainment of these offices, and in the conduct after attaining them, men must rigorously adhere to the divine law; this is evident from considering, their duty is solely to prevent infractions of it. Those, therefore, who are the official conservators of the law, if any difference can be supposed allowable, should be the most strict of any class in society, in obeying it.

33. As to the thoughts, words, and actions, of each particular person, of whatever class in society, it may be observed as follows. In the sight of the Divine Being, who is of purer eyes than to behold evil, and cannot look on iniquity, and who knoweth the secrets of the hearts of all the children of men, —'the thought of foolishness is sin,' and 'the thoughts of the wicked are an abomination.' How imperatively incumbent is it, therefore, on all of us to keep our hearts with all diligence, for out of them are the issues of life;—'evil thoughts, murders, adulteries, fornications, thefts, false witness, blasphemies!' All should unite with the psalmist, in the following petition:—'Search me, O God, and know my heart: try me, and know my thoughts: and see if there be any wicked way in me, and lead me in the way everlasting.' With regard to our language, we are told, that,—'Death and life are in the power of the tongue: and 'every idle word that man shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment.' Peter therefore directs men,—'As he which hath called you is holy, so be ye holy in all manner of conversation.' In reference to the passage in the psalms quoted in the preface, (Ps. cxxxix. 1 to 5) David, says Bishop Horne, here describeth God as having that complete knowledge of him and his affairs, which, among men, the most accurate search and the strictest scrutiny could not obtain; as being thoroughly acquainted with all his ways, or proceedings; nay, with his very thoughts, while yet existing in embryo in his own mind; as watching and observing him at all seasons, during the actions of the day and his repose at night; and, in short, as having so beset him on all sides, and laid his hand upon him, that he could not move without his knowledge and consent. All things are thus naked and open to him, with whom we have to

do, that although he dwelleth in the highest heavens, he surveys not only the outward acts, but the very hearts and imaginations of men upon earth.—(*Com. on the Psalms.*) And as the thoughts of all men are looked on with the same watchfulness as David's were, we cannot for a moment think it allowable for us to treat any of those things with indifference, which are so minutely regarded by Heaven.

34. The law of God, thus controlling all relations, and every thought, word, and deed, of all men, every person, in every country and every age, should humbly endeavour that, through divine grace, his whole life may conform to this holy rule ;—no thought, word, or deed of men, being irrespective of each other, and the Divine Being ; all ever remembering, that 'whatsoever is not of faith is sin.' 'For none of us liveth to himself, and no man dieth to himself. For whether we live, we live unto the Lord, and whether we die, we die unto the Lord : whether we live therefore, or die, we are the Lord's.'

35. From the divine law, the following Canons may be deduced. In taking them collectively, if they are either erroneous, or defective, it has arisen from ignorance, and the disposition exists to correct whatever is wrong, or supply whatever is deficient; on either or both being pointed out. Until this is done, it is assumed that they are not faulty, and, being all deduced from the holy rule we are considering, that they are obligatory on all men, of all countries, and at all times.

CANONS.

I.

36. As men can live only in association, all the relations of life, of what nature or kind soever, must be of mutual benefit to the parties between whom such relations exist. And in entering into them, and maintaining them, the related parties must, in their whole intercourse, and for the whole continuance of the relations, educe nothing but good to each other, and of good, the highest degree.

As 'love worketh no ill to his neighbour, therefore, love is the fulfilling of the law.' In this way only can men obey the law of nature. In this way only, can they obey the law of revelation,—the whole business of human life being necessarily, among all the members of an association, that of relation; —and the happiness or misery, accruing to all, being dependent

on the manner in which the various relations are sustained. This Canon may be illustrated by an example. Let us suppose the extreme case of a malefactor, suffering conformably with the divine law, under the hands of the public executioner. The criminal lived, and had his being only as one of the members of the association, to which he belonged; and if he would render himself obnoxious to his fellow members, it was an act of justice and mercy, both to him and them, to bring him to punishment. If vice is not to be arrested, it may go to such lengths, as to cause the total dissolution of an association, as the decline and fall of nations attest. Further, the criminal, by undergoing a temporal punishment, may have been led to repentance, and acceptance with God: and if this was not the case, it was the fault of himself, and not of those who made and executed the laws, under which he suffered.

37. This first Canon containing the whole of the divine law, as far as relates to men's intercourse with each other, all the other Canons are deduced from it.

II.

38. 'THERE SHOULD BE NO SCHISM IN THE BODY.'

Except for the expression of unrighteousness and ungodliness. Whatever may be the conduct of men, nothing can be more evident, than that, among those who can live only in association; and the law of whose being necessarily, therefore, requires them to educe nothing but good to each other; every thing that has the least resemblance to opposition, with the exception we have mentioned, is utterly at variance with such law. As we have noticed that association governs the whole universe, let it be supposed that the atoms of which the material world is composed, were endowed with volition, and exerted it, in being divided as men are:—in such a case, how many moments would the human race endure? And with regard to the divisions among men, mercantile oppression and competition, introduced by political oppression, induce pauperism, beggary, and vice; and warlike opposition, death to multitudes. Were these evils, therefore, banished from the world, and every degree of them, it would greatly tend to the benefit of mankind. Nothing, then, can be more evident, than that the union of the earth's particles around its centre, is not more close than that of men should be, if they lived according to the divine will. We cannot suppose there is any division among the angels, and it is clearly the will of God, that there should be none among men; whom he thus directs to address him:—'Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven.' This may be otherwise expressed thus,—all mankind, in all countries and ages, should unceasingly go on, educing nothing

but the highest degree of good to each other; conformably with the first Canon. In this way only can they live according to the will of God,—and were they to do so, it is obvious no division, or opposition, could arise among them. Consequently, were we writing these pages at the period alluded to by John, when the angel will 'sware by him that liveth for ever and ever, who created heaven, and the things that therein are, and the earth, and the things that therein are, and the sea, and the things which are therein, that there' shall 'be time no longer;' and the whole human race, of every generation, from the creation to the end of the world, was collected together; it is obvious that among all this 'great multitude, which no man' will be able to 'number,—of all nations, and kindreds, and people, and tongues,'—there never could by any possibility, on any occasion whatever, the least opposition necessarily have arisen; had they lived according to the will of heaven. All those, therefore, who enter into associations for lawful objects, cannot be prevented from so doing; without a contravention of this Canon. And all who enter into unlawful associations, of what nature or kind soever, necessarily contravene this Canon—i. e. opposition to that which is lawful in the sight of heaven, being thereby generated. (Jud. xx. 11; 2 Chron. xxx. 12; Ps. cxxxiii. 1; Isa. xi. 9, lx, 21; Jer. xxxii. 39; Ezek. xi. 19, 20, xxxiv. 23; Hos. i. 11; Amos iii. 3; Mic. vi. 8; Hab. ii. 14; Zeph. iii. 9; Zech. xiv. 9; Mat. v. 44, vi. 10, ix. 36, xviii. 20; John, x. 16, xi. 52, xv. 5, 9, 12, xvii. 9 to 11, 20 to 23; Acts iv, 32; Rom. viii. 9, 35, xii. 5, 10, xiii. 8 to 10; 1 Cor. i. 10, vi. 17, xii. 25, 27; 2 Cor. xiii. 11, 14; Eph. i. 10, iv. 4 to 6; Phil. i. 27, ii. 2 & 5; Col. ii. 2; 1 Thes. iv. 9; Heb. ii. 11, xiii. 1; 1 Pet. i. 22, iii. 8; 1 John, iii. 11, 14; 1 John, iv. 7.)

III.

39. All relations, of what nature or kind soever, that can be voluntarily entered into, necessarily infer an agreement, either expressed or implied, for the performance of certain duties, by each of the parties, according to the particular relation into which they enter.

For example, those of husband and wife,—master and servant. In all relations, the parties enter into an obligation with each other, and derive a right to the performance of such obligation from each other: consequently, an obligation can never exist without a right, nor a right without an obligation; the obligation and right being binding on the parties to the compact. Thus, in the relation of husband and wife, or political governors and the governed;—the husband and the political governor on

the one part, and the wife and the politically governed on the other, are under certain obligations to each other: and hence arises the right to the performance of those obligations from one another. We speak of relations voluntarily entered into, as it is obvious one cannot be: namely, that of parents and children, as far as the latter are concerned. Foreigners, says Locke, by living all their lives under another government, and enjoying the privileges and protection of it, though they are bound even in conscience to submit to its administration, as far forth as any denison, yet do not thereby come to be subjects of that commonwealth. Nothing can make any man so, but his actually entering into it by positive engagement, and express promise and compact.—*(On Gov.)*

IV.

40. Unless an agreement is entered into, either expressly or by implication, no obligation can exist; nor, consequently, the right to enforce an obligation, which has no existence.

For if any relation is entered into, without a compact, it must be by one party compelling the other, for an unlawful purpose. In the relation of husband and wife, political governors and the governed, master and servant, &c., it is clear, when tried by the test of the divine law, that the persons who have to perform any of the duties arising out of these relations must, as to each and every person on both sides, be determinable with the most rigorous accuracy, by the express or implied compact we have mentioned: as whatever, in any relation, one person has a right to exact, the other is imperatively bound to yield. Whatever, therefore, may be the conduct of men, in any country or age, it is equally a breach of the divine law for some to oblige others to submit to their political government, without an incontestable right, (conformably with this holy rule;) i. e. under a voluntary compact, as to compel any one woman, or several women, to submit to the marital authority. We must not be understood as saying, the breach of the divine law would in the two cases be equally criminal, but that in both, this law would be infringed; and 'whosoever shall keep the whole law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all:'—i. e. he sets the Divine Being, who is the Author of the law, at defiance, by infringing it. Men cannot be bound but by their own acts. Every thing in social life being matter of relation,—and all relations inferring a compact;—where no compact exists, no obligation, or right, arises. The establishment, therefore, of a political government, in which the whole of the governed do not appoint their own governors, is stark tyranny. The related parties, instead of

being mutual benefactors, conformably with the first Canon, are oppressors on the one part and the oppressed on the other; as it may be otherwise expressed, tyrants and slaves. Some or all of the governed are bound by the acts of others, without their own consent. The first and second Canons are contravened, and thereby the Law of God is superseded by the inventions of men.

V.

41. The provisions of the compacts entered into must all be conformable with the first Canon; otherwise such provisions are utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatever. And all just provisions must be strictly observed during the whole continuance of the compacts.

Thus, suppose an agreement entered into, between two persons, the one to serve the other for equitable wages. Thus far, there is nothing but what does conform to the first Canon; but it would be infringed, if it was understood, that a servant was to assist his master in robbing on the highway; it would also be infringed, if the master refused to pay the servant his wages, for lawful services.

VI.

42. Both parties must be fully capable of entering into the particular engagement that is to exist between them. And they must do it entirely of their own wills, and therefore free from all control, of what nature or kind soever.

VII.

43. Should one of the contracting parties be willing, through ignorance, to allow either expressly, or by implication, any stipulation prejudicial to himself, herself, or themselves, the other is bound to prevent its introduction.

Under every possible combination of circumstances, 'love worketh no ill to his neighbour.' Consequently, the obligations entered into between two or more, whatever the relation may be, should be mutually and fully understood. Thus, for example, it is not for a moment supposable, in a right constitution of things, that the nature of the duties incumbent on political governors

and the governed, is not fully understood: namely, that a representative is delegated, for a certain period, to uphold all such measures as he honestly considers most conducive to the well-being of his nation. And his constituents are bound to support him to the utmost of their ability.

VIII.

44. NEITHER PARTY CAN, BY VIRTUE OF THE OBLIGATION OR RIGHT WITH WHICH THE RELATION ENTERED INTO INVESTS HIM, HER, OR THEM, DO ANY THING, THAT SHALL AFFECT THE OBLIGATIONS OR RIGHTS OF EITHER OF THE PARTIES, IN ANY WAY WHATEVER CONTRAVENING THE FIRST CANON.

IX.

45. The parties to a compact, or any portion of them, cannot, either expressly or by implication, stipulate to do any thing, which shall in any way whatever be prejudicial to any person or persons, not parties to the compact. Nor can such an agreement be entered into, after the relation has commenced, or during its whole continuance.

This is obvious, from what we have just observed—that, under every possible combination of circumstances, 'love worketh no ill to his neighbour.' It follows, therefore, from the first and second Canons, that all associations, that are not productive of unmixed good, not only to their particular members, but to all other persons, who may in any way be affected by them, cannot lawfully be entered into. The Divine Being having so constituted things, that in all countries, and in all ages, whatever relations exist between men, all such relations, if they are in accordance with his will, shall harmoniously work together, not only for the good of all who stand in any particular relation, but of all who are not so related. For example, two persons who stand in the relation of husband and wife, may educe the highest degree of good, not only to themselves, but to their country at large, by presenting it, in the persons of their children, with good citizens, and to some individuals in particular, in those children making good husbands, wives, fathers, mothers, &c. Again, in a rightly constituted government, both the governors and governed are mutually benefitted by the relation existing between them; but if they concur in unjustifiably invading a foreign nation, the present Canon is obviously infringed. CONSEQUENTLY, ALL ASSOCIATIONS, WHETHER POLITICAL, COMMERCIAL, OR OF WHAT KIND SOEVER,

THE OBJECT OF ENTERING INTO, OR MAINTAINING WHICH, IS TO PREJUDICE, IN ANY MANNER WHATEVER, THOSE WHO ARE NOT MEMBERS OF SUCH ASSOCIATIONS, ARE ABSOLUTELY AND UTTERLY UNLAWFUL IN THE SIGHT OF HEAVEN. Hence the following question arises, namely,—if some of the members of an association apply the powers they derive from associating to any unlawful purpose; whilst others refuse to participate in the pecuniary or other advantage therefrom derivable:—whether the latter may lawfully continue members of the association? Suppose two or more persons were to enter into a commercial association, one of the members of which enriched it by any unjust practices, in such a case, it would not be sufficient for his partner or partners to refuse to participate in the unhallowed gains;—but he or they is or are bound altogether to dissolve the partnership, or at least, utterly to refuse, to allow the unjust partner to pursue the improper practices. The application of this to a political association is reserved for the second part of the Essay.

X.

46. The compact is in full force, only, whilst both the contracting parties perform what they stipulated.

If a master declines longer to allow a servant his agreed wages, it is clear all compact is at end, and the former can have no further right to the services of the latter. The husband, who for a time, without cause, refuses to allow the wife a maintenance, strictly speaking, has little claim on her affection, though, from the great inconveniences resulting from a dissolution of the marriage bond, on slight occasions, it is clearly the will of God, that a neglect of some duties on the one part, releases not from the performance of duties on the other. (*Mat.* v. 32.) This may be the happy means of reclaiming the offending party,—as to the one not culpable, it may be said—'What knowest thou, O wife, whether thou shalt save thy husband? or, how knowest thou, O man, whether thou shalt save thy wife?' (1 *Cor.* vii. 16.) With regard to the compact between a political representative and his constituents, there can be no reason why the majority of the latter should not at any time have the power of terminating it, by nominating another person to be their representative, if the one first appointed does not perform his duty.

XI.

47. All obligations or rights must have reference to things or persons: to the former, of possession; to the latter, of controlling and being controlled. And

the distinction, between rights as to persons and things, is this: the former is transferable, the latter is not. If a man has a house, he may assign the ownership of it to another, but the obligation and right of controlling and being controlled, whenever lawfully existing, necessarily arising out of a compact, whatever the relation may be, can never be assigned without the consent of both parties to the compact. Nor in some cases, even with this, as in the case of husband and wife.

The essence of all compacts being, that the duties arising out of them, whatever the relation may be, shall be performed by the particular parties to such compact, and no other,—the compact being entered into, because the parties to it are considered by one another to be peculiarly eligible for the particular duties they have to perform,—and of which the contracting parties are the sole judges, each for himself. Thus in the case of the political representative and his constituents, an essential part of the compact is, that the person delegated by the electors, shall perform the office in person: this is so imperative a duty, that even electors themselves (if one can suppose a thing so improbable as that they had the inclination) do not possess the power of allowing it to be transferred:—the nature of the obligation they are under to Heaven, and to each other, binding them to use their utmost ability, that proper persons shall be appointed to constitute a government. The allowing their representative to perform his duty by proxy, would therefore be betraying that trust which is vested in them by God. And if the electors cannot transfer this power, much less can the elected.

XII.

48. The appointment of those who are to make and execute the laws of any nation, must in all things rigorously conform to the first Canon. All the laws, and their execution, must also agree with it. And property in the land, and other things, must be held in strict accordance with laws so made and executed. Consequently, no legal title, in any nation or age, as to any person or persons whatever, as to his, her, or their right, to make or execute the laws of a nation, or hold property of any kind by virtue of such laws, can accrue, without the appointment of the makers and executors of the law,—the laws them-

selves, and their execution, do in all things rigorously conform to the first Canon.

The only lawful mode in which any nation, in any age, can establish or maintain a government, is for all the native adult males to hold a great electoral assembly; and determine,—first, what number of persons they will have to make and execute the laws:—then, who those persons shall be:—and, lastly, for what time they shall exercise their functions. At the expiration of this period, the electoral assembly must be again formed, and proceed in a similar manner; and the nation must thus act, throughout all its generations. When we speak of such an assembly, it will of course not be supposed we mean for all the men of a nation to congregate together. They may have separate meetings, in their several districts; each company electing its own representative, or representatives. And thus, all the parts, having a unity of purpose, may not inaptly be styled the great electoral assembly. It shall, in its proper place, be incontestably proved,—first, that the mode here pointed out, is the only one in accordance with the will of God; and that other modes, in which national constitutions may be set up and maintained, are necessarily in opposition to the divine will. In speaking hereafter of the rights of the female sex, it will be shown, that in all nations and ages, all women should, conformably with this holy will, be excluded from any share in political power.

XIII.

49. The possession of property in the land, or other things, acquired in a way not agreeing with laws made as mentioned in the last Canon, is absolutely and utterly unlawful. One person, or any number of persons, therefore, holding property so unlawfully acquired, can have no right either to keep or transfer it. And the original acquirer, and all through whose hands such miscalled right may have passed, whatever number of generations may have elapsed, in receiving and holding it, have contravened the first Canon.

XIV.

50. Under the divine law, there can be no such thing as an imperfect obligation or right.

51. This is evident from considering, that for any imperfection to exist, it must arise either as to persons, or property.

52. As to Persons.—Some illegal relation must be entered into, or if the relation is legal, some unlawful act must be done by one party against the other, or by both parties against a third. All relations, we have seen, arise out of a voluntary compact. Consequently, for anything illegal to exist, it must be the fault of both, as in contracting an unlawful marriage; a wrong done by one party against the other, as in those who assume the legislative or executive power, without being appointed by all the governed; or, a wrong done, by both parties against a third, as in a nation having a righteous government, both the governors and governed causing another country to be invaded, without just grounds.

53. As to Property.—Some must be held by those to whom it does not of right belong; or some exists the ownership to which is not ascertainable. It is here only necessary to speak of the land. Any not yet appropriated by man may be entered upon by any persons of the human race, who believe they can do their duty better by founding a new nation, as has been the case ever since the flood. On the land thus entered upon, a national constitution and code should be established and maintained, in accordance with the twelfth Canon. Such code assigns to every man an equal portion of the land with all the rest of his fellows. And thus it should be in all nations and ages.

54. The existence, therefore, of any of the matters mentioned with regard to persons are obviously all contraventions of the first Canon. And as no land can be lawfully held by those to whom it does not of right belong, nor is there any on the whole globe to which the ownership is not ascertainable: so, under the divine law, there can be no such thing as an imperfect obligation or right, in reference either to persons or things.

XV.

55. Where there are no human laws, as in the case of mariners thrown on land, not previously inhabited, it is incumbent on men, in all things rigorously to obey the first Canon.

XVI.

56. Every man, of whatever nation he may be, or in whatever age he may live,—if the constitution and code of laws under which he lives, do not conform to the divine law, should do all that lies in him to produce such conformity; and when that is attained, he is bound to defend such constitution and code with his life.

This is evident from considering, that all men, in all nations and in all ages, being under the divine law, and this therefore being the sole rule of their conduct; and so, as has been intimated, the obligation of every man that cometh into the world, being exactly similar to that of every other man:—if it is not the duty of every man to see that the constitution and code under which he lives, is in accordance with the will of the Most High, i. e. as expressed in the first Canon,—it is not the duty of any man. On which supposition, it is not incumbent on men, in any country or age, to establish over themselves a righteous constitution and code; nor, consequently, to repress the unrighteousness, which it is the business of government to keep down; an opinion for which none, it is presumed, will be found to contend.

XVII.

57. Every man, of whatever nation or age he may be, after having ineffectually done all that legally lies in him, that the constitution and code under which he lives, in their appointment and maintenance, shall conform to the first Canon, is next bound to do all that lies in him, that his own conduct may accord with such Canon; this being his duty, whatever the laws of his country may be.

As though it may not be in the power of any one man to cause the unrighteous constitution and code of his country to be superseded by those which are righteous, he can, to a certain extent, regulate his own conduct; it being obvious that, if men, because the laws under which they live are not righteous, may contravene the divine law with impunity—as, for example, in holding large quantities of land, to the unlawful exclusion of others,—it will never be incumbent on them to have such unrighteous laws superseded by those which are righteous: i. e. in conformity with the first Canon; but this is not to be supposed.

XVIII.

58. It is also incumbent on every man to conform to the first Canon, in matters not cognizable by human laws. In all places, and under all circumstances, it being the duty of all men to do all that lies in them—even, if necessary, to the sacrifice of their lives, i. e. so that the glory of God will be thereby promoted,—that

this Canon shall be universally and rigorously obeyed; both as to the things which are, and are not, cognizable by human laws.

Consequently, all men, in all countries, are bound to lend all possible assistance to all others obeying the first Canon, though the latter may have no claim whatever on the former, in accordance with human laws; and, beyond this, men are bound to assist others under certain limitations, though they are not only, not actively obeying, but actively infringing such Canon. As poor persons, though thus engaged, are not to be permitted to starve, because the Great Creator, who alone called them into existence, alone knows when to call them from it; and though such persons act unrighteously at any given period, they may repent and become eminent examples of that which is good.

59. Had all men, every where, from the foundation of the world, obeyed the divine law,—all the members of association, under the divine blessing, educing nothing but good to each other, acts of mercy would have had no place, because none would have needed them; nor would that stupendous act of the divine compassion, the sacrifice of the Son of God, have been required, as there would have been no guilt to propitiate: but man having followed the example of the angels, which kept not their first estate, (*Jude* 6.) and thus guilt and misery having entered the world, in the fall of our first parents, and been continued in it by their posterity, the divine law, as far as relates to our conduct to each other, divides itself into the two great branches of justice and mercy. With regard to the latter, it being imperative on us to follow the example of our Lord, it is obvious there can be no measure or degree of that which requires the sacrifice of all that men have, even to laying down their lives for each other. (*John* xv. 12, 13.)

60 The mercy we are ready to evince for each other, when suitable occasions present themselves, must therefore be absolutely without bounds; and that none may be rendered unable to do justice to others, through any oppressive conduct on our part, we should be desirous, for example, in all our commercial dealings, to give 'good measure, pressed down, and shaken together, and running over;' (*Luke* vi. 38.) and, when the glory of God will thereby be promoted, not only to remit to others, all those things which we might in strict justice have demanded; but, beyond this, as far as we are able, liberally to administer, both in temporal and spiritual things, in all the kind offices men require at the hands of each other; as he must expect 'judgment without mercy, that hath shewed no mercy;' (*James* ii. 13.) in oppressing any of his brethren, either politically, commercially, or otherwise; or in not remitting what he might justly have demanded, when requisite; or in forbear-

ing to do any act of kindness incumbent on the faithful servants of heaven. In this way alone can the divine law be obeyed; though, of course, nothing here said is to be imagined as encouraging, in the remotest degree, any unrighteousness or ungodliness whatever, in those who require acts of mercy to be shewn them.

61. In the Mosaic Code, a malediction is thus pronounced against the Hebrews. 'Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them.' And in reference to the Christian dispensation, Paul observes, 'He that despised Moses' law, died without mercy under two or three witnesses. Of how much sorer punishment, suppose ye, shall he be thought worthy, who hath trodden under foot the Son of God, and hath counted the blood of the covenant, wherewith he was sanctified, an unholy thing, and hath done despite unto the Spirit of grace?' 'Whosoever,' therefore, as has been said, 'shall keep the whole' of the divine 'law, and yet offend in one point, he is guilty of all.' We must, therefore, join in the curse pronounced against the violators of the less noble dispensation, and say, in reference to the divine law; 'Cursed be he that confirmeth not all the words of this law to do them.' As 'all have sinned, and come short of the glory of God;' and, consequently, all 'are under the curse;' we cannot sufficiently adore his goodness, that he hath made for men 'a way to escape' it, by the all-sufficient propitiation of his beloved Son; though, of course, it does not follow that men are to sin purposely, that the sufferings of the Son of God may propitiate their wickedness;—as the permission of Heaven for men to do this, would only be encouraging iniquity, which we cannot suppose, it would be in any way a party to. All should humbly endeavour to obey the divine law; and those who do, may therefore thus be addressed:—What shall ye say then? shall ye 'continue in sin that grace may abound?' God forbid. How shall ye 'that are dead to sin, live any longer therein?' 'Now being made free from sin, and become servants to God, ye have your fruit unto holiness, and the end everlasting life. For the wages of sin is death; but the gift of God is eternal life, through Jesus Christ our Lord.'

CHAP. II.

THE VARIOUS MODES OF ASSOCIATION.

An inquiry into the laws which regulate the production of wealth, is, in fact, an inquiry into the laws which regulate national prosperity and national decay; — civilization and barbarism. (*Popular Pol. Econ., by Thomas Hodgskin.*)

1. From the creation to the deluge, and thence to the present time—the one period commencing with Adam, and the other with Noah—we may suppose, that the immediate descendants of those persons continued for some time acknowledging them and their heirs, both as parents and political governors. Such a form may thence be called the paternal government. At later periods, separations in both cases took place among men, the several portions having a distinct government; some of these again united, and others dissolved their unions; and separation has continued down to the present time. Some portions of the great family of mankind were compelled to expatriate themselves; whilst others have been unwillingly obliged to submit to a union with their invaders. Hence, therefore, the rise of all the nations of the world. History informs us that these things have sometimes so happened, but it obviously contains an account of but a small part of the transactions of mankind.

2. All nations of the earth, in all ages, are under the divine government; just as the various provinces of a nation are under a human government; the great difference being, that the latter is ever in a less or greater degree imperfect, whilst the government of God is ever absolutely perfect; all that is faulty among men arising solely from disobedience of the divine law.

3. It has been said that men cannot live out of association; hence, every thing is done by it. Thus, we have associations for the purposes of commerce, of instruction, of war. All the persons that constitute a nation, and thus live under a distinct political government, may, as has been already remarked, be termed a primary association. This has the whole political right within itself. Commercial, and other associations, may be termed secondary ones; these, therefore, are parts of the primary association, or smaller ones within the greater.

4. All the members of a primary association are separated into two great divisions; the *productive*, and the *non-productive*. However important some of the latter may be to their

productive brethren, it is clear they derive their support from, and are dependent on them. Thus, for example, a physician or lawyer derives his income from the producers of wealth, or others of the non-productive classes supported by them. Those, therefore, taking them collectively, who do not produce wealth, can be prosperous, only in the precise ratio that the producers of wealth are. To the productive classes let us, then, more especially direct our attention.

5. In reference to wealth, two things are necessary ; to *produce,* and to *distribute* it;—all kinds of produce being less or more valuable, according to the labour expended in their production and distribution. As to production, a square yard of fine broad cloth may be worth twenty shillings, when the same quantity of flannel is worth only one. As to distribution, a ton of coals is worth more in London than at Newcastle, because the cost of water and land carriage is to be added to the price at the latter place.

6. The productive classes are divided into branches: as, for example, those which produce or distribute food, clothing, or building materials. These branches may again be separated into divisions, as in reference to food; among others, are the agricultural — the mealing and the baking. The various branches and divisions are further divided into secondary associations ; those in a nation being almost numberless. As to the clothing branch, we have all over the country farming associations which keep sheep, and thus produce wool, and of course most of them produce wheat for the baking associations. In the clothing branch, after the farming associations, come the manufacturing ones. We have also mercantile associations, which distribute raw produce; then, again, we have warehousing associations, which distribute the manufactured produce by wholesale; next come shopkeeping associations, which distribute by retail. We have also those, whose sole business it is to send merchandize by sea or land, or carrying associations.

7. The persons who belong to all these associations are divided into the two classes of masters and servants; and all wealth being reducible into labour, the servants are simply exchangers of their own labour, or rather the produce of it; the masters being ordinarily occupied in conducting and exchanging the wealth produced by their servants : thus, suppose, as to a woollen manufactory and a flour mill, the sole business of the servants is to produce and exchange, according to each man's respective wants, woollen goods for flour, the masters conducting the whole. That shopkeepers to retail the woollens, or bakers to make and distribute the bread, intervene, in no respect alters the nature of the operations. Into however many branches and divisions production and distribution may be ramified, the great business of all concerned in them, is to

dispose of, or interchange, their labour or its produce. All, therefore, both masters and servants, are labourers; the principal difference being, that with us, a much larger share of the gains arising, goes to the masters than to the servants—in proportion to the numbers of each class. In speaking of the value of labour hereafter, that of servants, or under-labourers, is always referred to—unless the contrary is expressed.

8. The larger the secondary associations become, the greater is their power; this power, augmenting to a certain extent, beyond the ratio of the number of members that belong to them, i. e. an association composed of a hundred members, is ordinarily more than ten times as powerful, as ten associations of ten members each.

9. We have seen that *all opposition* among men, except that which arises for the suppression of unrighteousness, is unlawful. If all men did the will of God, there would be no unrighteousness; and, consequently, no necessity for opposition to repress it. Those, therefore, who give rise to this necessity acting unlawfully, all opposition among men is unlawful before God.

10. It is from the formation of unlawful associations, that opposition is generated; and thereby men educe the greatest ills to each other. These unlawful associations, in reference to men's productive powers, are of two kinds;

Political, and—
Commercial.

11. A political association is unlawful, when a part of a nation, to the exclusion of the remainder, engrosses the whole political right, and thence the land.

12. A commercial association is unlawful, when the members, either in their collective or individual capacity, oppress the members of the same or any other associations, or willingly compete with others. How, it may be asked, can the members of either an unlawful political or commercial association, obey the divine law, which thus directs all of them,—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself?'

13. A nation may be associated in three different modes; the

Perfect,
Imperfect, and—
Vicious.

14. In the perfect, the whole political right, and thence the right to the land, are equally divided among all the members. The members of the commercial associations neither oppress one another, nor compete with one another. Hence, therefore, neither the political nor the commercial associations are unlawful;—the members of both obeying the precept just quoted. Here all the land devoted to the purposes of agriculture, &c. and all the productive powers of the whole nation, are

placed under the control of the government. All the members of the secondary associations, and all such associations themselves, as far as possible, occupy those situations, for which their separate and combined talents most fit them. To illustrate this, let us suppose a little island, cut off from all communication with the rest of the world, having an adult male population of three hundred and twenty persons—three hundred productive, and twenty non-productive; and that all that is necessary, as far as wealth is concerned, may be comprehended under the three branches of food, clothing, and habitation; these again separated into several divisions, and that one hundred persons devote themselves to each branch. If, then, the members of our little association were all, both individually and collectively, in all their operations, under the guidance of the Holy Spirit, and therefore having but one heart and one way, i. e. that of acting justly and mercifully towards one another, and humbly towards heaven (2 *Cor.* xiii. 14. *Jer.* xxxii. 39. *Mic.* 6. 8.); all thus loving each other, and the Divine Being, with their whole powers; succeeding generations improving on the institutions of those that preceded them, and all the members in every generation making a constant progression in prosperity, wisdom, virtue, and happiness; until, as regards the first of these, each of the members, without a single exception, had the greatest plenitude of wealth he or she could require;—this would be a primary association, according to the perfect mode. In this way, the whole human race, throughout all its generations, should associate, for men to live in accordance with the will of Heaven, all opposition whatever, whether arising from unlawful political or commercial associations, or any other cause, being utterly excluded; in other words, 'there should be no schism in the body;' all men, in all nations and ages, constantly educing nothing but the highest degree of good to each other, and thus doing all to the glory of God! The nation, or its conductor, says Vattel, should first apply to the business of providing for all the wants of the people, and producing a happy plenty of all the necessaries of life, with its conveniences, and innocent and laudable enjoyments. As an easy life, without luxury, contributes to the happiness of men, it likewise enables them to labour, with greater safety and success, after their own perfection; which is the grand and principal duty, and one of the ends, which they ought to have in view, when they unite in society. (*Law of Nations.*)

15. Imperfect association differs from perfect, in the productive powers of men not being controlled by the government, and consequently the land also not being placed at its disposal. (Such land, however, is equally divided among all the adult males, from the political right being so divided.) Here, there-

fore, neither the members of the secondary associations, nor such associations themselves, occupy the situations for which their talents most capacitate them; as this great object can only be accomplished, by the productive powers of men being controlled by the government. All the purposes of association are here less perfectly accomplished, than by the perfect mode: and the will of God is therefore less perfectly done. But here, also, no unlawful associations, either political or commercial, exist; consequently, all opposition that would arise from them is excluded.

16. Vicious association. — In this, a part of the nation, to the exclusion of the remainder, engrosses the political right, and thence the land. And thus we have an unlawful political association. This necessarily gives rise throughout the nation to unlawful commercial associations, the members of which, in their collective or individual capacities, oppress one another, or compete with one another: thus, opposition everywhere exists; and the productive powers of men, and the land, are necessarily uncontrolled by the government. Here the whole lives of all the members, whether belonging to the productive or non-productive classes, (the latter being supported by the former,) are spent in a state of rebellion to the Most High; it however has been, and is, adopted by most, or perhaps all the nations of the world. To them, therefore, may be applied the words of the Psalmist: 'They know not, neither will they understand; they walk on in darkness: all the foundations of the earth are out of course.' (*Ps.* lxxxii. 5.)

17. Thus, the productive powers of men may be placed *under the control of the government,* as in perfect association,—*not so placed,* as in imperfect association,—or, *in addition to this, may be in a state of opposition,* as in vicious association. And these are all the modes in which the powers of men can be placed.

18. The more numerous the members of a primary association, the better it is for all—if they rightly associate.

19. But it is preferable to be a member of an association however small, where political and commercial opposition are excluded, than to belong to one, however large, where they are admitted;—all opposition, being, as we have seen, unlawful before God.

20. All the loss of good men sustain, arises from their being less powerfully associated than they might be, as in the imperfect mode.

21. Positive evil arises, from political and commercial opposition, as in the vicious mode.

22. The means of intercourse for a country are two; among its own members, and with foreign nations. The greater the variety of productions, the greater is the gratification we derive

from their use, under proper limits;—and different climates are productive of their peculiar bounties. A desire to possess these keeps up an intercourse all over the world; for which purpose, we may humbly suppose, these things were partly so ordered by Heaven. But as evil communications corrupt good manners, it seems worthy the attention of governments, whether they will encourage promiscuous intercourse with all nations, without the least regard to the morals of those over whom they preside: as a foreign nation may obviously be so licentious, as to render it inconsistent for another, that wishes to do all to the glory of God, to have commercial intercouse with it. The extension of the foreign trade of any nation is simply enlarging the boundaries of its association; all foreigners admitted into the association operating on the natives, precisely as such natives do on each other, the nature of the articles exchanged, or the distance between the places at which they are produced, making no difference whatever; the whole being simply an interchange of labour. All nations or primary associations are thus small ones within the grand one of the whole world; as most or all nations now interchange. The principal limits to more extended interchange of produce, than what already takes place, arise from distance and legislative enactments. As to the former, the weight or bulk of certain articles restrains their being sent beyond certain bounds, on account of the expense of carriage. But for this, our coals would find a ready market, to parts of the world to which they do not now go. Though some kinds of produce cannot profitably be transported beyond certain limits, the labour itself may: thus, Irish labourers migrate from their own country to England, America, &c. Legislative enactments operate in two ways, by altogether prohibiting the exportation or importation of certain articles, or levying duties on them. Levying duties invariably lessens consumption, and precisely in the ratio such duties increase; as, if Cognac brandy could be bought in England for seven shillings instead of thirty shillings per gallon, a much larger quantity would be consumed. The export of wines and brandies from France, to the north of Europe, says Say, is almost equivalent to an export of bread; for wine and brandy in great measure supply the place of beer and spirits distilled from grain, and thus allow grain, which would otherwise be employed in the preparation of beer or spirits, to be reserved for that of bread.—*(Pol. Econ.)* In reference to the absurd restrictions on the commercial intercourse between England and France, Mr. M'Culloch remarks, that the statesman who shall succeed in abolishing the restraints on the commerce of the two countries, will render the most essential service to them both, and not to them only, but to all the world; the farthest parts of which have been harrassed by their wars. It admits of demonstration, that under a free sys-

tem, the trade with France would be incomparably more important and valuable, than that with Russia, the United States, or any other country. *(Dict. Art, Havre.)* Why, says Mr. Hodgskin, should any individuals of this country not be freely permitted to exchange all or any part of the produce of their industry, for the produce of some other industrious men living in France or Spain, as well as for the produce of the unhappy slaves in our own colonies? What has the fact of having different governments to do with trade, that it should be restrained or interdicted? If it be advantageous for the inhabitants of the Scotch hills to attend only to rearing cattle, importing cutlery and cloth from Yorkshire, it must also be advantageous for the people on the south coast of England to exchange their produce, for the produce of the people on the opposite side of the channel; with whom they are naturally and geographically much closer connected, than with Ireland or Scotland. The English channel can make no more difference in this respect, than the Irish channel, or than the Tweed. The trade which is beneficial when carried on by the subjects of the same state, is equally beneficial when they have different masters. *(Popular Pol. Econ.)*

23. All exchanges might have been carried on of themselves;—thus, he who had a quantity of wheat, and wished to exchange some of it for a quantity of leather, if he could have found any one who wanted wheat, and had leather to dispose of, would have attained his object. But to estimate the value of all articles, by their relation to some one in particular, and by a tacit understanding, for this to be universally taken in exchange, is evidently facilitating intercourse. Different nations have adopted a great variety of articles, for this purpose; perhaps few more remarkable, than the one formerly used in Sumatra; where, Dr. Leyden, in his account of the languages and literature of the Indo-Chinese nations, tells us, the ancient inhabitants are said originally to have had no other money than the skulls of their enemies. No articles have so generally prevailed as the precious metals, which are now used over a great part of the world. Notwithstanding the peculiar aptitude of the precious metals for a medium of exchange, they had not been used for that purpose in Mexico, when it was first discovered. Park tells us, that in the early intercourse of the Mandingoes with the Europeans, the article that attracted most notice was iron. Its utility in forming the instruments of war and husbandry made it preferable to all others, and iron soon became the measure, by which the value of all other commodities was ascertained. Thus, a certain quantity of goods, of whatever denomination, appearing to be equal to a bar of iron, constituted a bar of that particular merchandise. For instance, twenty leaves of tobacco were considered as a bar of iron, and a gallon of spirits as a bar of rum.

Farther to facilitate exchange, paper has been adopted in many countries; but this, except in its representative character, possesses no value whatever. With us, the circulating medium is copper, silver, and gold; notes payable on demand, and bills payable after a certain time has elapsed. The amount of the precious metals employed as a circulating medium, is utterly inconsiderable, if we compare the value of such metals with the whole number of mankind that circulates them. Wealth may be divided into lands, houses, and that which is moveable. Of the last there are two classes, natural and artificial. Thus, a flock of sheep may be called natural wealth, and under this head, that which has not life, or all raw produce. Artificial wealth comprehends every thing manufactured, as a bale of cloth, the furniture of a house; and under this head shipping may be classed. As to the miscalled weath, denominated funded property,—we must say nothing of our own country's, but the nature of that of Russia may be thus explained. The Russian government—misruling Russia, without right, taxes the people of that country in prospective: i. e., they sell part of the produce of the labour of future years; but this, it is obvious, cannot be wealth, until it is created. When, therefore, men speak of having thousands in the Russian funds, it simply means that the Russian government has promised to levy a tax on its people, and pay it over to the fundholders; as long as the Russians will allow them to do so. That this mode of impoverishing some, to enrich others, ought to be altogether abolished will be shown in its proper place, as well as that lands and houses cannot be alienated from their lawful owners except for a limited time. Moveable wealth is therefore that only, which can be accumulated by some, to the prejudice of others.

24. Should any thing that has been advanced, or that may be advanced, appear strange to the reader, it is incumbent on him to consider, that the whole human race, throughout its generations, being under the divine law; whatever applies to or is lawful or unlawful, in any particular combination of circumstances, for any man, in any country or any age; is lawful or unlawful, for any and consequently all others, in all countries, and in all ages so circumstanced. As a test of the truth of what is insisted on, let the reader's questions be—how would the operation of this affect—not myself, or my family only,—not thousands of human beings only,—not millions of human beings only,—but hundreds and thousands of millions of human beings,—necessarily, both in time and eternity? And as nothing can be done but in association, let him take his view, not as to the action of one or a few individuals only, but the combined action of a thousand millions of human beings through a thousand generations; and their influence on each other, from such combined action! Suppose, as to political and commercial opposi-

tion; every individual of the whole human race, throughout its genertions, was to do all that lay in him to promote them, and that both were to prevail, as extensively and as powerfully as possible; —or, on the contrary, that both were to be utterly banished from among men:—what in either case would be the consequences? remembering that no line can possibly be drawn between these extremes, as if political and commercial opposition are unlawful before God, they should be utterly banished out of the world:—thus, alone, then can any matter be rightly estimated. Let none, therefore, object that our morality is too rigid. Immorality is necessarily attended with suffering to those who are the agents of it, and generally to other persons. The Most High, as the Maker and Preserver of men, can never tolerate the slightest infractions of his laws; seeing that it is inconsistent with Infinite Love to cause or permit men to suffer, except for being unrighteous. So far, therefore, from any human being insisting on a too rigid morality, our highest conceptions can never at all comprehend that perfect holiness, God requires of all his creatures: i. e., in order that they may be perfectly happy. One circumstance alone must, we think, convince every good man, that political and commercial opposition are utterly opposed to the divine will: namely, that they are so eagerly pursued, and by so many;—and yet our Lord tells us, that, 'strait is the gate, and narrow is the way, which leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it.'

CHAP. III.

PERFECT ASSOCIATION.

WHAT we chiefly want, is a controlling and directing power by which the various parts of our commercial system may be so fitted and adapted to each other, as to produce a harmonious instead of an incongruous whole. (*Social System, by John Gray.*)

Galileo declared that the earth revolved round the sun. Men had been taught to believe the contrary. Galileo was imprisoned, compelled to retract his statement, and admit that the sun whirled round the earth. (*Prize Essay on Competition and Co-operation.*)

1. It has been laid down that in this, the land and the productive powers are under the controul of the government, formed so as to secure to all the members an equal share of the political right, and of the property in the land,—and of course, also, their personal liberty. And these things it does, more fully, than by any other mode, by which a government can be constituted.

2. It is plain, says a writer on political economy, that the great practical problem of this science, must resolve itself into a discussion of the means, whereby labour may be rendered most efficient; or whereby the greatest amount of necessary, useful, and agreeable products, may be obtained with the least quantity of labour. (*Sup. Ency. Brit.*)

3. Let us endeavour to furnish a solution of this problem. Labour operating on the land being the sole source of wealth and the land being unchangeable, in supplying the wants of men, to give their labour a right direction, is the great object.

4. Consequently, labour less perfectly associated than it might be, or altogether unemployed, is *lost wealth.*

5. ASSOCIATED LABOUR, THEREFORE, IS THAT ALONE, WHICH, UNDER THE DIVINE BLESSING, CONSTITUTES HUMAN POWER. The enormous wealth of Britain, says Say, is less owing to her own advances in scientific acquirements, high as she ranks in that department, than to the wonderful practical skill of her adventurers, in the useful application of knowledge, and the superiority of her workmen, in rapid and masterly execution. Homer tells us, in the Odyssey, b. 20, that twelve women were daily employed in grinding corn for the family consumption of Ulysses; whose establishment is not represented as larger than that of a private gentleman of fortune of modern days. In poor countries, we frequently find a product carried through all its stages by the same workman, from mere want of the capital requisite for a judicious division of the different operations. (*Pol. Econ.*) Little more than half a century has elapsed, says Mr. M'Culloch, since the British cotton manufacture was in its infancy; and it now forms the principal business carried on in this country, affording an advantageous field for the accumulation and employment of millions upon millions of capital, and of thousands upon thousands of workmen! The skill and genius by which these astonishing results have been achieved, have been one of the main sources of our power: they have contributed in no common degree to raise the British nation to the high and conspicuous place she now occupies. Nor is it too much to say, that it was the wealth and energy derived from the cotton manufacture, that bore us triumphantly through the late dreadful contest; at the same time, that it gives us strength to sustain burdens, that would have crushed our fathers, and could not be supported by any other people. (*Dict. Art Cotton.*) The cotton imported into Great Britain in 1781, amounted only to 5,198,778 pounds;—in 1830, the quantity was 259,856,000 pounds. As to the iron trade, the quantity of pig iron manufactured in England and Wales in 1750 was 22,000 tons;—in 1827, the quantity produced in England, Wales, and Scotland, was 690,000 tons. Speaking of English pottery, an intelligent foreigner thus remarks:—its excellent workmanship, its solidity, the advantage

which it possesses of sustaining the action of fire, its fine glaze, impenetrable to acids, the beauty and convenience of its form, and the cheapness of its price, have given rise to a commerce so active and universal, that in travelling from Paris to Petersburg, from Amsterdam to the farthest part of Sweden, and from Dunkirk to the extremity of the South of France, one is served at every inn upon English ware. Spain, Portugal, and Italy, are supplied with it; and vessels are loaded with it for both the Indies and the continent of America—(*M. Faujas de St. Fond.*) As the revenue of the post-office indicates to a certain extent the state of commerce, we may observe, that in 1722, it was £201,804; in 1830, £2,053,720.—According to Mr. Jacob, the value of the precious metals, annually applied to ornamental and luxurious purposes, may be estimated in thousands of pounds sterling as follows: by Great Britain, 2457; France, 1200; Switzerland, 350; remainder of Europe, 1605.—The last example we shall notice of the importance of rightly associating labour, is, that in 1678, an agreement was made to run a coach between Edinburgh and Glasgow, a distance of 44 miles; which was to be drawn by six horses, and to perform the journey in three days going, and three days returning. In 1826 passengers were conveyed by steam between Liverpool and Manchester, a distance of 31 miles, in an hour and a half, and sometimes less! By the power of steam, says an anonymous writer, every machine to which it is applied, receives, not an addition, but a multiplication of force. The power thus produced in 1820, was computed to be equal to 320,000 horses, or about 2,240,000 men. At this moment, steam, on account of its many new applications, and the improvements made in the manner of employing it, may perform the work of near 3,000,000 of men in the United Kingdom. (*Quart. Rev. June,* 1826.)

6. The whole art of production and distribution, then, consists in rightly associating labour.

7. Exactly in the ratio this is understood and practised, will power increase or the accumulation of wealth augment, until, as has already been intimated, there is a plenitude for all.

8. Or as it may be otherwise expressed, the wealth of a country is its labour, operating on the land; and such labour and land will be productive, in the exact ratio of the labour being more perfectly associated.

9. On this, therefore, the wealth of nations depends.

10. And what is of considerable importance, though at present little thought of, production and consumption, or supply and demand, will by attention be kept in just relation.

11. We are born, says a great writer, with faculties and powers capable almost of any thing—such, at least, as would carry us farther than can be easily imagined; but it is only the exer-

cise of those powers which gives us ability and skill in any thing, and leads us towards perfection. *(Locke.)* This will almost universally apply. And, that a high degree of happiness may be attainable by men, Heaven has distinguished individuals from each other by peculiar qualities. (1 *Cor.* vii. 7; xii. 8 to 11; 18, 28, to 31.) It is impossible, says Dr. Good, for us to open our eyes, without perceiving some peculiar propensity, or prominent moral feature, in every individual of every nation whatever; and which, if strictly analysed, will be found as much to distinguish him from all other individuals, as the features of his face. The Greek physiologists attempted the outline of a classification, and began by studying the individual varieties; and denominated them idiosyncrasies, or peculiarities of constitution. They beheld, as every one must behold in the present day, for nature is ever the same, one man so irascible that you cannot accidentally tread on his toe, or even touch his elbow, without putting him into a rage, another so full of wit and humour, that he would rather lose his friend, than repress his joke; a third, on the contrary, so dull and heavy, that you might as well attempt to move a mile-stone, and possessing withal so little imagination, that the delirium of a fever would never raise him to the regions of a brilliant fancy. They beheld one man for ever courting enterprise and danger; another distinguished for comprehensive judgment, and sagacity of intellect; one peculiarly addicted to wine, a second to gallantry, and a third to both; one generous to profligacy, another frugal to meanness. (*Book of Nature,* 3 *vols.* 8*vo. London,* 1826.)

12. It is laid down, says another writer, both by Gall and Spurzheim, as the foundation of their doctrines, that the nature of man, like that of all other created beings, is determinate; and that the faculties with which he is endowed are innate; that is, that they are implanted in him at his first formation, and are not the result of merely the external circumstances in which he may afterwards happen to be placed. This opinion is by no means at variance with that of Locke; who argues only against the innateness of ideas, and not of the faculties or capacities of receiving ideas; many of these peculiarities are unquestionably derived from the parent, and are observed to prevail in certain families, and to descend through several successive generations. Dr. Gall was struck, even when a boy, with the diversities of disposition and of character among his brothers and sisters and the companions with whom he was educated. He remarked that each excelled in a particular study, or was distinguished by a peculiar turn of mind. One was noted for the beauty of his hand-writing, another for his quickness at arithmetic, a third for his aptitude in learning languages, a fourth for remembering every thing he read in history. This diversity was apparent in all that they did. Thus, the style of

composition of the one was remarkable for its flowing and elegant periods; of another, for its baldness and dryness; of a third, for its condensation and vigour. Many displayed talents for arts which had never been taught them: they excelled perhaps in drawing, or in the execution of works of mechanism. Some sought for amusement in noisy sports, others preferred cultivating their gardens; a few placed their chief delight in rambling through fields and forests, and in collecting birds, insects, and flowers. One was of a social and affectionate disposition; another was selfish and reserved; a third was fickle and not to be depended upon. (*Sup. Ency. Brit. Art Cranioscopy.*)

13. Each individual, says a third writer, is so organized, that his highest health, his greatest progressive improvement, and his permanent happiness, depend upon the due cultivation of all his physical, intellectual, and moral faculties, or elements of his nature; upon their being called into action at a proper period of his life, and being afterwards temperately exercised, according to his strength and capacity. (*Mr. Owen.*) The exercise of those powers which are the most elevated and capacious, afford the greatest sum of felicity.

14. The right association of the peculiar qualities of many affords the highest enjoyments to each.

15. Hence the corporeal, intellectual, and moral wants of the members of a primary association, require, that in order to supply what is needful for their gratification, production and distribution should be divided into many branches, and these again be separated into many divisions. For the greater the division of labour, under certain limitations, the higher is the degree to which any of the qualities of the members can be carried, by the exclusive attention devoted to their developement. The division of labour, says Adam Smith, so far as it can be introduced, occasions in every art a proportionable increase of the productive powers of labour. The separation of different trades and employments from one another, seems to have taken place in consequence of this advantage. This separation, too, is generally carried farthest in those countries which enjoy the highest degree of industry and improvement; what is the work of one man, in a rude state of society, being generally that of several in an improved one. (*Wealth of Nations.*) The not very complicated business of making a ship-block, says Mr. Gray, requires, by the old method of the various operations being performed by one man, from two to three hours' labour; while, by the almost miraculous powers of the extensive division of employment, aided by proper machinery, the same effect is produced in the Portsmouth dockyard in the incredibly short space of two or three minutes. (*Social System.*)

PRODUCTION.

16. Had mankind from the creation lived according to the divine will, it cannot be doubted men's whole existence would have been one uninterrupted scene of enjoyment. Although this is not now the case, a high degree of felicity yet remains for us, if we make the best use of the means within our power. This will be most compendiously attained, by production being exclusively directed to those things which best promote men's corporeal, intellectual, and moral welfare. Such as have not this tendency, mankind are better without, all the labour devoted to their acquisition being mis-spent time; and whilst the productive powers of society are uncontrolled by a government, it cannot but happen, in a less or greater degree, that men's powers are misapplied.

17. A primary association will be best constituted, by allowing a sufficient number of persons for the non-productive class; and by the productive class attending to the soil, climate, &c., of their country, and so aiming at managing the natural riches under their command, as to produce what is sufficient for home consumption as well as for exportation, that by the latter they may be enabled to import such foreign productions as may be required; care being taken that all, as far as possible, 'use this world as not abusing it:'—the greater the quantity of wealth produced, and the more equitably it is interchanged, the greater will be the general prosperity. The quantity of land employed in any other way than that which is most suitable for providing food, clothing, and habitation for the population, so that their corporeal, intellectual, and moral faculties may be brought to the highest state of perfection of which they are susceptible, is so much land lost; and the combination of labour and land being the sole source of wealth, if the labour is not associated so perfectly as it might be, the land can never produce all the good it is capable of affording, from the attention of mankind not being properly directed to the cultivation of the best productions, in the best manner. Hence, besides the privation to society of the blessings it might enjoy, from the right cultivation of the faculties of many of its members, it experiences the total loss of others, by a less number being called into existence, than would be born under a right system.

18. Polybius tells us, says Dr. Wallace, that there was such a plenty of provisions in the north of Italy, in his time, that a traveller was well entertained at an inn with all the necessaries he wanted, and seldom paid more than a quarter of an obolus, less than one third of a penny sterling. How cheap and abundant must provisions have been; and how easily

might a family have been maintained in such a situation! And how easily might a family be maintained still; what a prodigious quantity of food might be raised, and how cheap would provisions be in Great Britain, were all, or the greatest part of those who are at present employed in procuring ornaments, as industrious in raising grain and breeding cattle, as they are in providing toys and administering to luxury. The world in general must have fewer or more inhabitants, in proportion as luxury and a delicate taste, or as simplicity of manners prevails, and as the arts necessary for providing food are less or more industriously cultivated. The number of people, in every country, depends greatly on its political maxims and institutions, concerning the divisions of the lands. (*On the Numbers of Mankind.*) In most parts of Switzerland, sumptuary laws are or were in force, to banish every thing that had the appearance of excess. No dancing was allowed except on particular occasions; silk, lace, and several other articles of luxury, were totally prohibited in some of the cantons; and even the head-dress of the ladies was subject to regulations.

19. The commodities, says another writer, that substantially contribute to the subsistence of the human species, form a very short catalogue: they demand from us but a slender portion of industry. If the labour necessarily required to produce them, were equitably divided among the poor; and, still more, if it were equally divided among all, each man's share of labour would be light, and his portion of leisure would be ample. There was a time when this leisure would have been of small comparative value; it is to be hoped, that the time will come, when it will be applied to the most important purposes. Those hours which are not required for the production of the necessaries of life, may be devoted to the cultivation of the understanding, the enlarging our stock of knowledge, the refining our taste, and thus opening to us new and more exquisite sources of enjoyment. A state of cultivated equality is that state, which in speculation and theory appears most consonant to the nature of man, and most conducive to the extensive diffusion of felicity. (*Wm. Godwin.*) Guthrie, speaking of the Pelew islanders, says, that except a few rupacks, there is but little subordination of rank. The equality of station which appears among them, and ignorance of those luxuries which civilization introduces, proves no inconsiderable source of their happiness: human nature here shines in most amiable colours; men appear as brethren; uninformed, and unenlightened, they grasp at nothing more than competency and health. Linked together as in one common cause, they mutually support each other: courteous, affable, gentle, and humane, their little state is cemented in bonds of perfect harmony. (*Guthrie's Geog. and Univ. Hist.*)

20. Political economists, says Combe, have never dreamt that the world is arranged on the principle of supremacy of the moral sentiments and intellect, and consequently, that, to render man happy, his leading pursuits must be such as will exercise and gratify these powers; and that his life will necessarily be miserable, if devoted entirely to the production of wealth. They have proceeded on the notion that the accumulation of wealth is the *summum bonum;* but all history teaches that national happiness does not increase in proportion to national riches; and until they shall perceive and teach, that intelligence and morality are the foundation of all lasting prosperity, they will never interest the great body of mankind, nor give a valuable direction to their efforts. If the views contained in the present essay be sound, it will become a leading object with future masters, to demonstrate the necessity of civilized man limiting his physical and increasing his moral and intellectual occupations, as the only means of saving himself from ceaseless punishment, under the natural laws. The idea of men in general being taught natural philosophy, anatomy, and physiology, political economy, and the other sciences that expound the natural laws, has been sneered at as utterly absurd and ridiculous. But I would ask, in what occupations are human beings so urgently engaged, that they have no leisure to bestow on the study of the Creator's laws? (*Constitution of Man.*) It is therefore impolitic in a government to allow its people too intently to follow unwholesome occupations, particularly those which require confinement in close factories, to prepare goods for foreign nations, when they might be better employed in the agricultural or other improvement of their own country; for, although one nation should be equally anxious for the welfare of another as for its own, all men being brothers; yet, as a nation can only control its own concerns, and not interfere with the internal concerns of another, the proper provision for its own sons is clearly its paramount duty.

21. Secondary associations should therefore be formed for the necessary branches and divisions of production, as well as for those matters in which the non-productive classes are concerned; and every member should be desirous of attaining that situation, where his peculiar qualities may be brought most beneficially into operation (*Mat.* xxv. 15; 1 *Cor.* vii. 7.); thus following the example of the Divine Being, who has 'set the members every one of them in the' corporeal 'body, as it hath pleased him,' how incomparably to its advantage need not be insisted on. Every work is thus executed in the best manner and with the least labour. Plutarch, speaking of the public edifices and other works of the Athenians, says, that every art had a number of the lower people ranged in proper subordi-

nation to execute it, like soldiers under the command of a general. Thus, by the exercise of these different trades, was plenty diffused among persons of every rank and condition: thus were works raised of an astonishing magnitude, and inimitable beauty and perfection; every architect striving to surpass the magnificence of the design by the elegance of the execution; and yet, after all, the most wonderful circumstance was, the expedition with which they were completed;—many edifices, each of which seems to have required the labour of several successive ages, were finished during the administration of a single man. (*Life of Pericles.*) The experience of every age and of every nation has proved, says Mr. Gray, that a man can no more fix himself in that particular station of life, which is best suited either to his individual interest, or to the collective interest of society, without the aid of a directing power to regulate the proceedings of the whole society, than can a bar of iron convert itself into a spring, or wheel, or screw. To be industrious is nothing: we must work with, instead of against our fellows, before we can work effectually, either for their interest or for our own. (*Social System.*) The rapid production of wealth is further attained, by the associations being formed for all purposes in reference to localities: thus, it would be obviously unwise to establish an extensive iron foundry at a great distance from any place where fuel or ore was obtainable. From attention to these things, all that is beautiful in society proceeds.—The greater the perfection the qualities of all arrive at, the greater, obviously, may be the happiness attainable by all; or, in other words, the same means which render every man most beneficial to others, increases also the sum of his own enjoyments. Thus, while we are incapable of maintaining even the most miserable state of existence singly, by rightly associating, we attain all that can make us happy both in time and eternity. The greater the number of members, the more varied are their qualities; and as they can only act in association, the more powerfully, as the numbers increase, can the qualities of all be educed; from which it results, that, all other things being equal, the more numerous the members of a primary association, the more powerful, the richer, the wiser, the better, and the happier does it collectively, and therefore individually become. It may indeed be urged, that as we find men in real life, many from their misconduct are incapable of being the sources of much happiness to their associates; this results not from the capacity of educing good being denied to them by Heaven, but from the abuse of its precious gifts; and this objection may obviously be made, whatever the numbers of an association are, as is remarkably exemplified in the family of Adam. (*Gen.* iv. 8.)

22. All men are alike in having their peculiar qualities, and

in every state of society they retain the original principles of their nature. Thus, man is to a certain extent the same, in all countries and ages. A modern Londoner differs not materially from an Athenian of the time of Paul, nor from an inhabitant of the Antipodes at the present day. The character of each individual arises from his idiosyncrasy,—the state of the society in which he moves,—his mode of associating with it,—and above all, the intercourse between himself and the Divine Being. And as the attainments of each member are dependent on the state of the whole association, and his position in it, so, necessarily, as we have just intimated; the state of the assocation as a whole, is dependent on the conduct of its members; thus 'the body is one, and hath many members; and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body.' If any doubt the influence men have on each other, here insisted on, or that every man is made what he is by association, what, it may be asked, would have been the fate of such men as Newton, Locke, and Milton, if they had lived and died in the midst of some primary associations, in the interior of Africa? And, on the same principle, how, it may be farther asked, would a merchant be enriched, if all the members of the association to which he belonged were in a state of pauperism?

23. A philosopher (says a writer quoted by Dr. Robertson) will satisfy himself with observing, that the characters of nations depend on the state of society in which they live, and on the political institutions established among them; and that the human mind, whenever it is placed in the same situation, will, in ages the most distant, and countries the most remote, assume the same form and be distinguished by the same manners. (*View of the Progress of Society in Europe.*) Perhaps, of the last century, says Mr. Hodgskin, there is no man who stands higher as a philosopher and a mechanic, than James Watt; but he was indebted, for most of his scientific and mechanical knowledge, for every thing indeed which constituted his talents, and which contributed to his glorious success, to his having been born in Britain, in the eighteenth century. It is not enough for an individual to be endowed with genius and talents, if the circumstances of society do not offer the means of applying them. Although Mr. Watt may have found it necessary to instruct workmen for his particular views, yet he must have met with a vast deal of practical manual skill, ready formed to his hands, which needed only some peculiar direction, or he could not have succeeded in manufacturing his own inventions. The influence of society over every individual mind, is paramount to all other things. As the world grows older, and as men increase and multiply, there is a constant, natural, and necessary tendency to an increase in their knowledge; and, consequently, in their productive powers. It was amidst the populous cities of ancient

Greece, and not among the few wandering tribes of the Desert, that the arts, both for creating wealth, and adorning existence, were, in the old world, cultivated with such singular success. It was in the populous cities of modern Italy, of Holland, and of Germany, that the arts again sprang up in the middle ages. The discovery of America, by supplying Europe with many desirable commodities, and by providing it with a large market, has probably added, on the whole, upwards of fifty millions of people to the mass of human beings communicating with each other. Since that event, there can be no doubt, that the inhabitants, both of Europe and America, have made a very great progress in a knowledge of all the useful arts. There is in the Universe a necessity to labour; a universal stimulus for all men to exert those natural faculties, with which all are endowed. Our faculties, under the influence of this stimulus, and the influence of increasing population, lead to all those grand, and sublime, and beneficial consequences, which we call, in one comprehensive word—civilization. (*Popular Pol. Econ.*)

24. The impossibility of the faculties of any advancing, but in the ratio of those of the association to which they belong, will be illustrated by the following account of the state of society in Egypt. If, says Mr. W. R. Wilson, the condition of the inhabitants of Alexandria is revolting to human nature, I did not find that of the citizens of Rosetta in any degree better. Their garb, in general, is that of beggary in its most offensive form; some of them had merely a ragged blanket covering their naked bodies. The habitations correspond with the filth and wretchedness of their personal appearance, and many were clearing themselves of vermin. To attempt any circumstantial description of some of the woful spectacles I witnessed here, would only create disgust. It would be a task altogether difficult, to describe the deplorable appearance of the dark mud huts which compose the several villages, and the singular state of wretchedness of the natives all along the banks of the Nile. These hovels may be held as the very quintessence of misery; many of them are without windows, and positively like dog-kennels, with an opening by way of door, that cannot be entered without stooping; and they are situated on an elevation, to afford protection from the overflowing of the waters. As to their inhabitants, the females are most hideous and frightful spectacles; having a handkerchief about the head, and only a loose coarse blue night-gown thrown round the body, and so low as to enable every motion of the limbs to be distinctly perceived; a long black cloth or veil conceals most part of the face from public gaze; this, which is called a vizor, has an aperture for the eyes, is drawn to and fro like a curtain, and the part in front of the mouth is embrowned with saliva. No stockings are used, but the feet are encased in slippers. Many were washing

their miserable rags in the water, sprinkling them with mud, and beating them as if in a passion, when they exercised a particular degree of caution in hiding every part of the countenance. (*Travels in the Holy Land*, &c.)

25. In opposition to this state, let any one imagine himself belonging to such an association as we have described. Whatever mode of conduct might be pursued among the Egyptians, a number could by no possibility escape a very considerable degree of unhappiness, and scarcely avoid acting viciously; precisely the reverse being the case, in that state of society where all are prosperous and happy. Nothing, therefore, can be more obvious, than that, as association approximates to the worst or the best state, in the same degree necessarily, must the condition of its parts or members. How devoutly, then, is it to be wished, that all should so comport themselves, as that the highest degree of felicity may be educed to all; or that human nature may make a constant progression in wisdom, and virtue, and happiness.

26. Having thus briefly considered what are the just principles of Production, or how the largest quantity of wealth may be accumulated, let us direct our attention to its

DISTRIBUTION:

This will be best effected by the produce being as much as possible taken from the place where it is made, to that where it is to be consumed. By a judicious arrangement of habitation, little carriage of agricultural produce would be necessary. The smaller the quantity of labour required for distribution, the more will of course remain for production; and it seems worthy the attention of political economists, whether much labour is not lost in taking very long sea voyages, more frequently than is requisite for the benefit of mankind. The formation of roads and canals, or of easy methods of communication between different parts of a country, says Mr. M'Culloch, contributes powerfully to facilitate commercial operations. The great workshops, for so we may truly call Manchester, Leeds, Birmingham, Sheffield, Glasgow, Paisley, &c., with which Great Britain is studded, could not exist without improved roads and canals: but while the latter enable their inhabitants to obtain all the bulky products of the soil and the mines, almost as cheap as if they lived in the country; and give them the means of carrying on their employments on a large scale, and of perfecting and subdividing every branch of industry, they also afford the means of distributing their productions throughout the country, at an extremely small advance of price. (*Princip. Pol. Econ.*)

27. Distribution will be illustrated by the mode practised

among us. By the multiplication of those secondary associations, commonly called retail shops, a considerable loss of labour arises. If business was so arranged, that customers to them would go at fixed times only, whereby all the persons in those shops might have constant employment, one fourth possibly of the number of such persons would suffice. This would be yet more compendiously attained, by putting several of the same description of shops into one; thus, suppose, in a country town, there are four of each of the following; i. e. drapers', grocers', and butchers' shops, the twelve might be reduced to three. The facility with which goods may be distributed, can perhaps be no where better seen, than in the extensive establishments of Messrs. Leaf and Co., of the Old Change; and Messrs. Morrison and Co., Fore Street, London. Each of these houses, with about one hundred and fifty persons, are said annually to distribute about a million and a half sterling worth of the lighter kinds of silk, cotton, and worsted goods.

28. The loss occurring to the classes not concerned in distribution, by its not being managed in the best manner, thus appears: suppose on cotton goods, the importer of the raw produce gets five per cent; the wholesale distributor of the manufactured article, ten per cent; the retail shopkeeper, fifteen per cent. Here we have thirty per cent paid for distribution alone, exclusive of the cost of carriage; perhaps, however, the three profits just mentioned may sometimes not in the aggregate, exceed twenty per cent. To the poor man, who with a family gets, suppose but ten shillings weekly, thirty, or even fifteen per cent on the value of any goods he uses is a serious drawback, making, on the amount purchased in the latter case, even, a reduction equivalent to about one day's earnings in six. This, however, does not always apply to all kinds of produce; as, in the case of an agricultural labourer, much of his food passes immediately from his master, the grower, to himself. The cost of distribution operates with peculiar pressure on those whose earnings are small, in large towns.

29. But a desire to distribute most effectively, or indeed too much to reduce the whole quantity of human labour required for production and distribution, may be carried to excess. As to not a few among mankind, it seems almost necessary they should have a certain quantity of manual labour to perform; if beneficial on no other account, than that of keeping them from mischief.

30. The labour of every one should procure sufficient to bring his or her corporeal, intellectual, and moral faculties to perfection. To suppose the contrary, is to imagine the Divine Being has given them capacities, without the means of developing them, though they bestow all their labour for the purpose; the impiety of which is too manifest to need insisting on. Conse-

quently, though some may appear to have, or may really have, less corporeal or mental strength than others, it is no sufficient ground for their having less than they require; as each member may be employed advantageously for the primary association; some filling the humbler situations with content, which they might not do, if their talents were greater. That the gifts of all should be fully developed, is obvious from considering, that besides its being necessary for the happiness of men in their present state of existence, this state is only the commencement of that more extended one they have to enter after this life: and none can tell the posts that may be assigned them therein. Indeed, all human power is incompetent to calculate the influence any single person whatever may have on his fellow men, even here; and no man's capacity can be evinced, unless he has the fullest means for developing it. We may be assured, that however men may cultivate their talents here, the wisest and best of them will, on their entrance into another state of being, be far less competent rightly to fill their destinies, than they ought to be.

31. To any one who impugns what is here advanced, we ask,—'Who maketh thee to differ from another? and what hast thou, that thou didst not receive? Now, if thou didst receive it, why dost thou glory, as if thou hadst not received it?' 'Neither is he that planteth any thing, neither he that watereth, but God that giveth the increase.' 'A man can receive nothing, except it be given him from Heaven' 'Every good gift, and every perfect gift, is from above; and cometh down from the Father of lights.' 'As every one hath received the gift, even so minister the same one to another, as good stewards of the manifold grace of God.' 'Unto whomsoever much is given, of him shall be much required, and to whom men have committed much, of him they will ask the more.' 'The members should,' therefore, as has been intimated, 'have the same care one for another. And whether one member suffer, all the members suffer with it; or one member be honoured, all the members rejoice with it.' That this is the interest of all, is also apparent from considering, that by the constitution of society we are now treating of, such would be the vast afflux of wealth accruing, that, so far from their being any occasion for some to desire to curtail their neighbours' allowance; the greatest danger to be apprehended would be, that from the universal exuberance generated, men would fall into licentiousness.

32. If, however, any will not work, neither shall he eat; and for this, or any other misconduct, be dealt with according to law.

33. And the prosperity of the association will obviously augment, as the governors and the governed have a holy rivalry, as to which shall most advance the happiness of the whole; and,

consequently, the love of all its members for each other, and the Most High, who is the Centre of the Great Association of the Universe. All, as we have said, thus humbly endeavouring to do all to his glory, all ever remembering, that 'Except the Lord build the house, they labour in vain that build it; except the Lord keep the city, the watchman waketh but in vain.' 'Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the heaven, and in the earth, is thine: thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted, as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all: and in thine hand is power and might; and in thine hand it is, to make great, and to give strength unto all.'

34. An association governed on the principles here laid down, would surpass any that has ever appeared since the creation; history, as far as we are acquainted with it, being silent on any at all approximating to it.

35. Bishop Butler seems to have had some idea of such a one. We shall see, says he, the happy tendency of virtue, by imagining an instance, not so vast and remote; by supposing a kingdom or society of men upon it, perfectly virtuous for a succession of many ages, to which, if you please, may be given a situation advantageous for universal monarchy. In such a state, there would be no such thing as faction, but men of the greatest capacity would, of course, all along have the chief direction of affairs willingly yielded to them; and they would share it among themselves without envy. Each of these, would have the part assigned to him, to which his genius was peculiarly adapted; and others who had not any distinguished genius, would be safe, and think themselves very happy by being under the protection and guidance of those who had. Public determinations would really be the result of the united wisdom of the community, and they would faithfully be executed by the united strength of it. Some would in a higher way contribute, but all would in some way contribute to the public prosperity; and in it each would enjoy the fruits of his own virtue. And as injustice, whether by fraud or force, would be unknown among themselves, so they would be sufficiently secured from it in their neighbours; for cunning and false self-interest, confederacies in injustice, ever slight and accompanied with faction and intestine treachery,—these, on the one hand, would be found mere childish folly and weakness, when set in opposition against wisdom, public spirit, union inviolable, and fidelity on the other; allowing both a sufficient length of years to try their force.

36. Add the general influence, which such a kingdom would have over the face of the earth, by way of example particularly, and the reverence which would be paid it. It would plainly be superior to all others, and the world must gradually come under

its empire; not by means of lawless violence, but partly by what must be allowed to be just conquest, and partly by other kingdoms submitting themselves voluntarily to it, throughout a course of ages, and claiming its protection, one after another, in successive exigencies. The head of it would be an universal monarch, in another sense than any mortal has yet been; and the eastern style would be literally applicable to him, that all people, nations, and languages, should serve him. And though, indeed, our knowledge of human nature, and the whole history of mankind, show the impossibility, without some miraculous interposition, that a number of men here on earth should unite in one society or government, in the fear of God, and universal practice of virtue, and that such a government should continue so united for a succession of ages; yet, admitting or supposing this, the effect would be as now drawn out. And thus, for instance, the wonderful power and prosperity, promised to the Jewish nation in the Scripture, would be in a great measure the consequence of what is predicted of them.—Thy people 'shall be all righteous, they shall inherit the land for ever.'—(*Analogy of Religion, Part I. Chap.* 3.)

37. That such a state of things as we have been depicting, is not to be expected, is abundantly evident, but this altogether arises from the wickedness of mankind. Butler's assertion, of the impossibility of its existence, "without some miraculous interposition," may therefore be questioned; because, as one man may be righteous, another may, and consequently all others. To deny this, is to affirm that vice necessarily exists of divine appointment, for which no Christian, we suppose will be found to contend; and the more so, when he remembers, he is thus admonished by his Lord: Be ye 'perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect.' And all mankind being under the same law, whatever imperfection can be supposed allowable by Heaven, on the part of any one man, is necessarily so on that of all men. There is therefore no reason, but the wickedness of mankind, why all nations of the world should not associate according to the divine will. If the mode that has been pointed out, is in accordance with that will, the productive powers of the whole world should be brought under one head. As to this, there obviously exists no difficulty in appointing an association of commercial agents, to hold their meetings in some convenient place, all nations being by this means properly represented.—(*Zech.* xiv. 9.) Their intercourse might be so regulated, that, instead of competing and oppressing, they might educe nothing but benefits to each other. Dr. Price speaks of a similar assembly for preserving peace. Let, says he, a general confederacy be formed by the appointment of a senate, consisting of representatives from all the different states. Let this senate possess the power of managing all the common concerns

of the united states, and of judging and deciding between them as a common arbiter or umpire in all disputes. Thus might the scattered force and abilities of a whole continent be gathered into one point, all litigations settled as they rose, universal peace preserved, and nation prevented from any more lifting up a sword against nation.—(*Obs. on Civil Liberty.*)

38. The power of primary associations depends on,—

The quantity, quality, and situation, of the land under the control of an association.

The number of the associates.

The union existing between themselves.

And, more than all besides, the union existing between the associates, both individually and collectively, and the Divine Being.

39. Nothing is said about the accumulation of wealth, because this, however small, or however great, is not of the least moment. By rightly associating, if it was possible to commence from the extremest poverty, the accumulation would be almost incalculably rapid and great. The principal danger to be apprehended, is, that it would be too great.

40. I will confess, says Mr. Gray, my total inability to comprehend, how, in the present very advanced state of productive science, there could be any such thing as unmerited poverty, or any thing the least resembling it, in any civilized nation upon the earth. Future ages will look back with astonishment upon the miserable ignorance of the present generation, upon this all important subject. If we continue to suffer from the existing commercial errors of society, it is our own fault. England has only to be made acquainted with the immensity of her own strength, to spring as it were in an instant from the very depths of poverty and wretchedness, into the heights of prosperity and commercial happiness. All she requires is to let loose her enormous powers of production, which are now tied and bound by the chain of commercial error.—(*Social System.*)

41. These observations on Perfect Association may be closed with some remarks of Mr. D'Israeli. It seems, says he, to be the fate of all originality of thinking, to be immediately opposed; a contemporary is not prepared for its comprehension, and too often cautiously avoids it, from the prudential motive which turns away from a new and solitary path. Bacon was not at all understood at home, in his own day;—his reputation, for it was not celebrity, was confined to his History of Henry the Seventh, and his Essays. It was long after his death, before English writers ventured to quote Bacon as an authority; and with equal simplicity and grandeur, Bacon called himself "the servant of posterity."—(*On the Literary Character.*)

CHAP. IV.

IMPERFECT ASSOCIATION.

1. This differs from perfect association, inasmuch as the different secondary associations for production and distribution, &c., are not under the control of the government: but all competition and oppression are by the constitution itself utterly excluded. Here all the members have an equal share of the political right, and thence the property in the land. The government being appointed as we have already seen. How the land is to be divided, will be considered in the Second Part.

2. The most eligible mode for the formation of the secondary associations here, seems to be, for such persons, as are not singly or otherwise occupied in a suitable manner, to unite for the purpose of forming associations, in the various branches and divisions of production, as far as possible, in the manner that will be most conducive to their own and the general good; as these things must ever be inseparable, due attention being of course paid to the peculiar qualities of each individual: and the members of each association electing from among themselves, some proper person or persons to conduct their affairs. And all having, as we have said, a right to property in the land, and thus possessing both the sources of wealth within themselves,—however humbly they might commence, they could not fail, with a moderate degree of industry and frugality, very rapidly to realize, under the divine blessing, sufficient wealth to enable them to prosecute their occupations in the most powerful manner. But this would of course be dependent on the prevalence of justice, mercy, and unanimity, among the members of each association, and the different associations of the various branches and divisions; and the humility of the members of all of them towards Heaven. According to the present constitution of things with us, wealth is divided among three classes,—*Landlords, Capitalists,* and *Labourers.* If, then, one hundred men are associated, and they are able to produce or distribute raw or manufactured goods, are they not also competent to apply all the profit thence arising, advantageously among themselves?—What can these hundred persons want of such utterly useless animals as mere landlords or capitalists, who assist neither in producing nor distributing, but simply absorb wealth, without rendering for it the slightest equivalent?

3. A number of secondary associations can of course unite, and form a great secondary association, producing and distribut-

ing most or all it requires within itself. There may thus be a less or greater number of these great secondary associations in the same nation. This would undoubtedly be in many respects preferable to the neglecting to form such great secondary associations:—as, if this were not done, the various branches of production and distribution would be liable to very irregular influence, in the supply and demand of labour and produce; as will be shewn to arise when men viciously associate.

4. Under the constitution we are now considering, the gains should be equally or nearly equally divided, among the members of each association; instead of the present mode, whereby the conductors or masters, frequently absorb as much as a hundred of their servants or more.

5. This may appear to some paradoxical, but it must be remembered, first,—that where the greatest plenitude may be produced for all, for some to desire that others should be less wealthy than they are, is simply for the former, to desire to deprive the latter of that wealth, which can be of no conceivable benefit to themselves, and is therefore utterly opposed to the divine law. And, secondly,—that all men, in all ages, being under this holy law, what is lawful for one man is so for another. If then, any man can lawfully desire, by becoming a master or conductor, to engross to himself a larger share of the wealth, produced only by the united labours of all, any other may, and consequently all other men may desire the same; whereby we might have among the productive classes, all men, in all countries and all ages, trying to be masters: all wanting to engross a greater share of wealth than others; each, therefore, loving himself better than his neighbours, in contravention of the divine law, which thus directs every man: 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'—(*Luke* xxii. 25 to 27., xii. 36, 37.)

6. The constitution we are now considering, being without a government, to control the productive and other powers of a nation,—the members, it is obvious, cannot possibly fill those situations most adapted to their capacities; nor can the necessary attention be paid to locality, in forming the secondary associations; nor, indeed, can any of the business of production or distribution be most effectively carried on. Under the perfect constitution, to will, and to carry to completion, all works, whether small or great, is without difficulty;—as far as human ability can go, humbly imitating the divine power, which decreed, 'Let there be light, and there was light.'

7. In imperfect association, it is impossible that any member whatever, however large the numbers, and however he may be placed, can reciprocate so much good, as is attainable by perfect association. In the latter, any benefit conferred by any one member, in the way of instruction, discovery, &c., is immediately accessible to all; but here, the beneficial effects of these things

must necessarily be limited, from the want of the means by which alone, they are so easily, universally diffusable.

8. Whenever the true principles of legislation and political economy come to be understood, and reduced to practice, the great question as to the production and distribution of wealth must be, how, under the divine blessing, to apply the powers of men, so that a *plentitude may be produced for all; yet without its being so great as to lead to licentiousness.*

9. The grand question now to be solved, says a writer of the present day, is, not how a sufficiency of wealth can be produced;—but how the excess of riches which may be most easily created, may be generally distributed throughout society, advantageously for all.—(*Mr. Owen.*)

10. If any object that what is here proposed, is to a less or greater degree impracticable, from the waywardness of mankind, all that we can possibly have to do with this, is to lament it. Our province is simply to endeavour to elicit the truth, and all that we can be chargeable with, is the failing to discover more of it, or mistaking error for it. Anxious endeavours have been used to avoid both. Whilst few things are more easy, than to guide all the members of an association to the attainment of the very highest plentitude of prosperity, if all are anxious to know and practise their duty; i. e., by uniting them in the mode pointed out in the last chapter, nothing is so difficult, as to induce even a few to know and practise the divine will.

11. The whole of the law of God is, as we have seen, comprehended in one word,—Love. Upon the entire freedom of the will, therefore, must ever be dependent all law, be it divine or human. If this freedom is altogether destroyed, men must either be rendered wholly incapable of action, or irresistibly impelled by a higher power. In the one case, they are deprived of existence. In the other, they are reduced to mere machines. Consequently, they could neither act righteously, nor unrighteously; nor be liable to reward or punishment. And if this may be affirmed, of the total destruction of the freedom of the will, it may of that which controls such will, precisely in the degree the constraint is exercised. Nothing, then, can be more obvious, than that the perfect freedom of the will is necessary for the suitable obedience of the law of love. And it is thus the foundation of all moral obligation, of all that can make men happy in time or eternity! This may be otherwise expressed, thus—if we imagine a being under an irresistible necessity of doing some, and leaving other things undone, this necessity certainly cannot extend to the divine affection of love; because this only can be well pleasing to the object of it, from the consideration that it is perfectly voluntary on the part of the agent. The being endowed with the liberty of choosing good or evil is therefore nccessarily inseparable from our constitution, because

without it we could neither have loved God nor each other. Or in other words, if we had been placed, under an invincible necessity of acting in some particular manner, and no other, we could not have rendered to the Almighty the voluntary homage of our affections, which alone is well pleasing to him. Nor could our instrumentality in promoting the happiness of each other, be grateful to our fellow creatures; because our actions arising from necessity, would by that circumstance alone, be deprived of all that can impart delight.

12. Nothing, therefore, but a vigorous determination on the part of each individual, aided by divine grace, (*John* xv. 5.) will enable men to love God and each other as they should. And though the assistance of Heaven is never wanting when properly sought, the desire to seek it unhappily too often is; whence arises all the sin and misery that have in all ages deluged the world. These observations are remarkably exemplified in the case of the Hebrews,—to adopt the language of their lawgiver:—'Behold,' says he, 'I have taught you statutes and judgments, even as the Lord my God commanded me, that ye should do so in the land whither ye go to possess it. Keep, therefore, and do them; for this is your wisdom and your understanding, in the sight of the nations, which shall hear all these statutes; and say,—surely this great nation is a wise and understanding people. For what nation is there so great, who hath God so nigh unto them, as the Lord our God is, in all things that we call upon him for? And what nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous, as all this law, which I set before you this day?'—In sad opposition, however, to all this, what nation do we hear of, either in ancient or modern history, that so emphatically evinces, the best institutions will not necessarily, and of themselves, oblige a people to perform their duty, in the sight of Heaven?

13. Some idea of the difference, between what human association is, according to the will of men, and what it should be, according to the will of God, may be obtained from the following considerations. However great may be the number, that compose the grand association of the whole world, and for however many generations it may be continued; even though including the whole human race, from the creation to the consummation of all things—if properly constituted—there never could have been a single thought of the mind, of any one of all the inconceivable multitude, that composed the association; but what should have been formed, through the assistance of the Holy Spirit: 'for as many as are led by the Spirit of God, they are the sons of God.' If, then, we look at the holiest among men, and as far as human eye can scan, consider for how small a portion of their lives even they are truly 'led by the Spirit of God;'—and remember, also, how the rest of mankind comport

themselves, we may form a very inadequate idea of the difference between what human association, as designed by GOD, with himself AT ITS HEAD, AND DIRECTING ALL ITS OPERATIONS, would be—and what it is become, through the wickedness of man. (2 *Cor.* xiii. 14.) Its wretched state is not however perceived by the generality of mankind, from their not properly directing their attention to the matter. (*Acts* xxviii. 27.)

14. Could men be prevailed on to maintain that union with Heaven, so unspeakably important to them, they would be secure from all ills! Whilst they neglect it, they cannot but be obnoxious to them. The apprehension, therefore, that by perfect association, the plenty generated, would seduce men, unassisted by divine grace, into licentiousness; (*Prov.* i. 32. *Ezek.* xvi. 49.) leads us to consider, that though this constitution appears to be the only one which truly accords with the divine will, imperfect association is that alone which is suitable for mankind: i. e., *because they will not live according to the will of God.*—To limit the good designed by heaven, is however, all that can be done; that men ought not viciously to associate must be obvious, and will be more fully evinced in the following chapter.

CHAP. V.

VICIOUS ASSOCIATION.

A long period has elapsed, since my mind was first impressed with the belief, that there exists in the heart and vitals of society, some deeply rooted but concealed disease: and continued reflection upon the subject has only tended to confirm and strengthen the opinion. (*The Social System, by John Gray.*)

That savage tribes, ignorant of the means of production, disinclined to labour, should be overtaken by want, were a matter of surprise; but that, where art and nature had run as it were a race of emulation, in the prodigality of their gifts, to intelligent and industrious millions; that these millions should be disenabled from enjoying the products of their own creation,—this is the mystery, —this the astounding spectacle. (*Inquiry into the Distribution of Wealth, by W. Thompson.*)

The greatest evils in society arise from mankind being trained in principles of disunion. (*Mr. Owen.*)

1. IT appears in fact to be of opinion, says one of the writers just quoted, that the general plan of society is founded upon some immutable basis, some unalterable law of nature; and that, therefore, to purge it of a few corruptions, is all that is necessary to make it go on smoothly, and as well as we have any right or reason to expect. But this is a fatal error, a disease as dreadful as it is extensive; it is the paralysis of society, which

benumbs and deadens all our exertions, and renders us the willing slaves of a condition, which we possess the power of improving in a most extraordinary degree. (*The Social System.*) Perhaps, says an American writer, no study of the day which bears the name of science, presents more vague theory, grave mysterious empiricism, dull prolixity, inconsequential arguments, gratuitous assumptions, jejune discussions, and elaborate triviality, [than political economy]. There are many useful truths which pass under its name, but a large proportion of the treatises, from that of Adam Smith downwards, by the disciples of his school; seem to bear the same relation to an intelligible, practicable developement, of the causes and phenomena of national growth, wealth, and decline, that alchemy does to modern chemistry. (*Ency. Amer. Art. Pol. Econ.*)

2. We have seen that *all opposition among men is unlawful in the sight of God.* To suppose for a moment that any can be necessary, is a reflection on his wisdom, power, and goodness; for how can it be imagined, that in a constitution of things, where nothing can be done but by association,—where every thing depends on the power derivable from association being directed to proper objects;—yet a certain degree of opposition is necessary to the well-being of such association. What more direct contraries can be imagined? Are the north and south,—light and darkness,—vice and virtue,—love and hatred,—heaven and hell, more contrary to each other, than association and opposition?

3. It is from the formation of unlawful associations that opposition is generated; and these unlawful associations, in reference to men's productive powers, are of two kinds; political and commercial.

4. Under the perfect or imperfect modes, no unlawful associations being formed, all opposition is excluded.

5. According to the vicious mode, a part of the nation to the exclusion of the remainder, engrosses the political right, and thence the land; and thus we have an unlawful political association.

6. This necessarily gives rise throughout a nation to unlawful commercial associations, the members of which, in their collective or individual capacities, oppress one another, or compete with one another.

7. And thus opposition every where exists. Vicious association, therefore, may be called opposition association.

8. Here the productive powers of men and the land are sometimes uncontrolled by the government. In certain nations that viciously associate, we find all the land, and all the labour, controlled by the government.

9. To unfold the nature of commercial opposition, is now our business, reminding the reader, that the Great Creator did not

ordain human association; that, in a nation, one set of wretches might engross the whole political right, and through that, the property in the land; and, in consequence of this, that another set of wretches might oppress one another, and compete with one another: and thus, through the combined operation of political spoliation, land-engrossing, oppression, and competition, cause unrighteousness to flow through the country as a mighty stream; and while men make shipwreck of their temporal welfare, their eternal happiness is greatly endangered or altogether lost. Human association was designed by the Most High, for entirely opposite purposes: namely, that from the impossibility of living out of it, justice, mercy, and humility, might be the governing principles of men's conduct; and by the operation of these, under the divine blessing, that men might educe nothing but good to each other, nothing but love to one another, and their heavenly Father; whereby their temporal well-being suitably prepares them for their eternal. Hence, as no man can live out of a primary association, all are 'members one of another;' or, as it may be otherwise expressed, it has 'many members, yet but one body.' We have now, however, to behold these members one of another; acting, throughout their whole lives, as though *they were not members one of another;* in other words, as though all had independent interests.

10. In consequence of laws made in direct contravention of the will of God, a few in a nation are allowed to engross the land; and hence, the many who are thus driven off it, are placed in one of two states of slavery; as, with regard to the land, there are only three positions in which men can stand.

Having a right to it, with all the rest of their fellows.

Having the right abstracted from them, and being placed in that state of slavery, where they may be bought and sold like bales of goods. In this state their owners provide them with whatever they subsist on.

Having the right to the land abstracted from them, and being placed in that state of slavery, where they must sell their labour for any price they can obtain for it; or subsist on alms, or starve. 'The foxes have holes, and the birds of the air have nests,' but the great bulk of mankind, from the unlawful abstraction of the land, 'have not where to lay' their heads. They must, however, exist, for 'all that a man hath, will he give for his life.'

11. That a being who cannot exist when separated from the land, when all control over such land and every part of it is taken from him, must be in a state of subjection to those who possess it, will, it is believed, not be disputed by any but those who are desirous of evincing, that they are suitable objects for a lunatic asylum. Whilst the property in the land is centered in every man, though it does not follow that men must necessarily associate in the most advantageous manner, it is obvious, that they not only need never be in a state of starvation, but they are not obliged to sell their labour at a very low price, as

having both the things from which all wealth emanates, i. e. land and labour; if they cannot obtain a suitable price for their labour, they may cultivate their own land, and thus obtain the means of subsistence. Nothing, says Mr. M'Culloch, is so much coveted by a poor man, as the possession of a small piece of ground. It secures him, so long as he possesses it, against falling a sacrifice to absolute want. It renders him in some measure his own master, and relieves him from the necessity of unremitting labour.—(*Princip. Pol. Econ.*)—Unquestionably, the only mode, under the divine blessing, whereby a nation can be most prosperous, is for a suitable number to devote themselves to agricultural pursuits, and the rest to the other branches and divisions of production, as well as to the non-productive offices of society.

12. Let it be supposed, that by the laws of any nation, made in contravention of the law of God, a man can make out a title to a million acres of land, but without being allowed the command of more labour than will cultivate enough for himself and family. If we assume that this is five acres, it is clear, all the rest of the million is of as little use to him, as so much land in the moon:—land without associated labour, not being worth possessing. If, then, it can for a moment be imagined, that in this and other countries, where the land is exclusively held by the few, such a state of things is in accordance with the divine will, it may be asked;—*Why the labour also is not allowed to be thus engrossed?* As the land and the labour must ever be inseparable, surely Heaven cannot permit a few to seize the former, without allowing them also to do the same as to the latter! When the famine mentioned in the book of Genesis raged in Egypt, the Egyptians thus addressed Joseph.—'We will not hide it from my lord, how that our money is spent; my lord also hath our herds of cattle; there is not ought left in the sight of my lord, but our bodies and our lands. Wherefore shall we die before thine eyes, both we and our land?—Buy us and our land for bread, and we and our land will be servants unto Pharoah; and give us seed that we may live and not die, that the land be not desolate. And Joseph bought all the land of Egypt for Pharoah, for the Egyptians sold every man his field; because the famine prevailed over them: so the land became Pharoah's.' The argument of the Egyptians was perfectly rational;—they of course knew, that labour and land were ever inseparable;—consequently, they could not part with the latter, unless the former went with it. The historian of Catherine of Russia tells us, that she gave Stachief, her resident at the court of Constantinople, the valuable, but in other countries, unheard-of gift, of a thousand peasants; a kind of gift which includes the land they cultivate and inhabit.—(*Life of Catherine II.*) Whe-

ther the soil or the thousand probationers for eternity, was considered by the giver and receiver as the more important, does not appear. No one will, we think, question that the Egyptians and Catherine understood matters far better than our government does. The land and labour are pretty well dissevered throughout the territories under its rule, except in the West India islands, where they are still united after the Russian fashion; but here, also, they are soon to be separated.

13. Of the two kinds of slavery into which men are thrown by the political right and the land being engrossed, it seems doubtful which is the worse. If men belong to a master, humane except in being a slave-holder, the state in which they may be sold and bought, is, perhaps, frequently preferable to that in which they are compelled to go to market constantly with their labour for sale. The class who are obliged to do this, have a master only when they can get one; the other is always sure of one; but the latter has not the liberty of changing its masters, which the former has. At the first annual meeting of the Labourers' Friends' Society, Lord Nugent, M.P., said the poor were pressed to the earth by poverty, want, and distress; and in a state but too generally to be witnessed, but which he should be sorry to be called upon to describe. In spite of the benefits of all the desirable institutions of the country, take the worst form of government in Europe, of which we think our own the best, yet the condition of the peasantry of every country was better than that of the peasantry of England.—(*Morning Herald, 20th Feb.* 1832.) At Jenne in Africa, says Rene Caillie, the rich traders deal in slaves, whom they send to Tafilet, and to other quarters, as Mogadore, Tunis, and Tripoli. I have seen men leading these unfortunate beings about the streets, and crying them for sale, at the rate of twenty-five, thirty, or forty thousand cowries, according to their age. I was grieved to see such an insult offered to human nature. Such of these poor creatures as I observed in the families of Moors, who all keep a considerable number of them, are not the most to be pitied; they are well fed, well clothed, and not hard worked: their lot would be preferable to that of the peasantry of some countries of Europe, if any thing could compensate them for the loss of liberty. (*As quoted in Bell's Geography, Glasgow,* 1831.) I have no hesitation in affirming, says Captain Cochrane, that the condition of the peasantry here (Russia), is far superior to that class in Ireland. In Russia, provisions are plentiful, good, and cheap; while in Ireland, they are scanty, poor, and dear; the best part being exported from the latter country, while the local impediments in the other render them not worth that expense.—(*Pedestrian Journey*).

14. The experience of all nations and ages, I believe, says Adam Smith, demonstrates that the work done by slaves, though it appears to cost only their maintenance, is, in the end, the dearest of any. A person who can acquire no property can have no other interest but to eat as much, and to labour as little as possible: whatever work he does beyond what is sufficient to purchase his own maintenance, can be squeezed out of him by violence only, and not by any interest of his own. In ancient Italy, how much the cultivation of corn degenerated, how unprofitable it became to the master, when it fell under the management of slaves, is remarked both by Pliny and Columella.—(*Wealth of Nations.*) Our author is here alluding to that state of slavery where men may be bought and sold. In the other state, multitudes of them in our times work by the piece, i.e. they are paid according to the quantity of work performed, and are thus effectually prevented from not doing enough in reference to the wages they receive.

15. The following examples will further evince the situations in which men are placed, from being deprived of their right to the land.

The English. — Here (at Carlisle), says a journalist, we have within a fraction of two thousand persons,—nearly one-ninth part of the entire population of the city,—the greater portion of whom, be it remembered, are in employment,—dragging on a miserable existence, upon a sum amounting, in the average, to less than one shilling each per week. This sum includes not only the earnings of the poor people themselves, but the amount of parish relief which is given to them. In one district there are living 624 individuals, whose average weekly income amounts to less than ten-pence each! Out of this pittance they have to pay for house-rent, for coals, candles, and clothing;—but what do we say? how can they be bought with such sums, when some slight deduction is made for such things, how, in the name of God, is life to be preserved by the remainder? This, we have said, is the condition of one-ninth part of the population of Carlisle. To describe the condition in which their dwellings were found, far surpasses the power of our pen. Want of health prevented us from personally visiting these abodes of misery; but persons engaged in the heart-rending task assure us—and we can fully rely upon their statements—that the appearance and condition of the people were beyond all conceptions, which they had formed of the degree of suffering, to which humanity may be reduced in a civilized country by poverty. Their wretched dwellings were, in many instances, almost entirely destitute of furniture of any kind; others were without fires; and several had not a bed, nor the semblance of a bed, to lie down upon. The inmates, in some of the houses which were visited in the evenings, they found huddled together

in a corner, without reference to age or sex, without even straw to lie upon, and with no other covering than the wretched rags which they had worn for clothes during the day. The stench issuing from many of the dwellings was almost insufferable, and in all cases, wretchedness appeared to have raised its awful throne, and to proclaim, "here I reign supreme!"—(*Carlisle Jonrnal.*)

16. The Irish in their own country.—It appears from evidence laid before a committee of the House of Commons, that in the year 1817, there were in Nicholson's Court, Dublin; 151 persons crowded into 28 small rooms,—of these 89 were unemployed, and there were only two bedsteads and two blankets in the whole court. In Barrack Street were 85 houses, the apartments in which were extremely crowded; 52 houses contained, in 390 rooms, 1318 persons, of whom 332 were adults out of employment; the greater part of whom were in extreme indigence. Church Street contained 181 houses, which were greatly more crowded than those in Barrack Street; in 71 houses of this street and the adjoining courts, no less than 1997 persons were lodged in 393 apartments; of these, 123 had been infected by fever within three months. There are many cellars in these houses which have no light but from the door—which, in several, is closed only by bundles of rags, vegetables, and other articles. In these cellars the people sleep on the floors, which are all earthen. The dress of the people is so wretched, that to a person who has not visited the country, it is almost inconceivable. Shoes or stockings are seldom to be seen on children, and often not on grown persons; the rags in which both men and women are clothed, are so worn and complicated, that it is hardly possible to imagine to what article of dress they have originally belonged; it has been observed, that the Irish poor never take off their clothes when they go to bed; but the fact is, that not only are they in general destitute of blankets, but if they once took off their clothes, it would be difficult to get them on again. Their dress is worn day and night till it literally falls to pieces, and even when it is first put on, it is usually cast off clothing, for there is not one cottager out of ten who ever gets a coat made for himself. A considerable trade has long been carried on from the west of Scotland to Ireland, consisting of the old clothes of the former country; and to those who know how long all ranks in Scotland wear their dress, there is no more convincing proof of the poverty of the latter country can be given.—(*Sup. Ency. Brit. Art. Ireland.*)

17. Thus much for their clothing; let us hear from another source about their habitations and food.—In Ireland, says Mr. M'Culloch, the peasantry live in miserable mud cabins, no better than the wigwams of the American Indians, without

either a window or a chimney.—On the first introduction of the potatoe in 1610, the peasantry, then very much degraded, and without any elevated notions of what was necessary for their comfortable subsistence, eagerly resorted to so cheap a species of food; and, owing to the unfortunate circumstances under which they have ever since been placed, they have never endeavoured to attain to any thing higher. Provided they have sufficient supplies of potatoes, *they are content to vegetate, for they cannot be said to live,* in rags and wretchedness. Mr. Maurice Fitzgerald, M. P., mentions, "that he had known the peasantry of Kerry quit their houses in search of employment, offering to work for the merest subsistence that could be obtained—for two-pence a day; in short, for any thing that would purchase food enough to keep them alive for the ensuing twenty-four hours."—You may take from an Englishman, but you cannot take from an Irishman. The latter is already so low, he can fall no lower! *he is placed on the very verge of existence!* His wages being regulated by the price of potatoes, will not buy him wheat, or barley, or oats; and whenever, therefore, the supply of potatoes fails, it is next to impossible he can escape falling a sacrifice to famine!—(*Princip. Pol. Econ.*)

18. The Irish in England.—Mr. Doyle thus speaks of the Irish poor in Southwark. Many and many of these have no bed to lie on. They sleep at night on the floor, without any other covering than the clothes, such as they are, which they have on them during the day; others are almost in a state of nudity, and are compelled to keep within doors. These are poor widows with their destitute children. In very deed, so disastrous is the condition of many whom I know, that they seem stupified and bewildered, and hardly know what they do. Imagine, what is often a reality, a poor widow and her children in Glean Alley, or the by-courts in the Mint or Kent Street, in an unfurnished room; without fire, without clothes, without food, without hope in this world! The misery among the poor Irish in Southwark is so exceedingly great, that no one would believe me did I attempt to describe it.—(*Times,* 1*st March,* 1832.)

19. The French.—The following is a description of a class of workmen at Lyons:—This is a most laborious class, whose bodies and minds are both deteriorated by the nature of their occupation and confined habits of life; their movements are slow, and their speech drawling, their countenances dull and heavy, and their complexion sallow. They are like stunted plants, without vigour or strength, their only activity is in their fingers; their favourite residences are the Croix Rousse, St. George, and the heart of the town, because, there the rents are most moderate. Each weaver employs one or more workmen under him. The silk is weighed out to the Canuts, who are bound to return

the same weight in stuffs wove according to the given pattern; they have sometimes two and even three looms in one chamber, which is warmed in winter by means of an iron stove; and not unfrequently this one room, which is rarely or ever swept, serves them for bed-chamber, kitchen, and workshop. Yet in these miserable places are manufactured those brilliant and delicate silks, which are so easily spoiled, and must be delivered to the master manufacturer without the slightest spot. The Canuts have a difficulty in expressing themselves, which does not solely arise from their timidity or narrow intellect, but is occasioned by their habits of almost constant silence; for during six days in the week they make almost as little use of their tongues, as of their legs; but they look impatiently for sunday, that they may leave their prisons, stretch their cramped limbs, breathe the pure air of the country, and enjoy the light of the sun.—(*Morn. Chron.* 12*th Dec.* 1831.)

20. The East Indians.—In some parts of India, says Broughton, when grain is dear, hundreds of poor families are driven to the most distressing shifts to obtain a bare subsistence; at such times, I have often seen women and children employed in picking out the undigested grains of corn, from the dung of the different animals in the camp; it is scarcely possible to move out of the limits of our own camp, without witnessing the most shocking proofs of poverty and wretchedness. I was returning from a ride the other morning, when two miserable looking women followed me for charity; each had a little infant in her arms, and one of them repeatedly offered to sell hers for the trifling sum of two rupees. *(Letters written in a Mahratta camp.)*

21. Let us hear what the Scriptures tell us of these English, Irish, French, and East Indians. We read that God 'made man upright,'—'in his own image,'—'a little lower than the angels,'—and has 'crowned him with glory and honour.—Thou madest him', says the psalmist, addressing the Divine Being; 'to have dominion over the work of thy hands, thou hast put all things under his feet.' And we are elsewhere told that God instructs him, keeps him 'as the apple of his eye; as an eagle stirreth up her nest, fluttereth over her young, spreadeth abroad her wings, taketh them, beareth them on her wings; so the Lord alone' does 'lead him.' 'Can a woman forget her sucking child, that she should not have compassion on the son of her womb? yea, they may forget, yet will' not God forget him. John styles good men the 'sons of God;' Paul calls them the temples of the Holy Ghost, and assures them that they are to be eternally and inconceivably happy. What congruity, it may be asked, is there between the present and future state of men, placed in reference to the former, as in the examples we have just given? How can it be imagined that a single individual so circumstanced, can necessarily exist under a constitu-

tion of things in accordance with the divine will; and God be infinitely wise, powerful, and benevolent? For if one may be thus placed, another may, and consequently all others, in all ages and places; whence we see the impiety of such a supposition.

22. Had there been one being of the whole human race, that ever wanted a morsel of bread through insufficient provision on the part of Heaven, it would have cast a shadow over the divine glory! But this is not to be imagined.

23. There can be no doubt that it is equally a breach of the law of God, and of course of human laws made in accordance with this holy rule, to place men, by the abstraction of their right to the land, in that state of slavery, where they are obliged to sell their labour, at any price which oppression and competition oblige them to take; as it is to place them in that state, in which they are led about the streets and cried for sale. This great principle may one day be recognized in the laws of all nations. (*Isa.* LX. 21.)

24. In 1102, it was declared unlawful,—in the great council of England held at Westminster, for any man to sell slaves openly in the market.—*When will England declare it to be unlawful, to make slaves of men, by abstractiug from them their right to the land?*

25. So long as the land of any nation is allowed to be engrossed by a few, that men cannot but viciously associate, will appear from what follows.

26. The laws which ought to regulate such an association as has been elsewhere mentioned of three hundred productive labourers, and one that contains hundreds of millions, are precisely the same.—Whether men associate according to the perfect, imperfect, or vicious mode; is altogether irrespective of time, place, number of labourers, branches or divisions into which they are ramified, or kinds or quantities of merchandize produced. We have supposed, as to our little association, that there are three great branches of production: i. e., food, clothing, and habitation, and several divisions. It is not easy accurately to classify either the branches or divisions in real life, but this is wholly immaterial: the branches and divisions make no difference whatever, as to their influence on each other, as far as their number is concerned. Extending the foreign commerce of any nation, it must not be forgotten, *is simply enlarging the boundaries of its association.* All the foreigners dealt with, becoming with the natives, 'members one of another.' It is necessary to impress on the reader the idea of the *unity of an association:* i. e., that it is impossible for any man in any age to live out of association. In it, he and *all* his fellows cannot but be constantly operating on one another, whether for good or for ill. (*Mat.* xii. 30.) If the contrary was the case, they

would be no longer 'members one of another.' And these observations necessarily apply, whatever the numbers are, whether three hundred, or hundreds of millions; all the members of the same association, therefore, influence one another in a less or greater degree, however remote some of the members may be situated from one another. If it can be affirmed of any one member of our little association, that there is not a reciprocal dependence between him and his fellows, it may of two, or three, or any greater number, until the whole three hundred are rejected; and this reasoning obviously applies to an association of hundreds of millions, or any greater number.

27. The multifarious nature and vast extent of the commercial transactions of mankind; the various branches and divisions into which they are ramified; the number of secondary associations in each branch and division; the vast number of persons employed in them, in the various nations that interchange; the great distance which intervenes between the places where many of the exchanged productions are made and consumed; the vast variety of articles produced and exchanged; the time occupied in producing and exchanging them; the exchanges being made through the instrumentality of a metallic or paper currency;—all these things throw a less or greater degree of obscurity on the affair, to those who are either unwilling or unable to investigate it; though, however the diversified nature of them may prevent the inattentive from perceiving their operation, it cannot but be uniform; and the effects of the most complicated commercial transactions, when analyzed, are as obvious as the most simple.

28. *The nations of the world that interchange, can be looked on only as one great association.* Thus, suppose no legislative enactments in any nation interfered in reference to the exportation or importation of grain, the growers who live in the most remote part of Scotland, would influence and be influenced by growers who live in any part of Europe, America, or elsewhere; and this necessarily applies to other kinds of merchandize. If, therefore, all produce was transportable with the same facility as the lightest and least bulky, and no legislative enactments interfered, the difference in value would be but little, in much of the productive labour of the world. In its great market the various secondary associations have more or less interchange, necessarily, according to their proximity: i. e., other things being equal, the nearer they are, the more business they do with each other.

29. The great plurality of men having their right to the land abstracted—as many in the productive classes as have the power, turn master growers, manufacturers, wholesale dealers, &c.,—and by oppression and competition make a profit of the labour of their fellow men, or of the produce of such labour. Each of

the masters, in each branch and division, usually wants to do as much business as possible,—that he may get much profit. The most compendious mode of accomplishing this, ordinarily, is for each, as far as he can, to undersell those in his division. To sell cheaply, the masters do with the least number of servants, and with respect to those that are indispensable, get their labour at the lowest rate. Both these modes cause the supply to preponderate beyond the demand, and consequently its value to decline;—their operation being more oppressive, as population increases, as will hereafter be more fully seen. The servants or under labourers are wholly without remedy, the only course they can adopt being to hire themselves to some master; at any rate, the competition into which (from the abstraction of the land) they are obliged to enter, reduces wages in the division to which they apply themselves. A few among the productive classes, acting for themselves, cannot be said to be either masters or servants. The operation of such single persons is, however, precisely the same as the associations, except that these are more powerful. Thus, whether one shopkeeper in a country town does all his business himself, or another has ten assistants, the concern of each is conducted on exactly similar principles.

30. Men thus operated on, in one division, have no alternative, but to buy whatever they require as cheaply as possible in other branches or divisions. And all being acted on alike, the persons in all the different branches and divisions, both masters and servants, from the growers of the raw produce to the retailers of the manufactured goods, are reducing as much as possible the value of each other's labour; in other words, *pauperizing one another!—though to all, whether masters or servants, the value of their labour is the all important consideration.*

31. For example, our retail drapers throughout the country, ordinarily endeavour to undersell one another. This necessarily depreciates the profits of all the masters, and wages of all the servants, concerned in producing and distributing drapery. In other words—the drapers lower the value of the labour of each other, their own servants,—the wholesale dealers and their servants, the manufacturers and their servants, the grower of the raw produce and their servants, and that of merchants, carriers, &c., and those in their service. And hereby all their exchangers are affected.

32. The growers and manufacturers have the most to do in lowering the value of the labour that enters into produce, as these two classes of persons necessarily hire the greater part of such labour.

33. Our merchants, whether in doing business with their own countrymen, or foreigners, disregard the labour things cost. Thus, suppose the produce of four days' labour of Englishmen, exchanges only for what cost foreigners the labour of one day; all the merchants ordinarily care about, is, what profit will

accrue to them individually; i. e. what they will get by dealing in large quantities of English or foreign produce. It is, says Mr. Malthus, very justly observed by Adam Smith, that it is the nominal value of goods or their prices only, which enter into the consideration of the merchant. His gains will be in proportion to the excess of the amount at which he sells his goods, compared with the amount which they cost him.—(*Princip. Pol. Econ.*)—This will be more fully apparent, when we speak of nominal, or exchangeable, and real value.

34. *All want individually to enrich themselves, disregarding how they operate on one another.* Consumers are the first wave that put the troubled waters of the commercial world into motion. All these being members one of another, pauperize one another in the way we have pointed out. Thus, the necessity for associating is made the greatest curse, instead of the greatest blessing; as it ought to be, and would be, if men lived in accordance with the divine will.

35. Hence it follows, that either fewer masters in the various branches and divisions are required, or if the number is not diminished, the gains of some or all of them must be reduced; consequently, taking the masters of any branch or division separately, or of all the branches and divisions collectively, competition inevitably affects them. Yet the disappointments which the greater part of them cannot but experience, do not open their eyes to the miserable folly and wickedness of the system, under which they live and die, and to which they introduce a succeeding generation. All hope to obtain a large share of business, insensible that the whole tendency of the means which they pursue, is to lessen the aggregate, from which such share is derivable. This is true, even as regards those masters, who are most enriched by the miserable system; as is apparent from considering, that as they can ordinarily do more business only by doing it more cheaply, they must sell their own labour, (as well as that of their servants,) at a cheaper rate. Thus, suppose a master to get a thousand per year, by distributing goods to the amount of eleven thousand at ten per cent—if he increases his trade, by lowering his profits to eight per cent, he is only paid at this rate for performing the same labour for which he used to get ten per cent. The extra labour of an increase of business is sometimes counteracted, by a master keeping an additional number of servants, by giving whom moderate wages, he pockets the difference between such wages and his increased gains.

36. The number of principals, of the secondary associations, in any system, compared with the number of those subordinate to them, must necessarily be few. As these are but men, their consumption cannot greatly exceed that of a similar number of the under labourers. *The consumption of the great body of a nation is the all-important consideration, to all, and under all*

circumstances. Of the great majority of the people in the British Islands, some live on moderate means, as journeymen mechanics, getting perhaps about thirty shillings per week, or higher wages; others have less than thirty shillings weekly, descending down to the lowest grade of poverty. The expenditure of the whole of this great majority may be ranked principally under the three great divisions of food,—clothing,—and habitation. Whatever rent this class of persons pays, it is obvious, that a very small sum is annually spent about their habitations by the claimants of them. The expense of dress is not considerable, and the food of multitudes, both as to quantity and quality, is far below what it should be. If, then, of the three grand departments of production, in reference to the great majority of the population; as to food, what we have just said can be truly affirmed; as to clothing, the application of machinery supersedes to an immense extent human labour; and that a quantity of labour, altogether inconsiderable, is expended for their habitations; we may readily account for the great preponderance of the supply of labour with us.

37. The first consequence of which is, a universal and considerable depression in its value; the second, that great numbers are in part or altogether thrown out of employment. These idle persons must be supported from the labours of the industrious. The badly paid and unemployed are, therefore, not only affected themselves, but necessarily prevented from becoming more profitable exchangers to others. Thus, all the productive classes are acted on more or less unfavourably.

38. What has been advanced may be thus further illustrated:—Let us suppose, as to our little social body elsewhere mentioned, one of the first hundred to be a baker, and wanting a flannel waistcoat. By the mode adopted among us, he ordinarily first finds the shop where flannel is sold the cheapest, and next depreciates its value: if he succeeds, it is evident he has lowered the value of the labour of all concerned in producing and distributing the flannel,—namely, the master-shopkeeper and his servants; the master-manufacturer and his servants; and the farmer or grower of the wool and his servants. For supposing the fair price of the flannel to be eighteen-pence per yard, and a reduction of only one penny is made; it is clear this penny does not, in the ordinary course of business, come out of the pocket of any one individual; but that all concerned in producing the flannel must work at a somewhat cheaper rate, that the flannel may be sold at seventeen instead of eighteen pence. Let us next suppose that one of the men who wove this flannel, impoverished by having his wages ground down, in order that flannel may be sold cheaply, wants a loaf of bread; he pursues the same course, i. e. he goes to the shop where bread is sold the cheapest, and tries to buy a loaf at a

reduced price. It may, indeed, be objected, that in real life men do not, for every purchase they make, obtain, or even ask for, a reduction. This is not to be supposed;—but as men flock to the places at which they can buy cheapest, and as shopkeepers, wholesale dealers, and others, know that if they cannot sell at a certain price, they shall lose their business, and that the lower they go the more they shall sell; the effect is precisely the same, though much of it is acted in pantomime. The sellers and buyers perfectly understand each other: the former know that the latter want to buy as cheaply as possible. We thus see how the impoverished flannel-weaver, necessarily wanting cheap bread, has done what lay in him to lower the value of the labour of the baker, and all others concerned in producing and distributing bread: consequently, all the three hundred of our little social body being 'one body, and every one members one of another,'—their whole business being one of exchange or reciprocal action, and all of it conducted in the way we have seen, nothing can be more clear than that it is, to all intents and purposes whatever, each person acting on himself; i. e. *every man lowering the value of his own labour.* Each does all that lies in him to lower the value of the labour of his exchangers; and *all* being exchangers, the result is precisely the same as if *each* acted on *himself.* Let us take the case of the wife of the flannel-weaver wanting a petticoat. She does as the baker did, i. e. goes to the shop where flannel is to be bought the cheapest, depreciates as much as possible the value, and purchases the flannel; which, on bringing home, she finds was actually made by her own husband, the value of whose labour she has thus been lowering.

39. Again, let us suppose Mr. Payne, a farmer, wanting a dozen pair of worsted hose: he goes to Mr. Milner's, the cheapest shop of the nearest market-town to his farm; and if he is asked twenty-four shillings, will perhaps endeavour to obtain them for twenty-two. If he succeeds, and the fair price should have been twenty-four, Mr. Milner has lost two shillings. To sell cheaply, Milner buys of Mr. Ward, the wholesale dealer, cheaply; and Ward can obviously only sell cheaply, by also buying cheaply of Mr. Price, the manufacturer: Price, of course, can only sell cheaply by procuring cheaply the raw material, and the labour which he applies in manufacturing. Suppose, then, farmer Payne, wanting to sell some of his wool, goes to Price, and offers it at so much per pound. The latter replies, I cannot give what you ask:—the warehousemen say they cannot afford to pay the old prices, because they cannot get them of the shopkeepers—I sold yesterday some of the same kind of stockings you have on, to Ward, the warehouseman, at two shillings per dozen reduction. Thus, we see how farmer Payne, by depreciating the price of wool in its manufactured

state, has lowered the value of his own property in its raw state. We are of course not supposing that a single individual can materially influence the market; but as all farmers want to buy as cheaply as possible, all shopkeepers want to sell as cheaply as possible: this they can only do by buying as cheaply as possible.

40. As the circulating medium merely facilitates exchange, let us imagine a transaction without it; or the relation of servant and master subsisting; i. e. that a clothier exchanges cloth with a farmer for wheat, estimating ten yards of cloth to be equal in value to ten bushels of wheat, according to the labour each cost in production. If, then, the clothier obtains from the farmer eleven bushels, the latter will be unduly deprived of one. But his turn comes next, and he will endeavour to make reprisals on the clothier; whereby the folly of their proceeding must be so glaring, as to have an immediate tendency to correct itself. It is not to be supposed, that two persons will constantly go on thus depreciating the value of each other's labour, as they must perceive how it alternates.

41. The only alternative for a master, is either to go out of business altogether, or perform his part in pauperizing mankind. But as all masters are similarly acted on, the difference being only in the degree of force, all cannot go out of business, and throw all their servants out of employment; this would be putting a total end to production and distribution. Taking both the masters and servants, we have millions, and hundreds of millions, all members one of another, necessarily acting on one another. Each individual, being as a single atom of the body of the earth, can move only as he is impelled. Assuredly, therefore, no further evidence can be wanting of the wretchedness of vicious association, than that, by the land being engrossed in different nations; and by the interchange, the hundreds of millions of producers and consumers, members one of another, that compose the grand commercial association of the world, are made to act, and re-act, prejudicially on one another, without any individual having any more efficient means of superseding the evil, than he has of removing the earth out of its orbit.

43. All the labourers, whether masters or servants, in all branches and divisions, being placed in this unnatural state, their inquiries should be—how is the branch and division to which we belong influencing and being influenced by others, through the existing competition? How does the secondary association, of which we are members, operate? and how is it operated on by others of the same division? And as to each individual—What part of the gain, periodically accruing to the secondary association to which I belong, falls to my share? In other words, taking us in the aggregate, what is the extent of

poverty we inflict on one another; and as to myself individually, what portion of pecuniary gain falls to my share, for living in a state of unceasing rebellion to my great Creator and Preserver?

44. A great part, says Peter Playfair, of the most industrious and intelligent workpeople in the manufacturing districts, both of England and Scotland, cannot earn a comfortable subsistence for the support of their families, although they work early and late, and every day of the week. (*Times, March* 23, 1832.) Let us, says a journalist, examine every branch of productive industry in the united kingdom, and we shall find, without exception, that all are reduced to one common and universal state of depression and distress; the cottons, the silks, the woollens, the linens, the shipowning trade, the West India trade, the East India trade, the foreign trade generally, the home trade generally, the iron trade, the copper trade, the land trade, the farming trade. All trade is equally oppressed and borne down. (*As quoted in the Morning Herald, Feb.* 11, 1832.)

45. With reference to the land, the master growers can only obtain it, by bidding such a price for it, as ordinarily leaves them but a bare maintenance. If one will not give a certain rent for a certain portion, another will, or rather must, from the competition existing. The growers of raw produce cannot do without land, unless they apply themselves to some other kind of em ployment than cultivating the earth. This, however, will not help them. The competition brings the profits nearly to a level in all businesses, in reference to the amount of capital employed. But though the growers of raw produce give as much rent as they can afford, the amount they actually pay, is by no means high. The great body of the people, by which such growers must live, are by the competition too much impoverished to allow a liberal rent to be paid. The wretched system thus works well for none. The language of St. James may therefore be truly applied to it. 'Doth,' says he, 'a fountain send forth at the same place, sweet water and bitter? Can the fig-tree, my brethren, bear olive-berries? Either a vine figs? So can no fountain both yield salt water and fresh.'

46. Nothing can be more obvious, than that the value of land must be low, proportionably with the value of labour, or profits and wages. Thus, suppose the income, estimated in money, of a million of persons occuping a small island to be annually twenty millions, by one mode of association, and forty millions by another; in the latter case the land must obviously be worth double what it would be worth in the former. In all cases, the claimant of land gains more than he who rents it, only in the amount of the rent. In a right system of things, to rent land is more profitable, than to be the owner of a small quantity in a wrong system.

47. In thousands of cases in this country, the occupants of lands and houses can be considered only as the servants of the claimants. In the relation of master and servant, the former has usually to find a portion of wealth, with talent, care, &c.; to make such wealth productive, the servant having only to do as he is directed. When a man takes land, or a house, though standing in a great plurality of cases quite in the character of a servant, he has to find wealth, talent, care, &c.; whilst the only office the claimant performs, is to absorb the profit, without affording the least assistance, or running any risk in its acquisition. Often the servant not only loses his own property, but that of his connections; and thus makes room for a repetition of this by others, the claimant being the only gainer. In London, particularly, the occupants of houses are often worse off, than if they were actually employed by the claimants at a very moderate remuneration for their services. The word claimant is used instead of owner; the laws by which a few are permitted to engross the land to the exclusion of the rest, being, as has been intimated, in utter contravention of the law of God.

48. The more abundant the population of a country, the greater, in a right constitution of things, the demand for agricultural produce; the demand increasing in the ratio that the numbers increase. But by a wrong constitution, the abundance of population causing the value of labour and produce to be low, the land of a thickly populated country may be worse cultivated than that of one much less so, though of course the reverse should take place; i. e. the greater the numbers inhabiting a country, the higher should be the cultivation of the land. Under the wrong constitution, the masters are unable to afford to hire the labour standing idle, which alone is wanting to give increased fertility to the land; the great object of masters being, as we have remarked, to do with the least quantity of labour. The labourers being of course simultaneously reduced to pauperism, or even destitution,—from insufficient employment, and insufficient wages for what work they do obtain. We thus see how the value of both land and labour is reduced. Every one, says Mr. M'Culloch, who has been in Ireland, or has any acquaintance with that country, must be aware, that agriculture is there at the lowest ebb; and that, considering the extraordinary natural fertility of the soil, a very small advance towards a better system of farming, would enable Ireland to export five or six times the quantity of produce she now sends to us. (*Princip. Pol. Econ.*)

49. Lands, which from the poorness of the soil, in a wrong constitution of things, are almost or altogether thrown out of cultivation, may, in a right one, be advantageously brought into it.

50. In a wrong constitution, the larger the amount of produce from the land, the lower the value. Hence it must be for the interest of each cultivator, that he alone should have a plentiful crop, and his neighbours small ones, to the prejudice of themselves, and the whole association; a sufficient proof, if any was wanting, that such a constitution can never emanate from Heaven; which, as has been more than once observed, declares to us, that 'love worketh no ill to his neighbour.'

51. In the grand commercial association of the world, the supply of productive labour is that of all the nations that interchange; the demand for it, necessarily, that of all such nations.

52. The supply of any kind of produce, at any time and place, is of course the quantity brought to market; the demand, that taken away for consumption. If the supply exceeds the demand, its value will be lower; i. e. it will exchange for less money, the converse of this necessarily holding good. The law of *supply and demand* is of universal application to labour and all kinds of produce, (as these may all be reduced to labour.) The relative values of commodities in money, or their prices, says Mr. Malthus, are determined by the relative demand for them, compared with the supply of them. And this law appears to be so general, that probably not a single instance of a change of price can be found, which may not be satisfactorily traced to some previous change in the causes which affected the demand or supply. The principle of demand and supply is the paramount regulator of the prices of labour, as well as of commodities. (*Princip. Pol. Econ.*)

53. The value of labour or produce of any kind, at any time and place, being therefore always influenced by the supply and demand; the demand and consequent tendency to rise, will be governed by the amount of money or credit each buyer can command, and applies to labour or any kind of produce. If the supply of labour, or any kind of produce, preponderates beyond the ordinary demand, by a greater quantity than usual coming to market; or by consumption having been reduced, or the operation of both these; and if, in addition, money or credit is unusually scarce with the buyers, the value of labour or produce will proportionably decline. When consumption, money, and credit abound, and the ordinary supply of labour or produce is diminished, exactly opposite effects take place.

54. Any attempt to force consumption, by bringing a greater quantity of labour or produce to market than is demanded, causing the supply to preponderate, therefore reduces the value.

55. If the value of labour in any branch or division is lowered, the less produce will it demand; and the less the demand compared with the supply of such demanded produce, the lower will be its value also; and thence, necessarily, the labour which produces it.

56. The supply of labour may preponderate towards any branch or division, whilst the demand from it may from additional causes also be diminished; when both the supply and demand are acting prejudicially, the action must necessarily be very severe; this we may suppose is comparatively not of frequent occurrence, nor of long duration;—as, from the very reduced value of labour necessarily arising, all labourers that have it in their power will obtain more profitable employment in some other branch or division; and thus the excess of the supply to a certain extent ceases.

57. And the more competition there is among the labourers, whether masters or servants in the various branches and divisions, the more they will be impoverished; or, as the son of Sirach says;—'all things are double one against another,' 'one thing establisheth the good,' and we may add, the evil, 'of another.'

58. *The proper standard of value*, at all times and at all places, *is the labour, produce costs*;—this is obviously its *real* value. As the labour of an able-bodied man, understanding some productive art, should have an unalterable value, what he produces should also have an unalterable value. In the great market of the world, this is lost sight of; the demand for labour and the various kinds of produce being at most places and times in a state of fluctuation;—value or price varies. Whatever labour, or any kind of produce, will exchange for in money, or produce of a different kind, is called its *exchangeable* value. In the early stages of society, says Ricardo, the exchangeable value of commodities, or the rule which determines how much of one shall be given in exchange for another, depends solely on the comparative quantity of labour expended in each. *(Princip. Pol. Econ.)*

59. The difference between the real and exchangeable value of labour or produce, gives rise to the class called speculators. When the real value of an article is considerably above its exchangeable one, they buy, that they may be able to sell at a profit, when the exchangeable value advances; if the real value of a thing is forced down by a too abundant supply, as the holders lose thereby, they will diminish production and supply, and consequently the exchangeable value will advance. The holders of labour only, (having their right to the land abstracted from them,) must, as has already been intimated, dispose of it at whatever it will fetch, or beg or starve!—If, says Mr. Wade, the market is overstocked with commodities, the owners may withdraw them,—keep them in bond,—or store them in warehouses till the demand increases; but the workman too often has no such alternative: he cannot withhold his labour from the market, he must forthwith either work or starve, and is thus compelled to take the wages he can get, however inadequate to his wants. *(Hist. of the Middle and Working Classes.)*

60. The exchangeable value of labour or produce differing from the real value, is conclusive evidence of an unsound state of things; the jargon about exchangeable value in a right constitution has no place, nor consequently the trade of speculation. Every thing connected with commerce may, as we have said, be divided into production and distribution; and speculators, as far as their particular vocation goes, having nothing to do with either,—they must of course be useless. How much worse than useless will appear from considering that all the profit they obtain, or the difference between the real and exchangeable value of produce, is abstracted from the productive labourers; without their receiving for it an equivalent. Adam Smith thus distinguishes between raw and manufactured produce. In some employments the same quantity of industry, says he, will always produce, the same or very near the same quantity of commodities: in the linen or woollen manufactures, for example, the same number of hands will annually work up very nearly the same quantity of linen and woollen cloth. But there are other employments, in which the same quantity of industry will not always produce the same quantity of commodities; the same quantity of industry, for example, will in different years produce very different quantities of corn, wine, hops, sugar, tobacco, &c. The price of such commodities, therefore, varies not only with the variations of demand, but with the much greater and more frequent variations of quantity; and is consequently extremely fluctuating, but the profit of some of the dealers must necessarily fluctuate with the price of the commodities. The operations of the speculative merchant are principally employed about such commodities. [Fluctuations in raw produce will necessarily influence the price of that which is manufactured.]—By the 5th and 6th of Edward VI, chap. 14, remarks the same author, it was enacted, that whoever should buy any corn or grain, with intent to sell it again, should be reputed an unlawful engrosser; and should for the first fault suffer two months' imprisonment, and forfeit the value of the corn; for the second, suffer six months' imprisonment, and forfeit double the value; and for the third, be set in the pillory, suffer imprisonment during the king's pleasure, and forfeit all his goods and chattels.—(*Wealth of Nations.*) Whilst the productive powers of men are uncontrolled by a head, the relation between production and consumption can be known only by a preponderance of one or the other. Thus, the supply of any article may be unusually great, from an extraordinary quantity of either raw or manufactured produce, or both, being brought to market; such supply, in relation to the demand, may be still greater from a change in the public taste reducing consumption, or from inability on the part of ordinary consumers to purchase all they require, caused by an unusual

depreciation in the exchangeable value of their labour, possibly throwing numbers altogether out of employment. The operation of these causes may be of long continuance, and as extensive as the loss by millions of consumers can make it. The grower, manufacturer, or wholesale dealer, is thus liable to severe losses, as by the contrary operation he realizes great gains; if the former are his lot, and he is not a man of wealth, he may be irretrievably ruined; numbers of masters must thus be brought into a state of poverty, or reduced to absolute insolvency;—all from these causes sustain losses. At a meeting of the silk trade in London, Mr. Wadden stated, that in two years, 1830 and 1831,—out of 134 manufacturers, 47 had been destroyed; whose debts amounted to 322,000*l.*—(*Globe*, 24*th Dec.* 1831.) These things occurred after many years of general peace; of course during war, production and distribution are liable to extremely irregular influences.

62. When, says Mr. M'Culloch, a few leading merchants purchase in anticipation of an advance, or sell in anticipation of a fall,—the speculation is often pushed beyond all reasonable limits, by the operations of those who are influenced by imitation only, and who have never perhaps reflected for a moment on the grounds on which a variation of price is anticipated. In speculation, as in most other things, one individual derives confidence from another. Such a one purchases or sells, not because he has any really accurate information as to the state of the demand and supply, but because some one else has done so before him. The original impulse is thus rapidly extended, and even those who are satisfied, that a speculation in anticipation of a rise of prices is unsafe, and that there will be a recoil;—not unfrequently adventure, in the expectation that they will be able to withdraw before the recoil has begun.—(*Dict. Art. Prices.*)

63. The pernicious effects of miscalculation and ignorance are strikingly exhibited, in the overstocking of such new markets as are occasionally opened; and in filling them with articles totally unsuited to the wants and habits of the people. When the continental markets were opened in 1814 and 1815, the first shippers of colonial and other produce made large profits, but in consequence of the crowding of fresh speculators, and many of them were strangers to commercial affairs, into the field; the markets were quite overloaded, and such a recoil took place, that it is doubtful, whether Leith and some other towns have even now recovered from the effect of the bankruptcy and ruin, of which it was productive. The exportations consequent on the first opening of the trade to Buenos Ayres, Brazil, and the Caraccas, were in this respect still more extraordinary. Speculation was then carried beyond the boundaries within which even gambling is usually confined; and was pushed to an extent, and

into channels, that could hardly have been deemed practicable. We are informed by Mr Mawe, an intelligent traveller resident at Rio Janeiro, at the period in question, that more Manchester goods were sent out in the course of a few weeks, than had been consumed in the twenty years preceding ; and the quantity of English goods of all sorts poured into the city, was so very great, that warehouses could not be provided sufficient to contain them, and that the most valuable merchandize was actually exposed for weeks on the beach, to the weather, and to every sort of depredation.—(*Princip. Pol. Econ.*)

64. The abstraction of the land, always operating in the most powerful manner,—necessarily causes men to be anxious to obtain, in all their interchanges, produce, the exchangeable value of which is low ;—in other words, to buy every thing as cheaply as possible. Those masters consequently, who do business at the lowest rate, have ordinarily the most of it. This is, however, an evidence of an unsound state of things. The secondary associations in any branch or division, *doing much business, by selling at a low rate, so far from being a proof of general prosperity,* (according to the wretched theories of a certain class of political economists,) *is evidence of a state of things precisely the reverse.* If the exchangeable value of the produce dealt in was not low, there would not be such an extension of trade. This evinces,—first, that *the labourers* employed in making the goods dealt in by the cheap-selling associations, *are paid at a low rate;* secondly, that, in consequence, they are *acting unfavourably on their exchangers;* i. e. they are of little value to them, from being so impoverished. We thus see, how true it is, that 'the eye cannot say unto the hand, I have no need of thee ; nor again the head to the feet, I have no need of thee.'

65. The exchangeable value of produce can be lowered only in two ways—employing a less quantity of labour in producing, or lowering the exchangeable value of that which is indispensable. If the quantity is reduced, the supply preponderates, and the exchangeable value declines. If the exchangeable value of that which is indispensable is made to decline, the operation is of course precisely the same. Either of these, acting on labourers, by lessening the exchangeable value of their labour, necessarily lessens their demand for the produce of their exchangers. This causes the supply of the labour of such exchangers to preponderate, and therefore also decline in exchangeable value. Whichever way the action is made, that produce may be sold at a low rate, it thus infallibly re-acts on the cheap buyers.

66. The purchasers of all the members of an association being limited by their ability, this, as to each, will always be precisely equivalent to the exchangeable value of his labour. Whatever

diminishes this, necessarily lessens his ability to consume. If all the customers of a tradesman were reduced to pauperism, he could do little profitable business with them. For the exchangeable value to differ from the real one, i. e. for an exchangeable value distinct from the real, to exist at all, is therefore prejudicial. And this applies, not only to those, the exchangeable value of whose labour is lower than those with whom they interchange; but to those, the exchangeable value of whose labour is higher than that of their exchangers. By leaving off competing, the value of labour may, as to all the labourers, be raised to the highest point; i. e. all, as has been intimated, may, by rightly associating, obtain the utmost plenitude of wealth. Every thing which has a tendency to lower the value of labour, tending to alter the right production and distribution of produce, on which all prosperity must ever be dependent; let it never be forgotten, that, whether men give more or less than the real value, the effect is certainly injurious; as those who are impoverished must infallibly re-act on their exchangers. ***The only sound principle of exchange is, by excluding all oppression and competition, for all to do their utmost to raise the value of each other's labour, until it reaches the highest point they can wish it to obtain!***

67. Though competitors give a high exchangeable value, i. e. buy dearly, because the state of the market prevents their doing otherwise; and they possess the will, but not the power, to depreciate the exchangeable value of the labour or produce of those with whom they deal; they are condemned in the sight of Heaven. How little the true principles of political economy are understood, by one class of its students, will appear from the following observations of one of the most eminent among them. In every country, says Adam Smith, it always is, and must be the interest of the great body of the people, to buy whatever they want of those who sell it cheapest. The proposition is so very manifest, it seems ridiculous to take any pains to prove it. —(*Wealth of Nations.*) The cheapest of all modes would be, to obtain produce without giving any thing for it; a state of things, which, it is quite clear, could not last long. Between having labour and produce for nothing, and the exchangers raising the value of each other's labour, so that they may all obtain the highest plenitude of wealth, no line can possibly be drawn.—(*Lev.* xxv. 14; 1 *Cor.* x. 24; 1 *Thes.* iv. 6, 7; *Gal.* v. 14, 15; *Luke*, vi. 38.) Smith's doctrine would do very well if the apostle's could be reversed; i. e. that the eye could say 'unto the hand, I have no need of thee,' and 'again the head to the feet, I have no need of you.'

68. Cicero seems to have been a better political economist than our modern author. All mankind, says the former, should lay it down as their constant rule of action, that individual and

general advantage should be the same; for, if each man strives to grasp every advantage for himself, all the ties of human society will be broken. And if nature ordains, that man should feel interested in the welfare of his fellow men, whoever he be, and for the single reason, that he is a man, it necessarily follows, that according to the intentions of nature, all mankind must have one common interest.—(*As quoted in Vattel's Law of Nations.*) Each individual, says Say, is interested in the general prosperity. The success of one branch of industry promotes that of all the others. Whatever profession or line of business a man may devote himself to, he is the better paid and more easily finds employment, in proportion as others thrive around him. The position of a nation, in respect to its neighbours, is analagous to the relation of one of its provinces to the others, or of the country to the town: it has an interest in their prosperity, being sure to profit by their opulence. Society in the aggregate is a larger purchaser, in proportion to its means of purchasing. (*Pol. Econ.*)

69. Since all must have a living, the productive population of a country must find its way into the various branches of production. The more, therefore, the members increase, without a proportional increase of territory, the greater will be the supply of labour; and the greater the preponderance in any branch or division, the lower (compared with other branches or divisions), as has been remarked, will be its exchangeable value; each branch or division being of course dependent on the supply of labour flowing to it, and the demand for produce from it, by all the other branches and divisions; the different associations in any division being operated on alike: i. e., all masters must give the same wages for the same kind of labour; and all masters get about the same amount of profits, in proportion to the amount of capital they employ. If, says Mr. Wade, population increases without a corresponding increase of employment, the rate of wages will be depressed. During harvest, work is more abundant than workmen, and farmers give labourers two or three shillings per day; during winter, the case is reversed, and they pay them only half these sums. The operation of the same principle renders labour dearer in America than in England, in England than in Ireland. (*Hist. of the Middle and Working Classes.*)

70. Our exchanging with thinly populated North America, is therefore, substantially, an enlargement of territory, without a proportionate increase of population. Hence the progress of competition is checked; consequently, bad as things now are with us, it would be making them still worse to leave off exchanging with America, at least whilst the engrossing the land is permitted in this country. An obvious evil, however, attends the enlarging a nation's commercial association, under a wrong

system: the more extensive the association becomes, the more difficult it is for those who will not properly attend, to comprehend how the different parts influence each other.

71. The supply of labour preponderating in any branch or division, will afford a very inadequate relief to the branches or divisions in which it does not preponderate. In these, the value of labour, as has been observed, will necessarily be also lowered, in consequence of the reduced demand by the preponderating branches; and unless legislative enactments affecting importation or exportation, monopolies, or the untransportable nature of produce, interfere to counteract competition to a certain extent; labour does not ordinarily, for any considerable period, continue either much higher or much lower in one branch or division than in other branches or divisions. The reason of this is obvious:—all masters want to make the largest profits; all under-labourers to get the highest wages. When the supply of labour, in reference to the demand, preponderates from any branch or division, the supply of produce being from that cause diminished, and thus the exchangeable value raised, both the profits of masters and wages of servants advance. Capital and labour is thereby drawn to this dearer produce, the consequence of which is, the supply increases so as to be fully equal to, or even greater than, the ordinary demand: hence, we further see the constant tendency of competition is to reduce profits and wages; for though some kinds of labour do get higher than other kinds, by the supply of the former diminishing; the diminution itself is the means of reducing the higher-priced labour, by attracting more labour and capital to compete with, and therefore lower it.

72. This is well illustrated in what follows by Mr. M'Culloch. Those, says he, who investigate the history of industry, either in this or any other country, will find that a period of peculiar prosperity in any one branch is the almost uniform harbinger of mischief. If we turn, for example, to the history of agriculture, the alternations between periods of high prices and great agricultural prosperity, and of low prices and great agricultural distress; is so striking, that it cannot fail to arrest the attention of every one. The high prices of 1800 and 1801 gave an extraordinary stimulus to agricultural industry; nearly double the number of acts of parliament were passed in 1802 for the enclosure and drainage of land, than had been passed in any previous year; a great extent of old grass fields was at the same time subjected to the plough. In consequence of this extension of cultivation, and of the improvements that were then entered upon and completed, the supply of corn was so much increased in 1804, that prices sunk considerably below the previous level; and an act was then passed, in consequence of the representations made by the agriculturists of their dis-

tressed condition, granting them additional protection against foreign competition. The high prices of 1810, 1811, 1812, and 1813, had a precisely similar result. They attracted so much additional capital to the land, and occasioned such an extension of tillage, that we grew in 1812 and 1813 an adequate supply of corn for our own consumption; and under such circumstances, it is certain that the price of corn must inevitably have fallen, in consequence of the unusually abundant harvest of 1814, though the ports had been entirely shut against importation.

73. The history of the West India trade may also be referred to, as affording the most convincing proofs of the truth of this principle. The devastation of St. Domingo by the negro insurrection, which broke out in 1792, by first diminishing, and in a very few years entirely annihilating the supply of about 115,000 hhds. of sugar, which France and the Continent had previously drawn from that island; occasioned an extraordinary rise of prices, and gave a proportional encouragement to its cultivation in other parts. So powerful was its influence in this respect, that Jamaica, which at an average of the six years preceding 1799 had exported only 83,000 hhds., exported in 1801 and 1802 upwards of 286,000, or 143,000 a year! But the duration of this prosperity was as brief as it was signal. The same rise of price which had produced such effects in the British islands, occasioned a similar, though less rapid extension of cultivation, in the colonies of the Continental powers. The increased supplies of sugar and coffee that were in consequence obtained from Cuba, Porto-Rico, Martinique, Guadaloupe, Brazil, &c., became, in no very long time, not only sufficient to fill up the vacuum, caused by the cessation of the supplies from St. Domingo, but actually to overload the Continental market. The great foreign demand for British plantation sugar, which had been experienced after the destruction of the St. Domingo trade, gradually diminished until 1805 or 1806, when it almost entirely ceased; and the whole extra quantity raised in consequence of that demand, being thrown upon the home market, its price, which had been 66s. a cwt. in 1798, exclusive of duty, fell in 1806 to 34s.; a price which the committee that was then appointed by the House of Commons to inquire into the distresses of the planters, states, was not only insufficient to yield them any profit, but even to indemnify them for their actual outlay; and I may add, that owing to the ill-advised measures which were soon after adopted, for creating a forced and unnatural demand for sugar, by substituting it in the place of barley in the distillery, its supply was prevented from being diminished, in proportion to the diminution of the effective demand; so that, some short intervals only excepted, the planters have ever since been involved

in difficulties. The history of the silk trade, of distillation, and indeed of every branch of industry, furnishes but so many proofs of the constant operation of this principle of compensation. The greater and more signal the peculiar prosperity of any one department, the greater invariably is the subsequent recoil.—(*Princip. Pol. Econ.*)

74. A very bad state for productive labour to be in, is where the number of labourers greatly preponderates in an untransportable division,—or in a transportable one rendered untransportable by legislative enactments. Such labour may be reduced to the worst state, by its exchangeable value being lower than that of most other kinds with which it exchanges, this appears to us especially to apply to Irish agricultural labour. And the reader need scarcely be reminded, that the operation of the excess of labour, or the reverse, may be so slow, as, in some cases, to have no perceptible effect from the commencement to the end of a generation, this, also, appears to us to apply to Irish agricultural labour: the effects of an excess in the supply, are however, not less certain, nor less severe.

75. But with the exception of the labour which relates to untransportable produce, the fact of great numbers of persons congregating in one part of the same country, will not of itself force down the exchangeable value; this arises from an excess in the supply to any division. If we look at the total quantity of manufactured silks for ladies' dresses, consumed by France, England, and America; whether all the weavers are huddled together in a single town of either country, or dispersed through a hundred towns, some of which are situated in all the three nations—legislative enactments always excepted—if all the goods made were in all places alike saleable, a decline in the value anywhere, would soon cause a correspondent reduction everywhere; the operation being the same as if all the weavers lived in the same town. But though what they produce might be sent anywhere, much of the agricultural produce they consume must usually be grown in the neighbourhood of their location.

76. The difference in the supply of labour to the various branches and divisions being that which causes its exchangeable value to vary, and the untransportability of labour or produce, either from its own nature or legislative enactments, being that which principally causes such variation; the exchangeable value of much of the produce of the world, except as relates to that which is untransportable or is necessarily local, is not greatly dependent on the places where the productive and non-productive classes are located.

77. As there can be but one state of the highest prosperity for the whole, either of our little association of three hundred

productive labourers, or the grand one of the world—i. e. the supply and demand being equal in all branches and divisions; and any thing affecting one branch or division necessarily influencing others, a preponderance in the supply to some branches or divisions causing the exchangeable value of labour to decline, indicates, first, that the whole association is in a less perfect state than it might be; secondly, that those with whom such branches or divisions exchange are injuriously affected; and, thirdly, that the branches or divisions where the supply preponderates, are acted on yet more prejudicially.

78. Hence we may see the absurdity of such exclamations as the following, in any particular nation of the commercial association of the world:—Something must be done for the relief of the shipping interest,—or, the agricultural interest,—or, the iron trade, &c. One might suppose from such cries, that any particular interest or trade was distinct from all the others. If the three departments into which our supposed little association was divided—the clothing, for example,—was suffering by the supply of labour preponderating to it, the relief would be, to draw off the undue supply, carrying it to either or both the other two, as might be required! The same rule of course holds, however extensive an association may be, and into however many branches and divisions it may be subdivided. No one branch or division can be looked on as detached, but the *whole* of any association must be considered; and how *all its parts* influence one another—even if such association comprehends the population of the whole earth, or a thousand worlds! However large any whole may be, it cannot, as has been insisted on, but be influenced by all its parts. That, says an anonymous writer, it should ever have entered into any one's contemplation, how agriculture and manufactures could be otherwise than influenced from similar causes, and should mutually prosper or mutually decline, it is difficult to comprehend.—(*Public Econ. Concentrated.*)

79. But the reader will probably be ready to urge, that if oppression and competition reduce the exchangeable value of the labour of one branch or division, it also affects another;—so that, if the exchangeable value of the labour of the former is much lowered, that of the latter is equally acted on, that, to use a common expression, taken "in the long run," the difference to any of the exchangers is not great: i. e., if they earn but little, what they want in exchange costs but little.—If, as to our little association of three hundred, the numbers were kept always the same—namely, one hundred producing food, one hundred clothing, and one hundred habitation,—and oppression and competition arose among them, its operation would be nearly equal; but, if the different classes are in any way altered, every single alteration has a two-fold operation: thus, if one of the pro-

ducers of food, whom we may call a baker, goes over to the clothiers, we have ninety-nine producers of food, and one hundred and one clothiers.

80. Whatever irregularities might arise in an association of only three hundred productive labourers, would be instantly perceived, and might be as rapidly rectified.—But when we look at the grand commercial association of the whole world, and consider that its population is estimated at between eight and nine hundred millions, and that their productive power is uncontrolled by a head; it is obvious that a derangement from any thing like a proper classification of the labourers cannot but be considerable, and ever existing; and demand and supply being the great causes that influence prices, with regard to our little association of three hundred, the greater the derangement that arises from one hundred being producers of food, one hundred being clothiers, and one hundred being builders, the worse for all; it being alike opposed to the sound principle of exchange, either the buying too cheaply or too dearly; and both are caused by undue preponderances of labour; the supply preponderating from those who sell too dearly to those who sell too cheaply. And the same thing may of course be affirmed as to the supply of labour, to the different branches and divisions throughout the grand commercial association of the world; *the laws by which an association is governed, being altogether irrespective of its numbers, whether those laws are right or wrong.*

81. Suppose agricultural produce by the excess of labour in Ireland, is much forced down, and thence, the value of this kind of produce throughout the British Islands—that in some part of them is a manufactory for cotton goods, and similar ones in France and India. And from an increase in the supply of agricultural labour here, the demand for British cotton goods among our agricultural labourers decreases, and, the supply preponderating, the value declines below the cottons of France and India. This would cause such goods in those countries also to go down, and consequently the agricultural produce for which they exchange. Thus, the value of labour employed in making cotton goods in France and India would be lowered, from the depressed state of that employed in agriculture in Ireland. And of course precisely the opposite of this may occur: i. e., the labourers making cotton goods in France and India, may lower the value of Irish agricultural labour. We thus see, that the amount of labour preponderating in any place, in that branch of produce not easily transportable, will lower the value of such produce, as far as the limits to which it can be practicably sent, extend. It will also lower the value of the transportable produce for which it exchanges, in consequence of demanding a reduced quantity of it; and thus may affect such produce all over the

world, and thereby the untransportable produce for which it exchanges. Hence it is, that untransportable produce may affect other produce of the same kind, in places to which it cannot, from the cost of carriage, be sent.

82. When produce of any kind immediately operates on the market of the world, by causing the value of its own kind to fluctuate, this may be called the direct operation. When untransportable produce affects the value of the same kind, through the transportable for which it exchanges, this may be called the indirect operation.

83. And if one part of the grand commercial association of the world exchanges that kind of produce, the labour for which is paid for at a low rate, with another part in the same nation, or a foreign one, for that kind, the labour for which is paid for at a higher rate, *it will, as to such exchange, give away its property; the amount being the difference between the real value of the produce exchanged, though there may be no difference whatever, as regards its exchangeable value.* For whether, as relates to the intercourse between different parts of the same country, or between different nations, all being parts of the same association, whatever the *exchangeable* value may be,—the quantity of labour which enters into produce, is that on which its *real* value must always depend.

84. If, then, from the unequal supply of labour to the branches and divisions of all nations, Manchester weavers earning two shillings per day, send a hundred pounds' worth of their produce to Ireland, and receive in return agricultural produce, for the production of which Irish labourers have been paid at the rate of only one shilling per day; it is obvious, that though the English have sent a hundred pounds' worth of one kind of goods, and received back a hundred pounds' worth of another kind of goods, estimating both by their *exchangeable* value,—the poor Irish estimating the goods by the only legitimate standard, the *real* value ,have given exactly *double* the amount they ought. And if these Manchester weavers send a hundred pounds' worth of their produce to the North Americans, and receive in return raw cotton, for the production of which American labourers have been paid at the rate of four shillings per day, it is also obvious, that though the English have received the full amount of the *exchangeable* value, they have received only *half* the *real* value. Thus, the English have only given the Irish *half* the real value, whilst they have given the Americans *double* the real value. If, then, the latter were to exchange produce with the Irish, they would only give a *quarter* the real value; the exchanges, reckoned in *days' labour or real value*, standing thus:—

America	England	Ireland
500.	1000.	2000.

85. And if the supply of agricultural labour in Ireland were to increase, and labour in America to decrease, in relation of the one to the other, that of Manchester remaining the same; and these three places were to continue exchanging:—the further loss sustained by the Irish would be in favour of the Americans, but would little affect the people of Manchester; the supply of their labour being the same, would only be affected by the demand, which would thus operate;—the Americans, in consequence of the supply of labour decreasing, would be enriched, and thus able to consume more Manchester goods; and the opposite of this would be the case as regards the Irish. But the greater the derangement from a due supply of labour to each branch and division of the grand association of the world, the worse it is for all the labourers, as we lately remarked in reference to our little association; for though, in the exchanges we have been supposing, the Manchester people were better off than the Irish, and the Americans than either;—by putting an end to the opposition, and preventing an undue preponderance to any branch or division,—the gains of English, Irish, and Americans may be augmented to the utmost limit of their most enlarged desires.

86. When one country exports to another a larger amount of goods than she imports from it, estimating both by their exchangeable value, the exchange is said to be in favour of the former. This is, or was, considered by the generality of mercantile men to be an advantage. But it is obvious, this cannot ordinarily exist without the exchangeable value of the country which exports the larger amount, being generally low. This, then, can never be favourable. With reference to secondary associations, their doing much business because they sell low, so far from being a proof of general prosperity, is, as has been seen, a proof of the reverse. And whether as relates to single secondary associations, or the dealings of nations, the operation of the same principles being precisely the same, the greater the competition the more the exchangeable value of the labour is reduced. In a thriving country, says Say, the value of the total imports should always exceed that of exports.—(*Pol. Econ.*) In the United States, says Mr. M'Culloch, the value of the imports as ascertained by the custom-house returns, always exceeds the value of the exports. And although our practical politicians have been in the habit of considering the excess of the former as a certain proof of a disadvantageous commerce, it is nevertheless true, according to Mr. Pitkin, that the real gain of the United States has been nearly in proportion, as their imports have exceeded their exports.—Every country in the world, except the United States has its favourable, balance.—(*Dict. Art Balance.*) Such is the inveteracy of ancient prejudices, that we are still annually congratulated on the

excess of our exports over our imports! (*Disc. on Pol. Econ.*) If any country is not disposed to exchange equitably, requiring either to buy at too low, or sell at too high a rate, it is better to leave off dealing with it, and employ labour more beneficially, by producing and exchanging home produce; or in exchanging with some other nation: but it is believed this would scarcely in any case be necessary, as it must always better answer a nation's purpose to give a fair price for any articles it may want, than to go without them. Productions of many kinds are peculiar to certain countries; and if foreigners require them, thither they must come.

87. Supposing, then, the exchange with all countries to be in favour of the British Islands, our foreign commerce may be generally conducted, on the principle of giving a greater *real* value for a less one;—whatever the *exchangeable* value of the bartered produce may be.

88. It cannot be questioned, that in our foreign exchanges, we sometimes give a less real value for a greater one. But if we mistake not, a large part of them is carried on upon a principle exactly opposite; this appears to apply especially to our intercourse with the North Americans, from the exchangeable value of their labour being so much higher than a great deal of ours.

89. If potatoes are brought from Ireland to London, for growing which, the labourers, taking the average of master and servants, get each a shilling per day; and the return from London to Ireland, is a gentleman's carriage; the wages of the master and journeyman for making which, are when averaged, six shillings per day; in this transaction, the Londoners get a week's work of the Irish for one day's of their own. Consequently, if the price of the carriage was *four hundred pounds*, the Irish will have given *twenty-four hundred pounds'* worth of potatoes for it! But, if England, instead of gaining in the way here supposed, loses by much of her foreign exchanges; and if to Ireland two thousand pounds were lost on one trifling matter;—*what must England lose, when the number and extent of her foreign exchanges are considered?*

90. Foreigners that reflect, must assuredly think us a strange people, to *complain of taxation and poverty, and constantly and without reason to give away millions!*

91. We say without reason,—first, because foreigners would readily give us a fair price, if required; secondly, the allowing them to buy at too low a rate in no degree benefits them. They cannot be better employed, than in furnishing us with an equitable quantity of produce for what they receive from us. This was adverted to in that august and sagacious assembly, the House of Commons, by the late Mr. Waithman. It thus further appears, how wretched a thing competition is; as old coun-

tries, whose institutions should be constantly approximating to perfection,—and whose wealth and glory should consist in a numerous, virtuous, and happy population; are constantly giving away their property to new ones, the amount being *the difference in the real value of the labour of the two countries, on the quantity of produce exchanged.* The exchangeable value of labour in the losing country, declines as her population augments; and, consequently, the loss she sustains increases, and this too, long, very long, before she is filled with inhabitants as she ought to be. The loss is not on a single transaction, but probably on the far greater number of the exchanges, and constantly going on, day after day, year after year, and generation after generation! And the more business is done *the greater, necessarily, is the loss!* Could we, says Paine, suppose a spectator who knew nothing of the world, and who was put into it merely to make his observations,—he would take a great part of the old world to be new, just struggling with the difficulties and hardships of an infant settlement. He could not suppose that the hordes of miserable poor with which old countries abound, could be any other than those who had not yet had time to provide for themselves. Little would he think they were the consequence of what, in such countries, is called *government.*—(*Rights of Man.*)

92. In Bishop Berkeley's Querist, the following is the 325th query:—"Whether there may not be found a people, who so contrive as to be impoverished by their trade, and whether we are not that people?" The wealth, says Mr. Wade, we ought to have accumulated by our mechanical improvements, has been shared in by other nations, without an equivalent return. Our merchants have been running a race of cheapness, not against the foreigner, but against each other; and selling their goods greatly below the prices necessary to keep possession of the markets of Germany and America. What the foreigner has gained our own artisans have lost. Competition for employment enabled manufacturers to reduce wages, to increase the hours of working, made one man do the work of two, children of adults, adding thereto a vast increase of steam power; and the result of all, an unexampled glut of commodities. The consequences of this over-production are obvious. They are unprecedented low prices, prices that neither yield a fair profit to the master, nor fair wages to the workman.—(*Hist. of the Middle and Working Classes.*) Is it not, says an anonymous writer, lamentable to reflect, that all this sacrifice of capital, and as far as many of the lower orders are concerned, this worse than Egyptian bondage, is to be endured, that foreigners may reap the benefit thereof; that our industrious artisans are to go comparatively naked, and aliens to be enriched by their ingenuity and persevering industry! Is it not lamentable, that the very

man who contributes so largely to our wealth should remain in abject degradation, while his very exertions are the cause of it all? The heart sickens at a recital so truly affecting to every man with a spark of humanity.—(*Public Econ. Concentrated.*) From the shores of the Baltic to the Southern Ocean, and from the continents of America to the borders of China, says Mr. Morgan, your ships are ploughing the seas laden with the overflowing riches of the empire. With what astonishment will [foreigners] hear, that thousands of your own citizens are perishing for want of a small pittance of that wealth, with which you are overwhelming their markets.—(*The Revolt of the Bees.*)

93. What more monstrous absurdity can be imagined, than for a nation to be running all over the world, to extend the boundaries of its commercial association, and simultaneously complaining that its members are too numerous at home?—The extent of an association, either as to the numbers of its members, or the quantity of land it occupies, are entirely secondary, to the consideration of such members associating on right principles. The members of our little association of three hundred members, educing nothing but good to each other, by being in a state of perfect or imperfect association, thereby excluding all opposition, might be all rich, wise, virtuous, and happy; whilst multitudes of the population of the British Isles, though members of the grand association of the whole world, are poor, ignorant, vicious, and therefore in a less or greater degree miserable; in consequence of the secondary associations to which they belong, being in a state of competition with others, in their own and foreign nations. *An extension of the boundaries of a primary association by foreign commerce, is therefore only to be desired, when the productive labourers of the nations which exchange, leave off oppressing one onother and competing with one another.* The external commerce of all countries, says Say, is inconsiderable compared with the internal. To convince ourselves of the truth of this position, it will be sufficient to take note, at all numerous or even sumptuous entertainments, how very small is the proportion of values of foreign growth, in comparison with those of home production; especially if we take into the account, the value of buildings and habitations, which is necessarily of home production.---(*Pol. Econ.*)

94. It may be objected, that it is impracticable for one nation to interfere with another, in the regulation of its productive labour. This, then, renders it the more imperative for it to attend to its own, by putting an end to the competition, and rightly regulating the supply to the different branches and divisions; thereby, as has been intimated, raising the exchangeable value of labour, until it attains the real one; and then, if foreigners want British produce, they must give a fair price for it. Some may yet affirm, that to talk of putting an end to com-

petition, and duly regulating the supply and demand of labour even at home, is very fine in theory, but never reducible to practice. It may be feared, not only that there is too much truth in this objection, but that even a close approximation to a right mode of association may be productive of evil, from the too great abundance of wealth it would generate.

95. If, however, the great principles insisted on in this Essay be true; and the adoption of them would conduct men to a plenitude of temporal and eternal happiness; and they, from not rightly applying such principles, destroy the former, and greatly endanger the latter, it is the fault of themselves. Heaven is not to be complained of, for placing a mighty afflux of happiness within reach of all; nor those, who endeavour to make this truth as fully apparent, as their abilities will allow. We are told, that our Lord went about Judea, teaching in the 'synagogues, and preaching the gospel of the kingdom, and healing every sickness and every disease among the people. But when he saw the multitudes, he was moved with compassion on them, because they fainted and were scattered abroad, as '*sheep having no shepherd.*' Whether these observations referred to the productive and other powers of the Israelites, requiring a head, so to associate them that their temporal and eternal welfare might be most compendiously educed, is left to the consideration of the reader.

96. The secondary associations may all be in a state of opposition, or a part of them may be in this state;—whilst, among others, a tacit understanding or union may exist. It sometimes happens, that among the secondary associations of the same division, there is an expressed or implied understanding on the part of the masters, that they will not compete. Suppose there are three linen-drapers in one of our country towns, who agree not to sell below certain prices. The retail drapers stand between the wholesale drapers and consumers. However dearly the retail drapers may sell, under the circumstances we have supposed, they do not fail to buy their goods, or hire their servants, as cheaply as possible. The difference between them and other master competitors, is, that the latter, to acquire wealth, wage war against both the houses in their own divisions, and other divisions of their branch, and all other branches; whilst the former, though at peace with their own division, are in a state of warfare with all the other divisions of their own branch, and all other branches. The retail drapers are opposed in their own branch to the following divisions,—wholesale drapers, manufacturers, and growers of the raw produce, and the servants of all these; and to other branches, both as to what they buy of them for their trade, and the consumption of their houses, and what they sell to them, in the persons of their customers. The understanding between those of the same division exists

only, that they may thereby be better enabled to enrich themselves at the expense of the public; if this were not so, since the drapers who agree to keep up the price buy as cheaply as those in other towns, they ought to sell as cheaply.

97. That the conduct of these drapers is in opposition to the divine will, thus appears. Let us take their operation, for example, on journeymen who weave silks for ladies' dresses, purchased by the drapers of the manufacturers or wholesale dealers. These drapers, by endeavouring to buy as cheaply as possible, do all they can to lower the exchangeable value of all the labour that enters into the silks. If there is not to be some limit, to which the exchangeable value of the labour of the weavers and others is to be reduced, it may be brought down to nothing, for which none will contend. The weaver is indispensable to the draper, for if there were no goods woven, there could be none sold.

98. Having considered the understandings among the masters, to exclude to a certain extent, competition, let us next see, how some of the under-labourers attain the same object. Some or all belonging to any division enter into an association, the members of which bind themselves to some such regulations as follow:—to support each other when out of employment;---not to work for any master below a certain price;---nor with any person who has not served a regular apprenticeship, and been admitted a member of the association;---and that not more than a limited number of youths shall be allowed to be apprenticed to their occupation. In the enforcement of these regulations, it sometimes happens, that a master and his servants cannot agree: if this is found impracticable, it is communicated by the latter to the other members of the association to which they belong; and if the great body considers their associates aggrieved, a general 'strike' is threatened, or actually put in force: that is, the whole of the workmen desist from working for the masters; and thus the latter are frequently obliged to comply with the demands of those they employ. Some of these associations have members both in London and the country towns. This is the case with the journeymen curriers. From the men thus uniting, the supply of labour is prevented from preponderating towards the divisions in which these associations exist. Thus, the exchangeable value of the labour of the members is kept higher and more steady, than in those divisions where such associations are not formed. These associations have been sometimes opposed by the masters, some of whom are perhaps not altogether sensible, that the exchangeable value of labour being kept more steady, necessarily prevents fluctuation in the value of produce; and thus renders their trade more regular.

99. There is another class of labourers, the exchangeable value of whose labour is kept up in a different manner. They

are allowed certain privileges by corporate bodies, and none but the privileged class are permitted to follow their avocations. This refers both to masters and servants. Servants who are privileged, or associate, as mentioned in the preceding paragraph, may be considered as belonging to closed a class. Those who have no privileges, or do not associate, as belonging to an open class.

100. Under-labourers belonging to this, having nothing to protect them from competition, are thus operated on. The wages of silk-weavers in London, we believe, are not at present two shillings per day on the average; whilst carpenters earn five shillings per day. A weaver requiring a day's labour of a carpenter must therefore give him the earnings of two days and a half in return.

101. Some kinds of production are confined as to locality, as where the manufacture of particular articles has been long established. Certain articles manufactured at Sheffield may be mentioned as an example. Again, the cloth in the coat of a citizen of New York, may be made by weavers in Europe, though the coat itself is made in his own city. A citizen of London requiring to have his house repaired; some master builder and his workmen in the neighbourhood, we may suppose, will be hired. Thus, though thousands of labourers in England and France may be in a state of competition as to the weaving the cloth, the competition for making the coat at New York, or repairing the house in London, will not only be confined to the particular city in each case; but if the American journeymen tailors and London journeymen carpenters are associated to keep up the price of wages, both are, to a considerable extent, secured from competition, between themselves and their own countrymen.

102. That the labour which enters into some kinds of transportable produce, is more liable from the competition to have its exchangeable value reduced, is apparent from considering, that if any article, suppose silk manufactured goods be made in London, Manchester, Lyons, &c., and the supply of labour preponderates towards those employed about it, in any of those places, it immediately and directly acts on all other places. It will be more liable to such preponderance if the workmen belong to the open class. Where the same article is manufactured in many places, it is less easy for the labourers who produce it to keep their class closed, from the difficultyof preserving unanimity among great numbers of different nations. Much of the labour that enters into transportable produce, is paid for according to the quantity of work done; whilst some other kinds of labour are paid for by the day. As to the former mode, the general principle with masters is to depress the exchangeable value, that, by producing more cheaply, each may undersell his competitors. As to labour paid for by the day, the price is

generally well known, and the masters charge a profit thereon. If they pay at a low rate, their charge must be proportionably low, and to depress wages would in no way benefit them; the same thing, of course, applies to labour paid for according to the quantity of work performed, as soon as other masters reduce their prices, to the level of the one who first lowered. But, notwithstanding this, the masters, in order to increase their *temporary* gains, will, when it is in their power, *permanently* lower wages; and if one master does this, that others must follow, is obvious from considering, that if they were not to do so, they would be undersold.

103. The open class is exposed to competition, not only from the workmen in any particular branch or division, but from the redundant supply of labour throughout a whole nation, and that of other nations (in the way we have just seen); labour itself, also, being easily transportable by emigration. And where labour preponderates towards any branch or division, the relief to the unfortunate labourers must usually be extremely slow; as, ordinarily, this class of persons is very badly informed, as to the causes which operate on them. An Irish agricultural labourer, though he might double his earnings by changing his occupation to that of a weaver or worker in metals, yet, long accustomed to a peculiar calling, cannot easily alter it for one totally different; and if this difficulty can be surmounted, who is to teach him the new art?—who to pay the expenses of transit to the place where he may learn it, and of his maintenance whilst he is learning it? Besides all this, as to the branch into which he may desire to enter, the workmen may be formed into an association, the doors of which are closed against all but those to whom they are pleased to allow ingress. With difficulties thus insurmountable, condemnation to one of the branches or divisions, where the supply greatly preponderates, is too often equivalent to a sentence to slavery for life. To prevent the supply increasing, and, consequently, the work of impoverishment going on, we may suppose, fathers, on all possible occasions, place their sons in a different occupation from their own; though it must too often happen that the unhappy parent has not even this opportunity. We thus see, that as to labourers in those branches or divisions where the supply greatly preponderates, directing their attention to those where they do not, in their own nation or others, is the only mode of relief for them, according to the present constitution of things. But it is also obvious, that if some are benefitted by changing their occupations, others are prejudiced; as by a great preponderance in the supply of labour from agriculture, to weaving or working in metals;—the two latter, may as to the exchangeable value of labour, be brought as low as the former. The only mode by which the supply and demand of labour in all the

branches and divisions in the aggregate, can be kept in just relation, clearly being, for the productive powers of a nation to be under the control of a government.

104. As to the formation of such associations among workmen as we have been considering,—men have unquestionably no right whatever, in accordance with the divine law, to appropriate to themselves any department of production: by so doing, they may not only cause the public generally to pay an unfair price, (and then the effect is precisely the same as the understandings on the part of the master-drapers), but they may prevent many from following occupations, whose right to do so is as good as their own. These associations are therefore unjustifiable. Under any combination of circumstances, 'love worketh no ill to his neighbour.'—The granting peculiar privileges to, or by, corporate bodies, is also inadmissible in a right constitution of society.

105. All the able-bodied men in society, says Mr. Wade, are eligible to compete against the unskilled labourers; whereas, it is only those who have paid the price, either in money or money's worth, to obtain a knowledge of the business of the skilled labourer, that can compete against him. The unions of trades are hardly less ancient than the origin of the trades themselves; so constant and universal has been the operation of this principle, that I can hardly find a single division of labour which is not associated,—the object of which is separate conservation and advantage. Besides the separate unions of trades, attempts have been made to organize a national association for the protection of labour, composed of an aggregate of trades' unions, and having for its sole object the prevention of a reduction of wages. No trade could be admitted members of this association, that was not regularly organized and united in itself.—The brushmakers are a confederated body; they may enforce regulations which fix the wages to be paid by their employers, and to limit the number of apprentices to be taken by each master. These regulations may be advantageous to journeymen brushmakers, since they limit competition in their business; but how do they affect other classes? By the regulation respecting apprentices, and by refusing to work with non-associated journeymen, they keep out of the brush trade many perhaps who would like to enter therein; and thereby infringe the liberty of individuals in the choice of employment. Secondly, though their combination tends to keep up wages in the brush trade, it tends to depress them in other branches of industry; for it is obvious, that as the number of brushmakers are fewer, the number of operatives forced into other trades must be greater. And as wages depend on competition for employment, they must be lower in consequence of the exclusive laws of the craftsmen in the bristle line. [The London

tailors], by their perfect organization and discipline, have been able to maintain their wages as high in 1833, as in 1815; when money would only purchase two-thirds of the necessaries of life it will at present. Combinations among workmen intended solely to keep up the rate of wages, are of precisely the same nature as combinations among masters, to keep up the rate of profits. They are both confederacies against the public, liable to the same objections as monopolies; in which the interest of individuals is sought to be supported at the expense of the interests of the community.—(*Hist. of the Middle and Working Classes.*)

106. When a particular individual or class of individuals, says Mr. M'Culloch, obtains the exclusive privilege of manufacturing certain species of goods, the operation of the principle of competition is suspended with respect to them; and their price must therefore entirely depend on the proportion in which they are brought to market, compared with the demand. The market is seldom or never fully supplied with commodities produced under a monopoly. The right of property is as much infringed upon, when a man is interdicted from engaging in a particular branch of business, as when he is forcibly bereft of the property he has produced or accumulated. Every monopoly which gives to a few individuals the exclusive power of carrying on certain branches of industry, is thus, in fact, established, in direct violation of the property of all other individuals.—(*Prin. Pol. Econ.*) No cause, says Mr. Gallatin, has perhaps more promoted, in every respect, the general improvement of the United States, than the absence of those systems of internal restriction and monopoly, which continue to disfigure the state of society in other countries. No laws exist here, directly or indirectly confining men to a particular occupation or place, or excluding any citizen from any branch he may at any time think proper to pursue. Industry is in every respect free and unfettered, every species of trade, commerce, profession, and manufacture, being equally open to all; without requiring any regular apprenticeship, admission, or license.—(*Report on Com. and Manuf. U. S.* 1816.)

107. From what has been observed, we may perceive that the causes which operate on the value of labour are—The exclusion or admission of opposition,—in other words, of oppression and competition; and supply and demand—the operation of locality being considered.

108. The effects of opposition are to a certain extent obviated, on the part of some of the masters, by understandings with those in their own division to keep up prices. Such effects are to a certain extent obviated on the part of some of the servants, by associations formed to prevent a preponderance of the

supply of labour to their divisions, and thus its price is kept up in them.

109. The operation of these understandings, associations, and other monopolies; the necessity of practice to fit men for particular callings; the untransportability of labour and produce; the necessity for some kinds of labour being local; the ignorance of labourers as to the causes which operate on them; and legislative enactments influencing the transition of labour or produce by actual prohibition or levying duties, are the great causes which interfere with the equal supply of labour. But for them, the exchangeable value of, much of or all the labour of those who are not masters, must, from the operation of supply and demand, be always nearly the same in all parts of the grand association of the world, while such parts interchange.

110. If what is here stated cannot be impugned, how extremely few and simple are the principles which influence the productive labours of men in all countries and ages, even when in a state of vicious association. Such causes being yet fewer and more simple, if labour is in imperfect association. And the fewest and most simple if labour is in perfect association. *And what an incalculable amount of good or ill is educed as these principles are or are not properly understood and practised.*

111. It is from their not being properly understood and practised, that men form such erroneous notions as to the effect of increase in population. By the design of heaven, we have seen that every man is capable of reciprocating happiness with every other man. Can any suppose the angels complain that there are too many of their fellows? When the land of any nation has sufficient population, the surplus should migrate. *As things are constituted with us, that which should be our greatest happiness is one of our greatest curses.* This, then, affords indubitable evidence of an unsound state of things. What can be more cogent testimony of it, than that long, very long before our land is fully peopled; the supply of labour, which when applied to the land is the sole source of all wealth, is an evil? Assuredly, when this can be affirmed, the sciences of legislation and political economy must be in their infancy.

112. Reducing the quantity of labour required for the production of any article, is an unobjectionable mode in an association conducted on right principles, as it would be the means of affording to all the fullest supply of every earthly good, in many cases superseding disagreeable modes of manual labour; but where opposition among the secondary associations is the order of the day, it is converted into an evil; new machinery reducing the quantity of labour required, and thus causing a still greater excess in the supply. If, says Ricardo, the shoes and clothing of the labourer could by improvements in machinery be pro-

duced by one fourth of the labour now necessary to their production, they would probably fall seventy-five per cent; but so far is it from being true, that the labourer would thereby be enabled permanently to consume four coats or four pair of shoes instead of one, his wages would in no long time be adjusted by the effects of competition. (*Pol. Econ.*) What a fool is man in the present state of society, says Mr. Gray, to tell his employer how his loom, for instance, may be improved! It is tantamount to saying, "Master, I can show you how I and my family may be allowed to starve." (*Social System.*)

113. The oppressed labourer, in order to get a little more wages, works extra hours, sends his children to factories, and is sometimes compelled to profane the sabbath, by turning it into a day of labour; but all these things aggravate the evil by bringing a still larger supply of labour into the market. A reduction of wages, says Mr. Wade, compels a workman either to reduce his expenditure, or by increased exertion make up the diminution in his income. But as the reduction in the price of labour has probably arisen from slackness in the demand for its products, it follows that lengthening the hours of work, or similar expedients, only aggravates the evil of scarcity of employment, and thereby accelerates the downward tendency of wages. An increased number of females, and of such poor children of both sexes, as are fit to work, are obliged to quit their homes, or to engage in some species of employment; while those labourers who work by the piece, endeavour, by increasing the quantity of their work, to obtain the means of purchasing their accustomed quantity of food. These causes continue to operate to the disadvantage of the working classes. (*Hist. of the Middle and Working Classes.*) There exists, says a journalist, in the very heart of this country, a cruel and destructive species of bondage, which blights and withers all humanity exposed to its noxious influence; the young are its victims,—the unprotected children of the poor are its hopeless slaves. At a tender age they are taken from the care of parents, from the opportunities of instruction, from the ordinary recreations of youthful life; imprisoned in the Bastiles of modern manufactures, pent up in foul air, worked in cheerless and exhausting drudgery, until the powers of nature give way, and they sink into the grave, or drag on a lingering existence, the prey of bodily infirmities and moral degradation. This is the system of our factories, a system created by that selfish spirit of mammon, which makes *the misery and debasement of thousands subservient to the sordid nterests of one.* (*Morning Herald, Feb.* 4, 1832.) It is, says another journalist, dreadful to reflect on the ruinous effects of the factory system, in bringing thousands to a premature grave, and filling our manufacturing towns with pale, debilitated, and haggard wretches, the living skeletons of the once robust and

hardy English people. A nation's strength must depend in a very material degree upon the health and bodily vigour of its population. Nor is it on this account alone, that the country is bound to prohibit a system that produces a numerous race of degenerated and rickety beings; the mind suffers with the body, and weakness of intellect generally accompanies the imperfect formation of the outward man; gross sensuality, and reckless vice, and thievish disposition, may be expected as a matter of course, among unhappy beings, who, to use the emphatic expression of a Manchester manufacturer, "have no leisure to be wise, and have only the form of their species." West India slavery is far less atrocious than the slavery of English children in factories. (*Times, March 5,* 1832.) To children, the writer might with equal propriety have added, and men, and women; though, as he was considering only the young, the treatment of adults was foreign to his subject.

114. Notwithstanding, surprising improvements have been made in this country in almost every branch of manufacture within the last half century, the great body of the people is little more benefited by them than the antediluvians were; though it is through the instrumentality of the body of the people that these improvements have been made. Multitudes have thus the misery of witnessing, that every thing they can possibly require is to be had at a trifling cost; but small as it is, the exchangeable value of their labour is so forced down, as for it to be beyond their means. During the last sixteen or seventeen years, or since the peace, says an anonymous writer, most common fabrics of cotton manufacture have fallen fully one half in value. And as this reduced value has principally been achieved by subtracting wages of one kind or other, the consequence has been, that the labourers employed on those fabrics, and the lower orders generally, have ceased to be consumers of the article altogether; although their increased necessities even to obtain a morsel of bread, has compelled them to produce double the quantity. (*Public Econ. Concentrated.*)

115. We saw by the perfect mode of association, that all the associates, whatever their numbers, worked together for the benefit of each other; here it is exactly opposite: each has the combined powers of wealth, and machinery, and talent, and numbers, operating *against* instead of *for* him; all are trying to produce as cheaply as possible, and thus to lower the exchangeable value of the labour of all concerned in production. In one case it is *the many for the one;* in the other, *the many against the one* — fearful odds for the pauperized productive labourer to contend with:—and the more the population increases on a given extent of territory—the larger the secondary associations become,—the greater the wealth,—the more extensive the credit,—the more powerful the machinery,—the

greater the talents and application of the masters who have the direction of these mighty means,—the greater is the oppression and the competition. And thus, by the most wonderful of all wonderful perversions, the greater is the poverty induced! If two bodies of a hundred thousand men each, were opposed to each other in the field of battle, a few hours would, probably, put an end to the struggle; but by the land-engrossing, and oppressing, and competing system, we have hundreds of millions carrying on a warfare—not of a day, or a month, or a year only,—but for the whole lives of the combatants, and every hour of their lives!—a battle to be continued by their successors,—and again by theirs,—and so on interminably;—a few only of the leaders being enriched, and all the rest of the mighty host, in a less or greater degree, pauperized:—though, if all the combatants would place themselves in a state of perfect or imperfect association, instead of the unnatural one of opposition, every individual might be wealthy and happy, and the whole community removed from any danger, except that of the accumulation of wealth becoming too great!

116. The low value of some articles of produce may arise from their manufacture being assisted by powerful machinery, as well as the supply of labour preponderating. When the exchangeable value of goods is reduced from a combination of these causes, it affords undoubted evidence of the producers having the capacity to be rich,—but that they are actually poor. This is now the case with the greater part of the population of the British Isles. Notwithstanding we have, at this moment, a people possessing within themselves the means of producing an exuberance for all;—no inconsiderable part of the nation is so impoverished, that men run everywhere to purchase the coarser kinds of goods, and the smallest quantity, and at the lowest price. All this necessarily reduces the demand for produce. As this is reduced, the demand for labour is reduced, the supply preponderates, and its exchangeable value is forced down; and as this is lowered, the people are impoverished. In this fatal circle things run:—and not the least extraordinary part of the strange history is, that men *wonder at their being so poor!*—though nothing could be more astonishing than that they were not. The most effectual measures are taken to bring about a certain end, and when this is obtained, men are surprised that quite an opposite one has not been educed! Some may expect to remedy the evils under which they groan by parsimonious living; but this is unavailing, as the humblest means are to them too frequently not attainable, though they are ready to give their whole labour in return. So true is it, that 'the destruction of the poor is their poverty.' But the system of parsimonious living is manifestly a wrong one, from the causes just considered.

117. Unavoidable poverty can arise only from famine, or the Divine Being smiting 'the earth with a curse,' so that it will require much greater labour for production of all kinds than at present. Those, consequently, who are poor where there is plenty of labour, are precisely in the condition of men impoverishing themselves, or being so acted on by others. By not rightly associating, we are guilty of conduct equivalent to throwing whole cargoes of corn, and wine, and oil, and every other good thing, into the sea. Can we refrain from denouncing the destroyers of all these bounties of Heaven, as well as those who silently witness such proceedings, as monsters of wickedness? If we saw this done once only, could we hesitate? But if we see this destruction going on every day, every hour, every moment, and during our whole lives, and in all places—what must we say? What language is sufficiently energetic, adequately to describe such frightful abominations, which exist in a less or greater degree throughout the whole nation? It may, we believe, be asserted without hazard of confutation, that the history of the world affords no parallel to that seen in the misapplication of the mighty energies of the British nation in our times. *We call, then, both men and angels to witness our solemn protestation against multitudes having the property in the land abstracted from them, and being thence so placed, that they necessarily oppress one another, and compete with one another,* in direct contradiction to the great law of their being, which renders it imperative on all, in their whole conduct, to educe nothing but the highest degree of good to each other. We are told that 'there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over one sinner that repenteth.' If, then, these happy beings sympathize in the good that happens to us, they necessarily must likewise in the ill. How profound, therefore, must be their sorrow at the ignorance, confusion, wickedness, and misery, every where abounding among men. Had the heavenly host corporeal organs, we may suppose each of them thus adopting the language of a prophet; 'Mine eye runneth down with rivers of water;' 'mine eye trickleth down, and ceaseth not, without any intermission.'

118. By far the greatest part of those goods, says Ricardo, which are the objects of desire, are procured by labour; and may be multiplied not in one country alone, but in many, almost *without any assignable limit. (Pol. Econ.)* Never, says an anonymous writer, was such a paradox exhibited before since the world began; and still we proceed in the same course, wondering all the time, as well we may, what it is that occasions all the distress. With resources such as no nation ever before possessed,—a rich and extensive soil,—a situation so calculated for commerce that the world cannot produce its parallel,—a

people proverbial for industry,—colonies spread over both hemispheres,—the finest navy to be met with,—an unlimited capital,—and yet amidst all this one universal cry of distress. Was there ever such an infatuated system pursued, or such an anomalous state of things exhibited, in the history of civilized nations? (*Public Econ. Concentrated.*) We have already adverted to the cotton trade (iii, 5), and may here quote some observations of an anonymous writer upon it. The various machinery now used in manufacturing cotton, says he, has enabled one man to perform the work of one hundred and fifty. The lowest computation supposes 280,000 men, some say 350,000 men; to be employed in it, hence the work now performed in this single branch, would, half a century ago, have required 42,000,000 of men, according to some 53,000,000; that is to say, at the lowest computation, more than twice as many men, women, and children, as now people the British Islands. Supposing the labour of each of these men to cost, at this hour, the very moderate sum of one shilling per day, or £18 per annum, the pay of 42,000,000 of labourers would be £756,000,000 per annum, or a little more than thirteen times the annual revenue of England. Deducting from the sum the pay of the labourers now really employed, at the above annual rate, 280,000×£18=5,040,000; and allowing the enormous sum of 50,000,000 sterling for the wear and tear of machiney, buildings, and incidental expences; the result is, that the machinery employed in the cotton manufacture saves £700,000,000 sterling to the British nation.—*(Quar. Rev.)* The average productive power of our people may be estimated as one thousand to one over the average productive power of mankind at large,—is further remarked by this writer.

119. Our present situation, says another writer, appears to be altogether anomalous, since there never was a period recorded in history, when abundance and pauperism were so paradoxically co-existent. It is universally acknowledged, that the present productive powers of the country employed in creating articles of necessity, convenience, and luxury, have never been equalled; —that the means of procuring food and clothing for a population much greater than our own, are now at our disposal;—in short, that we have, by our immense power of production in manufactures, overstocked every market to which we could gain access. [The manufacturing system,] which, fifty years ago, could scarcely keep pace with the wants of Great Britain alone, has been able by the aid derived from its new allies, to spread abundance and excess throughout the four quarters of the globe; until *its overwhelming produce has at length created the very evils which result from privation itself.* When the invention of the steam engine and those innumerable machines to which it gave birth, were imparted to society, either the greatest blessing

or the greatest curse was entailed upon posterity;—at present, unhappily, the latter fearfully prevails, and a considerable proportion of British population is already doomed to pauperism, with all its degrading censequences, since manual labour in vain contends in this most unequal conflict with science and mechanism. Mr. Coke and our most intelligent agriculturists [affirm], that our own island possesses ample means within itself of supporting three times its present population.—(*Three Letters addressed to David Ricardo, Esq. M. P.*)

120. Simultaneously with the mighty augmentation of our means, we find the poor rates increase: thus, the average annual expenditure for the support of the poor, and other expences incident thereon, was in 1748-49 and 50, £730,135—in 1820 and 21, £8,411,893. The English system of despoiling the great body of the people of their right to the land, and then endeavouring to remedy a little of the universal and unutterable evil it superinduces, by poor rates and public charities, is, in addition to its unrighteousness, some of the most miserable quackery the world ever has heard of, or ever will hear of: 'They that be whole,' says our Lord, 'need not a physician, but they that are sick;'—which truly applies to the case before us. When things are righteously constituted, there can be only two classes of the necessitous, those who cannot, and those who will not work; neither of these are proper objects of public charity. If the former deserve well of their friends, these should emulate each other, in their anxiety to provide all that will conduce to the comfort of the invalid or aged. The latter should be so punished as will make them work. If, however, the land is allowed to be engrossed, and thence oppression and competition are universal, a less or greater degree of pauperism and beggary are the necessary concomitants. And then the great land engrosser, with an income of thousands, or it may be of tens of thousands yearly, who has been a prime cause of these evils, is lauded to the skies, as the most generous of men, for giving a few pounds in charity. Nothing can be more evident, that the necessity of our poor rates, and public charities; arises out of our engrossing, and oppressing, and competing system. Among the Hebrews, their year of release occurred septennially, when all debts were cancelled, but with this remarkable exception, 'save when there shall be no poor among you.' Our plan is to make multitudes sick, as far as regards their pecuniary means, and then, as to a few of the most desperate cases, give medicine in the shape of poor rates and charities; blindly or wilfully overlooking, that they that be whole need not a physician, as must have been the case with the Hebrews, when there was no poor among them. What, it may be asked, can be more degrading, than for the man who is able and willing to work, to be obliged to run about asking for poor rates, or alms, of those who are

truly far less, if at all, useful to their fellows? Assuredly, these things ought not so to be.

121. On an inquiry into the state of mendicity in the metropolis, says a writer in the Sup. Ency. Brit.—Mr. John Doughty, a gentleman much in the habit of visiting the habitations of the poor, was asked:—Q. "In your opinion, do many worthy honest industrious persons have recourse to begging, or does this class of society consist of the idle and profligate?" A. "The instances in which worthy, honest, industrious persons have recouse to begging are extremely rare; they will in general rather starve than beg. A person of veracity, who some time ago visited 1500 poor families in the neighbourhood of Spitalfields, affirms that, out of full 300 cases of abject poverty and destitution, and at least 100 of literal want and starvation, not a dozen had been found to have recourse to begging. Many of the most wretched of the above cases had been not long before able to support themselves in some comfort, but want of employ had completely ruined them. They were at that moment pressed by landlord, baker, and tax-gatherer; had pawned and sold every thing that could be turned into money; were absolutely without a morsel of food for themselves or family, but still had not recourse to begging. As a general fact, the decent poor will struggle to the uttermost, and even perish rather than turn beggars."—How unworthily this class of persons is traduced by those who represent them as capable of being restrained by nothing but a dungeon or a bayonet, and who, by their ignorance of human nature, so cruelly prolong the needless miseries under which it labours. According to the experiment mentioned by Mr. Doughty, and it is upon a large scale, and on a part of the population, (the circumstances of the people in Spitalfields not being favourable to virtue;) which may be reckoned below, rather than above the common standard. Out of 400 individuals of the lowest order, 388 will consent to perish by hunger rather than beg. In confirmation of this testimony, an extraordinary fact has come to our knowledge. We have been informed by a gentleman, whose knowledge of the circumstances, and behaviour of the journeymen in the metropolis may be regarded as in a very unusual, or rather an unexampled degree, minute and correct, that of this important portion of the labouring population, no one ever begs; that such a thing as a journeyman tradesman, or any of his family begging, is almost unknown; and may with certainty be pronounced as one of the rarest of contingent events. When it is considered to what an extraordinary degree most of the employments, by which these men earn the means of subsistence, are liable to fluctuation, that thousands of them are for months together deprived of work, as was the case with thousands, for example, of the carpenters and bricklayers during the severe winter of 1815:—that of those,

the whole must be reduced to the most cruel privations, and a great proportion actually starve, unpitied, unheard of, and unknown; the resolution by which they abstain from begging, should be regarded as one of the most remarkable phenomena of the human mind.—(*Sup. Ency. Brit. Art, Beggar.*)

122. In Scotland, says Mr. Buchanan, a legal provision was formerly established for the maintenance of the poor, but owing to the manners of the people, which attach disgrace to dependent poverty, the system has now fallen into disuse and the poor are now maintained by voluntary charity. According to the present practice of England, says Mr. Prinsep, a convict sentenced to hard labour is better clothed, lodged, and otherwise provided, than the great majority of deserving labourers.

123. Nothing is more common, than to hear the most worthless of the rich, when their poor neighbours are anxious for a change in the order of things, cry out, that the latter "have nothing to lose,"—"they have nothing to lose," is reiterated;—they want lawlessly to invade our property and introduce anarchy,—they are lazy and otherwise vicious,—a set of vile Radicals,—and similar exclamations. There can be no doubt, that in a nation having laws in accordance with the divine will, and thus the best means afforded men of working out their temporal well-being, very many bad characters would be found; and of such, every one in distress, and every one in debt, and every one discontented, might gather themselves round any leader, if they hoped to be thereby able to prey on the better part of society with impunity. The conduct of all such, and any thing that in the slightest degree approximates thereto, is utterly indefensible, as much so as the conduct of the rich in raising the cry again the poor; when these very rich persons are the main supporters of the lawless system, that induces the miserable poverty of those who on account of it, desire a change. By the operation of such lawless system, the cry of—"they have nothing to lose," must ever apply to multitudes; and if their mouths are to be stopped with revilings only, a reformation will never take place. Certainly it is with a very ill grace that the rich, the prime subverters of all righteous law, exclaim against those that desire to remove such an iniquitous state of things, even by means not altogether justifiable; and it is still worse when they exclaim against those, who wish by lawful means to have righteous laws established and maintained. To each of these rich persons, our Lord's words may truly be applied,—'Why beholdest thou the mote that is in thy brother's eye, but considerest not the beam that is in thine own eye? Or how wilt thou say to thy brother, Let me pull out the mote out of thine eye; and, behold, a beam is in thine own eye? Thou hypocrite, first cast out the beam out of thine own eye; and then shalt thou see clearly to cast out the mote out of thy brother's eye.'

124. The example, says Mr. M'Culloch, of such individuals or bodies of individuals, as submit quietly to have their wages reduced, and who are content if they only get the mere necessaries of life, ought never to be held up for public imitation. On the contrary, every thing should be done to make such apathy be esteemed disgraceful. The best interests of society require that the rate of wages should be elevated as high as possible,—that a taste for the comforts, luxuries, and enjoyments of human life should be widely diffused, and if possible interwoven with national habits and prejudices. Very low wages, by rendering it impossible for increased exertions to obtain any considerable increase of comforts and enjoyments, effectually hinders them from being made; and is of all others the most powerful cause of that idleness and apathy, that contents itself with what can barely continue animal existence. It has sometimes indeed been contended, that high wages, instead of encouraging industry, uniformly become a fruitful source of idleness and dissipation. Nothing, however, can be more entirely incorrect than these representations, more completely exposed both to principle and experience. Have the low wages of the Irish, Poles, and Hindoos, made them industrious? Or the high wages of the Americans, English, and Hollanders, made them lazy, riotous, and profligate? Just the contrary. The former are as notoriously and proverbially indolent, as the latter are laborious, active, and enterprising. In 1815, there were no fewer than 925,439 individuals in England and Wales, being about one eleventh of the then existing population, members of friendly societies, formed for the express purpose of affording protection to the members during sickness and old age, and enabling them to subsist without resorting to the parish fund; and the deposits in the savings' banks amount at present to about fourteen millions sterling. It is alleged that no such unquestionable proofs of the prevalence of a spirit of providence and indepedence, can be exhibited in any other European country. (*Princip. Pol. Econ.*) Some workmen, says Mr. Wade, when they can earn in four days what will maintain them through the week, will be idle the other three; but this is the exception, not the rule. Among the working classes, as among every other class of society, there are some who do not make the best use of their advantages. They are improvident, intent on present enjoyment, and regardless of the future; but the greater portion will be actuated by the motives common to our species, of increasing their comforts and bettering their condition. Why, then, should the weakness and folly of a few be made a pretext for injuring and depressing by low wages the greater number? (*Hist. of the Middle and Working Classes.*)

125. That a poor man, commonly speaking, must be an immoral one, is obvious from considering, that of the two branches

of his duty,—love to God and his fellows, he performs neither aright. As to the Divine Being, the gross ignorance in which multitudes of poor persons are placed by their situation, entirely prevents them from seeing, that the land-engrossing, oppression, and competition to which they owe their poverty, arise from opposition to the will of heaven; and that if men lived righteously, these evils would be altogether banished from the world. Thus it is, that the poor are prevented from loving God aright, and that a reliance on his providential care does not exist in the minds of the great majority of them. Nor can pauperized men, living constantly in a state of opposition, love one another; all the generality of them know, is, that the operation of the same causes which makes others rich, makes them poor, and that the rich have little sympathy for them. Hence it may be laid down as one of the great truths in morals, that there cannot ordinarily be poverty without immorality. And if we may so speak, not single but double immorality; immorality in the attainment of poverty, immorality in the endurance of it; or rather fourfold immorality, because to this of the poor, we may add that of the rich, both in the attainment and employment of their wealth.

126. Let us look at the situation of a man with an income of a hundred thousand per year, whom we will call Dives; his income being derivable from his engrossing the land, and as mercantile oppression and competition need not exist but for this, Dives is one of the prime authors of them. If, then, labour in the neighbourhood of Dives is so depreciated, as for those employed, for example in agriculture, to get but twenty-five pounds per year, for Dives to have one hundred thousand pounds per year; he must have one half of the entire income of 8000 persons. And if each of this large number has, on the average, only one person dependent on him for support, and Dives the same, we have 16,000 persons kept in a state of pauperism, that two may have one hundred thousand pounds per year: though, if the productive labour of the 8000 had been in a state of perfect or imperfect association, which it might have been if the land had not been engrossed, every one, and the person dependent on him, might have had the utmost plenitude of wealth, or all been as rich as Dives and his companion were in reality; i. e. all might have had their largest reasonable wishes satisfied, which was all Dives could desire. And it need scarcely be urged, that the fact of a single individual being able to affirm that he abstracts one half the earnings of eight thousand, furnishes evidence so conclusive of the state of things being opposed to the divine will, that antecedent to any inquiry, we may truly say, 'What need we any further witness? for we ourselves have heard of his own mouth.' He may, therefore, in the words of the Divine Being, be thus addressed: 'Seemeth it a small thing unto you, to have eaten up the good pasture,

but ye must tread down with your feet the residue of your pastures? And to have drunk of the deep waters; but ye must foul the residue with your feet? And as for my flock, they eat that which ye have trodden with your feet, and they drink that which ye have fouled with your feet. Therefore, thus saith the Lord God unto them, Behold I, even I, will judge between the fat cattle, and between the lean cattle. Because ye have thrust, with side and with shoulder, and pushed all the diseased with your horns, till ye have scattered them abroad,' 'I will judge between cattle and cattle.' We thus see the difference between God and man. The Divine Being decrees, that the 16,000 persons shall educe nothing but the highest degree of good to each other; man, by rebelling against heaven, decrees that they shall educe the greatest evils to each other.

127. In reference to the land, the only mode a good man can pursue, whilst the laws of his country remain unrighteous, seems to be, equitably to assign,—not by letting, but the ownership, of all that he cannot lawfully retain, to the most deserving and impoverished of his neighbours, on condition that they will make it productive of the greatest possible benefit to others equally deserving. (i—57.)

128. While the land is allowed to be engrossed, *a master among the productive classes can only be considered as next in point of guilt to the landholders,* in supporting the system, which reduces the great mass of mankind to one of the two kinds of slavery; namely, that wherein men can be bought and sold like bales of goods, or that wherein they must sell their labour at any price they can obtain for it. For some to enrich themselves through the instrumentality of the latter, is second only, in its guilt, to doing so, as to that kind of slavery where men are sold and bought. The being in any way either politically or commercially concerned in engrossing the land, or willingly making gain by oppression or competition thence arising, with either of the kinds of slave labour or their produce, is, if we mistake not, emphatically called, in the language of sacred writ, making *merchandize of the bodies and souls of men.* (*Rev.* xviii. 12, 13.)

129. As to commercial oppression, no line can be drawn between one person being subjected to it, and the whole human race throughout its generations—reducing labourers to actual starvation and death! As to willing competition, no line can be drawn between unduly depriving a man of the smallest portion of his trade, and utterly ruining him, and, as we have just said, the whole human race throughout its generations.

130. When, reader, you shall appear at the judgment-seat of Christ, you will find that, in any manner whatever, or in any degree, however slight, either as an engrosser of the political right,—or of the land,—or as a mercantile competitor,—or in

any other capacity ;—to have been instrumental in making merchandize of one soul, will be a far more serious affair than you may now consider it! *What, then, will be your condemnation, if you have been in any manner concerned in making merchandize of multitudes of immortal souls?*

131. We have seen how one nation should prevent itself from being commercially injuriously acted on by another. As to a nation's own sons, the great fundamental duty of all of them is, to do all they lawfully can, that the constitution and code of the nation may accord with the divine law. Such code, by assigning to all an equal right to the property in the land, would put an end to the cause of oppression and competition. It may be urged in objection to what is advanced, that a retail draper, for example, can little influence the wages silk manufacturers, even in their own nation, pay their servants. This, then, affords an unanswerable argument, why the draper should do all he can, that, by the establishment of a righteous code, the weaver, &c. thereby acquiring a property in the land, may not be under the necessity of selling their labour at any price, however low. Unless this is done, the draper is implicated in the guilt of impoverishing the weaver, by supporting, either directly or indirectly, the political system which primarily induces his poverty. The good man, in the enjoyment of his own temporal gratifications, knows that they have been attained by humbly imitating his heavenly Father, in dispensing benefits to all around him—i. e. by rightly associating. Widely different is it with the unrighteous man, whether belonging to the productive or non-productive classes! he cannot but know, unless his ignorance is too gross to perceive it, that every morsel of bread put into the mouth of himself or the mouths of his children, has taken many out of the mouths of the impoverished productive labourers and their families, from whom his wealth emanates.

132. *He, therefore, whether belonging to the productive or non-productive classes, and whether master or servant, who earns a single farthing, without regarding the manner he is operating either politically or commercially, on all those whether masters or servants, and wherever they may be located, whether in his own country or a foreign one; whose labour or produce he deals in, or in any manner whatever, either proximately or remotely, affects, or as to either such labour or produce willingly unduly depreciates—cannot be a righteous man.*

133. That there should be any where one pauperized person, not so placed entirely by his own misconduct, or allowed so to remain, after he has evinced an intention of truly repenting, affords indubitable evidence of the will of Heaven being set at nought with regard to him. How can the associates of such a

person have been obeying its gracious law, which commands all to educe nothing but good to all their fellows? And all must necessarily be associates that belong to the same association, though, as we have observed, it comprises the whole commercial world. The good man must therefore, ever be solicitous that, as far as his power extends, the evil of poverty shall be utterly banished from among mankind; being careful, on the one hand, that he does not afford the slightest encouragement whatever to men's bringing it on themselves; nor, on the other, that licentiousness may be generated, from the too great plenty that may arise from their rightly associating. If, however, some are so miserably idle, and otherwise vicious, that nothing can bring them out of a state of poverty, or as it may be otherwise termed, immorality, they must of course be left in it. But others can neither acquire nor retain affluence lawfully, through dealing in any way in the labour or its produce of their pauperized brethren, until they have tried every possible means to reclaim them from the immorality of poverty. If then, reader, you were to go to St. Petersburg, to Paris, to Vienna, or elsewhere, and see a few living in affluence, whilst the many were in a less or greater degree pauperized; every one of the few that has not done all that lay in him wholly to supersede the pauperism, is condemned in the sight of Heaven; —such a line of conduct being what each of the affluent would wish to have done unto himself if he was in the pauperized class, and which he ought to desire, from the immorality in which he would be living.

134. He that desires to act righteously, can only rent an additional quantity of land to his own, or deal in any way in the labour of his brethren, or its produce, with a view to their prosperity as well as his own. One of the means of this, is to allow them wages to obtain suitable food, clothing, and habitation. This precludes his making any considerable profit of their labour: and what remains, after providing for his own necessities, he should employ in rescuing all others as far as his influence can extend, even to the remotest ends of the earth, from a state of unwilling poverty; ever remembering the words addressed to him by the Lord Jesus,—'He that receiveth a righteous man,' 'shall receive a righteous man's reward.' 'And whosoever shall give to drink unto one,' 'a cup of cold water only, in the name of a disciple,' 'he shall in no wise lose his reward.' Verily, 'inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least' 'of my brethren, ye have done it unto me.' Heaven decrees that all shall be righteous; and is not willing that any should perish, but that all should come to repentance. It further decrees, as to those who fall away from their duty, that all who do not, shall by all means allure their erring brethren to return to that which makes alike for their temporal and

eternal welfare. Can you imagine, reader, that the Lord Jesus Christ came down from Heaven, and suffered an ignominious death for the sake of guilty man, and yet that *the communications of this divine personage are to be treated with little more regard, than the wanderings of a sot or a madman?* If his precepts, 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;'—'All things whatever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them,'—have any meaning whatever, they evidently declare that *it is incumbent on every righteous man so to love all other men, or at least all the well-disposed part of mankind, that they may be as well fed, clothed, and housed, as he is himself.* What man is there in this nation, says Andrew Fletcher, if he have any compassion, who must not grudge himself every nice bit and every delicate morsel he puts in his mouth, when he considers that so many are already dead, and so many at that minute struggling with death—not for want of bread, but of grains—which, I am credibly informed, have been eaten by some families, even during the preceding years of scarcity. And must not every unnecessary branch of our expense, or the least finery in our houses, clothes, or equipage, reproach us with our barbarity, so long as people born with natural endowments, perhaps not inferior to our own, and fellow-citizens, perish for want of things absolutely necessary to life!—(*Second Disc. on the Affairs of Scotland.*)

135. That men can be lawfully enriched only, by as far as lies in them diffusing an equal degree of prosperity to all righteous persons within the sphere of their influence, will further appear from what follows. As the land can never be lawfully engrossed, and any small portions that may be transferred from some to others, must, when men live in accordance with the will of heaven, return periodically to their original owners, or their heirs; and as what are miscalled national debts can never lawfully exist;—the only thing that can be amassed, is moveable wealth, and this not in great quantities, for four reasons:—first, because, men could make no beneficial application of it;—secondly, if the supply of labour, or produce emanating therefrom, preponderates beyond the demand, its value will decline, and thus in a less or greater degree it will cease to be wealth;—thirdly, all having by righteous laws a title to the land, the numbers who under such laws will be obliged to sell their labour to the great competitors, will necessarily be much limited; and thus, these persons will be debarred from enriching themselves, by dealing in such labour;—fourthly, many kinds of wealth can only be had as the seasons return, and but in suitable quantities for the support of man: were larger ones attainable, the principal effect would be to make men forget still more than they most unhappily now do—their dependence on heaven. If a man has one house suitable for himself and family, it ought to be

sufficient, as what would be the consequence if every family in a nation required two or more houses? It is also obvious, if such house is properly furnished, more furniture cannot be required, but by the man who wishes to keep an upholsterer's warehouse. As to clothing in any state of society, none think of having more by them than will last a few months. And as to almost every article of food, no greater stock than will last a few days. By the Mosaic Code, which emanated from heaven, all incitement to avarice was as far as possible removed from the ancient Hebrews. By their lawgiver they were promised, in consequence of their obedience, neither gold, silver, nor precious stones, stately houses, or sumptuous furniture; but the former and latter rain, regular seasons, plenty of corn, wine, and oil, increase of cattle, multitudes of children, and victory over their enemies.

136. If we take the population of the whole world, and with respect to those kinds of moveable wealth, the larger stock of which may exist, we shall find that, in any state of society, and under any combination of circumstances, the share of each person, when averaged, must be inconsiderable. This will be apparent to any one who will estimate the quantity of moveable wealth in one of our country towns, and the number of its inhabitants, and then consider, if it was equally divided, what would be the share of each. We must remember, that all mankind are under the same law; and that this law should influence every thought, word, and deed of the whole conduct of each. Let us then take a generation of the human race, consisting of one half its estimated amount, or about four hundred and fifty millions of persons arrived at mature years;—each one of this number employing all those moments of his or her life, devoted to the acquisition of wealth, endeavouring to engross as much as possible of the moveable wealth in the world to himself or herself; it is obvious, that at the end of their lives, the quantity accumulated by each, if all pursued their object with the same vigour, would be inconsiderable. And it is also obvious, that if some were very idle, and others very industrious, so that the former got none of the accumulation, and the latter the share of those as well as their own; still the quantity acquired by the industrious taking its amount and their numbers in the aggregate, would not be considerable; and they would have been spending their whole lives for no conceivable end, as they would leave off little farther advanced than where they began, or to use the words of Solomon, they would have been labouring for the wind.

137. How little hoards of wealth are necessary, appears from considering, that if we have a loaf of bread it can be eaten but once, and if not soon consumed it become worthless. If we have a quantity of gold, apart from a few unimportant uses, it is

wholly unavailing, and can almost entirely be dispensed with, for any of the purposes of human life; but if we have *rightly associated labour*, we can not only procure gold or bread with it, but a constant supply of wealth of every kind. This, then, is that which under the divine blessing is truly valuable. This is that which *constitutes the true riches. All that the possession of wealth confers*, however large the quantity may be, *is the power of commanding the labour of others.* As all, then, have an abundant stock of this labour, and are most happy when it is rightly associated, nothing can be more obvious, than that for all to have the command of as much of the labour of others as they require, would be for all to have the greatest plenitude of wealth. And this may be accomplished for all by men's rightly associating. Was universal righteousness, therefore, to reign on earth, the perfect mode of association must prevail among men; for as their labour would produce a superabundance, there would be no conceivable object, on the part of any, to have exclusive stores of wealth. If a number of persons were to sit down to a well-furnished table to dine, it would be the most childish folly to want to engross that of which there was more than sufficient for all; extending, therefore, the idea of the dinner-table to all that men require through life, it would be equal folly in some to want to engross, where there would be a superabundance, as we have just said would arise, if men were universally righteous, and lived in a state of perfect association.

138. When, says Mr. Morgan, we know that a given number of individuals, aided by all the modern discoveries in science, could produce much more than they have occasion for, is it probable that any one would desire more than he could use, while the storehouses were at all times superabounding? Water is coveted beyond all price, by those who are crossing the burning sands of Arabia;—but does the inhabitant of a town desire more than is sufficient to allay his thirst, when the conduit is flowing all times in the day?—(*Revolt of the Bees.*) There is, says Junius Redivivus, no reason, save ignorance, why any thing like degradation should attach to the character of the working mechanics. There is no reason save ignorance, why they should not have dwellings as good as those of their employers, as to all the purposes of comfort. There is no reason, save ignorance, why they should not have refreshing baths after their daily toil, and abundant change of comely garments conducive to health. There is no reason, save ignorance, why they should not have abundance of good and well-prepared food for the body, and access to books of all kinds for the proper culture of the mind. There is no reason, save ignorance, why they should not have access to theatres and operas and lectures of all kinds, and picture and sculpture galleries, and museums for

more imposing, than any thing the world has yet beheld. There is no reason, save ignorance, why the great body of the working people should not possess, in addition to all that is necessary for the comfortable maintenance of the body, all the pleasures of mental refinement, which are now only within the grasp of the very rich. There is no reason, save ignorance, why the ruling power of the state should not be in their own hands, and all else; save only the excitements of ostentation and expensive sensuality.—*(Tait's Edin. Mag. Nov.* 1834.*)*

139. *The bare possibility even, of some being able to amass considerable wealth, is therefore conclusive evidence that the constitution of things which admits it, is opposed to the divine will; because, it is by engrossing the land,—unlawfully taxing men,—and making great profits of their labour by oppression and competition;—that a few are so greatly enriched, and multitudes reduced to slavery of one kind or the other, and impoverished; and thus both poor and rich are demoralized.*

140. However ready some may be to urge that the unrighteousness of others prevents the adoption of the perfect or imperfect modes of association, they can by no means take advantage of such unrighteousness to enrich themselves. Those therefore who desire that the vicious mode may prevail, that by the prevalence of oppression and competition they may become rich, do not lament the unrighteousness of which they complain, but desire to augment its sum by making it subservient to their own unhallowed purposes. Nor let any allege, that whilst human nature is constituted as it is at present, the unrighteousness of men may never be expected to be wholly superseded, and the good may therefore be indifferent about the matter. It would indeed be most immoral to affirm, that because the will of God will probably, or even certainly, be set at nought, to a certain extent, that it is unimportant how far the evil proceeds. Buying cheaply and selling dearly, therefore, however they may be the maxims of the children of mammon, are certainly not those of the servants of Heaven. Their sole rule is, to love their neighbour as themselves. As they desire to be prosperous and happy, so they desire that all with whom they are concerned, whether nearly or remotely, shall be *equally* prosperous and happy with themselves.

141. It may be affirmed, that as it is by a master's wealth or capital a secondary association is founded and maintained, he is entitled to a much larger share of the profits. But this capital evidently flows from the labour of the servants. These, therefore, ought to have their equitable share of all the good educed. What is wealth but an accumulation of labour? How long would this wealth last if productive labour was to be generally suspended? Of what use would much even of the wealth that always exists be, without the further application of labour? By wealth or capital,

we of course, mean real wealth of all kinds: as, corn, wine, oil, gold, iron, wool, cotton, &c., not that imaginary wealth, called national debt. In stating, says Mr. Mill, that commodities are produced by two instruments, labour and capital, of which the last is the result of labour, we in effect mean, that commodities are produced by two quantities of labour differently circumstanced;—one, immediate labour, that which is applied at once by the hand of the labourer; the other, hoarded labour, that which has been the result of former labour.—(*Elem. Pol. Econ.*) All labour has the same effect, and equally increases the whole mass of wealth. (*Edin. Rev. vol.* 4.) Labour was the first price, the original purchase-money, that was paid for all things. It was not by gold or by silver, but by labour, that all the wealth of the world was originally purchased.—(*Wealth of Nations.*) Wealth is produced by labour: no other ingredient but labour makes any object of desire, an object of wealth. Labour is the sole universal measure, as well as the characteristic distinction of wealth. Without labour there is no wealth. Labour is the sole parent of wealth. Not only the comforts, but the very existence of all nations, depend on the eternal operation of labour.—(*Inquiry into the Distribution of Wealth by Wm. Thompson.*) It must always be remembered, though it seems hardly necessary to state it, that all wealth is created by labour. That mighty mass of wealth, therefore, which stands around St. Paul's, constituting this great and splendid metropolis, has been made by labour, and by nothing else than labour.—(*Pop. Pol. Econ. by Thos. Hodgskin.*) The profits of capital are only another name for the wages of accumulated labour. Labour is the talisman that has raised man from the condition of the savage,—that has changed the desert and forest into cultivated fields,—that has covered the earth with cities and the ocean with ships,—that has given us plenty, comfort, and elegance, instead of want, misery, and barbarism.—(*Mr. M'Culloch.*)

> "All is the gift of industry; whate'er
> Exalts, embellishes, and renders life
> Delightful."

142. The *national* capital, says M. Storch, *includes* the natural and acquired faculties of the productive classes. The nature of *individual* capital *excludes* them. However gifted with such faculties an individual may be, and however large may be the revenue he acquires by them, it would overthrow all our received ideas to call him a capitalist, if he did not possess, besides this personal and unalienable capital, a capital composed of transmissable values.—(*Cours d'Econ. Pol.*) This anomaly, says Mr. Hodgskin, is not explained by any existing theory of the distribution of wealth. It is hoped this Essay will explain the anomaly; and perhaps future writers on

political economy, instead of laying so much stress on *capital*, as some of their predecessors have, will consider the application of LABOUR as the great object of their science. It is quite common to hear of capital being withdrawn from a country. But what can the capitalist withdraw?—Not labour, certainly, unless labourers choose to migrate;—nor the land;—nor erected machinery, without a ruinous loss. All that can be withdrawn is merchandize: and over this capitalists could not have such command, but for the unlawful engrossing of the land, aided by national debts, of which we shall hereafter speak. As so much is said about capital, the masters might keep what they now possess, and an equitable share of the land in proportion to their numbers. The under-labourers being left also with their portion of the land, if they were enlightened and virtuous enough, rightly to associate, would, as we have intimated, be perfectly well able to go on of themselves. If men have land and labour, and make a proper use of the blessings Heaven sends them, they will not want landlords and capitalists. They surely can possess their own land, and take care of their own wealth, without requiring others to do these things for them.

143. However unpalatable the truth may be to certain ears, the almost insuperable difficulty of some among the productive classes being innocently much richer than their neighbours, is obvious, from considering that production and distribution, in all their ramifications, are nothing but exchanges of labour. What, then, is it possible for any to do, to be justly entitled to a much larger share of that wealth, which can be accumulated only, by the nearly, or altogether equal, labour of all? The constitution of association admits, ordinarily speaking, of no services deserving a large pecuniary reward. No imagination, however fertile, can devise any such services. Those who can live only by a continual interchange, should give and receive as to all an equivalent. All may be equally, or nearly equally, valuable. No abilities greater than fall to the lot of ninety-nine men out of a hundred, are required to conduct any secondary association,—*if the talents of men generally were properly cultivated.* Suppose a master woollen-manufacturer employs five hundred men, driven off the land by the engrossing system, each of whom derives an income of fifty pounds yearly, and that the master gets five thousand pounds yearly. We have here an association of five hundred and one persons, one of whom gets as much as a hundred of the others. It being well known that masters have rarely occasion for more bodily energy than their servants, it follows, that to be justly entitled to a greater share of the gains, they must have a larger share of mental ability; but this is not ordinarily the case; we have the divine assurance to the contrary.—(*Ex.* xxxi, 3; *Dan.* ii, 23; *Mat.* vii, 7; *John* xvi, 13; 1 *John* iii, 22; v, 14.) There

can, therefore, be no reason whatever, why, in an association of five hundred and one persons, one should have as much wealth as one hundred others. If fifty pounds per year are enough, one has a hundred times too much; if five thousand per year are not more than enough, five hundred have a hundred times too little. Should any one impugn this, we presume he will have no objection to be classed with the five hundred; or, if he objects, evince, to the satisfaction of mankind, why he should be the one with the five thousand a year.

144. With reference to profits, taking them in the aggregate, it may be observed, that when the labour devoted to a particular kind of produce is low, it must, as we have seen, be in consequence of the supply of such produce being great compared with the demand. The holders, therefore, are anxious to sell:—this reduces both profits and wages. The divisions, also, which principally interchange with those wherein the rates of wages and profits are low, will also be depressed as to both profits and wages, from a reduction in the demand for produce. We have spoken of profits in the aggregate, it being obvious, as to any division when thus estimated, they may be lower than in other divisions, though, in those where the profits are low, certain masters get larger profits than many of those in the divisions where profits are higher. Our retail druggists, according to the amount of capital they employ, and taking their capitals and profits in the aggregate, get greater profits than farmers do, estimating the capitals and profits of this class in the same manner: notwithstanding which, there are many persons, who from farming extensively, each obtains a much larger annual profit than the generality of retail druggists. The large amount of capitals required to carry on some kinds of business, necessarily exclude the competition of all who have not wealth enough to prosecute them. We do not, however, find in these kinds, that profits, in reference to the capital employed, are always greater, or even so great, as in those which may be carried on with smaller capitals. In such as require large ones, the profit accruing to individual masters is often great, from the extent of business done: the servants, are, however, little benefited thereby, competition keeping wages usually to the ordinary level.

145. We have elsewhere intimated that, by the competition system, fewer masters are required; or, if the number is not reduced, the profits of those that actually exist must be lessened, or both of these things arise. The larger the secondary associations become, when they are in a state of opposition, the greater injury they do, as by their increased power less quantity of labour is required to do a certain quantity of work. This, therefore, tends to cause the supply to preponderate, and acts prejudicially in the way we have seen. Smaller asso-

ciations frequently find the opposition of larger ones too great for them to withstand. New ones cannot establish themselves, unless their power is sufficiently great to compete with the old ones. The former, also, in many cases, fail, from the want of that knowledge which can only be obtained by experience. These things, therefore, operate most unfavourably both on masters and servants. Masters, as has been intimated, are liable to losses from fluctuations in the supply and demand of labour and produce, and are thus, in a less or greater degree, affected by the whole association of the world, from all the parts of any whole necessarily acting on one another. Variations in the seasons also necessarily operate on prices. Whilst men are in a state of competition, many must necessarily be reduced to insolvency. Many others affect to be in this state for no purpose but to cheat their creditors. All masters are thus, in a less or greater degree, liable to bad debts; and some, who would pay if they had the means, are reduced to bankruptcy from being cheated by their debtors.

146. Taking the masters of the secondary associations in the British islands in the aggregate, it may be doubted whether three-fourths of them ever acquire any considerable property in proportion to their numbers.

147. Of one class, Mr. Young thus speaks. In England, says he, there are no persons who work so hard and fare so ill as the small farmers. There can be no doubt, says Mr. M'Culloch, taking every thing into account, that the profits of farmers are upon a level with those of the undertakers of other businesses. Even with the greatest attention and industry, it is but rarely that they make a fortune: the great majority merely manage to live respectably, and to bring up their family. The few, says Mr. Loudon, who do more than this, will be found to have had leases at low rents, indulgent landlords; to have profited by accidental rises in the market, or depreciation of currency; or to have become dealers in corn or cattle; and rarely indeed to have realized aught by the mere good culture of a farm at the market price. In most parts of England, says Burke, which have fallen within my observation, I have rarely known a farmer (I speak of those who occupy from 150 to 300 or 400 acres) who, to his own trade, has not added some other employment or traffic, that after a course of the most unremitting parsimony and labour,—such, for the most part, is theirs,—and persevering in his business for a long course of years, died worth more than paid his debts; leaving his posterity to continue in nearly the same equal conflict between industry and want, in which the last predecessor, and a long line of predecessors before him, lived and died.—(*Thoughts and Details on Scarcity.*) What is here

said of farmers, will in a less or greater degree, apply to all other masters, except the fourth part who are enriched.

148. To this, then, let us direct our attention. In the ordinary course of business, a large share of gain must obviously, ordinarily be made, by *large profits on small returns*, or *small profits on large returns*. But the former cannot prevail to a great extent, for the reasons already given. Its existence could not fail to be generally known, and many would be desirous of having a share in the lucrative trade. Competition would thus reduce the rate of profit to the ordinary level. To make a large return for small profits, is with us, therefore, the usual mode of amassing great wealth Large profits on small returns are sometimes made; this refers to those associations which produce or distribute principally for the rich. It occasionally happens that *both the returns and the profits are large*, as in the case of a well-known London goldsmith, who died a few years since. Such things are, however, of rare occurrence; they may, therefore, be put out of discussion, and our attention directed to the classes of masters who are enriched by large profits on small returns, or small profits on large returns.

149. Those who obtain large profits on small returns, must grind down the wages of their servants, and of all the labour that enters into what they deal,—or make their customers pay extravagantly, or both. It has been seen, that in any secondary association, there can be no reason why the conductor should engross to himself a much larger share of gain, than accrues to each of the adults he employs. It is among the masters who obtain large profits, that understandings prevail to keep up the prices of what they sell; to this we have already adverted. In the supposed exchange between England and Ireland of the carriage for the potatoes, what conceivable reason can be assigned why the Irish should give in real value twenty-four hundred pounds, and only receive four hundred? Heaven knows nothing about the wretched jargon of real and exchangeable values, but to hold it in abhorrence. Upon the plan of giving a less value for a greater, or, in ordinary language, selling dearly to customers, must all the operations of those who obtain undue profits be conducted. To have extracted from the Irish one pound more than four hundred, is equally a breach of that law, which says—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' as it was to take from them two thousand, the difference being only in the degree of guilt.

150. With regard to those who make small profits on large returns, they are, if possible yet more culpable, than the class of masters of which we have just spoken. Small profits on large returns, are usually made only by the fiercest oppression and competition. Each master gets all the business he can from

other masters in his own division; this can only be done by lowering the profits in the aggregate, of the division. He is, however, regardless how he operates on all his brother masters, his object being to get large gains for himself, by doing much business; and, besides, being in a state of warfare with those in his own division, he is, as we have remarked, opposed to the other divisions of his own branch, and all other branches, both as to the masters and servants. He wants to buy as cheaply as possible, and thus depress the value of all the labour that enters into the produce in which he deals; not, as we see, excepting even his own, i. e. the lower profits in his division get, the more of a master's labour is required to get a certain amount of profit. The more, therefore, the greater competitor impoverishes all who produce or distribute what he deals in, (and necessarily therefore in a less or greater degree all their exchangers) the cheaper he will be able to sell; the more business he will do, and the greater will be his profits! We have thus an example of an unlawful commercial association; the master acting unjustifiably towards his own servants in engrossing an undue share of gain; and regardless how much he prejudices those, not members of the commercial association, of which he is at the head. (1—44, 45.)

151. Acquiring large profits on small returns—small profits on large returns—large profits on large returns—or an approximation to one of these—are, therefore, modes by which commercial men are enriched.

152. Of that wealth which can only be accumulated by the nearly equal labour of all, it is an obvious injustice in the masters to want an undue share; supposing the way they operated had no effect on the aggregate quantity, but unfairly to divide it. But the whole tendency of competition, being as we see to reduce wages and profits, and, therefore, production and consumption, it is obvious, *its operation is greatly to diminish the quantity of wealth that might be accumulated; and then the masters take an undue share of such diminished quantity.*

153. As the population of a country extends, the opportunities of masters to enrich themselves by competition obviously become greater, from the large number of workmen competing for employment. Hence, in England, the profits of some masters are enormous; and though in the United States, the aggregate of profits is much larger, (the relative numbers of both masters and servants, and extent of business, in the two countries being considered) from wages being higher, and thus the general prosperity much greater, such immense profits are not, however, made in America by individual masters. This partly arises from the impossibility of any one obtaining the command of so much labour, from its not being located in such large masses as in the British Islands. Thus there are many more masters than

in this country; consequently, the aggregate of profits is more divided. And as the number of masters in relation to the number of servants increases, the competition among the former is greater. This, therefore, tends to reduce individual profits, though, as we have said, the greater prosperity of the population causes the aggregate of such profits to be greater. Mr. M'Culloch remarks, that in the United States, the rate of profit is commonly twice as high as in the British Islands.

154. To make large profits, it is not in all cases necessary that masters should have the immediate controul of a great quantity of *labour*. It is, however, obvious they must be someway concerned with labour or *produce*, or their great profits could not be made. We have noticed the distributing associations of Messrs. Leaf and Co., and Messrs. Morrison and Co. of London. (iii. 27.) The principals of these are enormously enriched, by making small profits on immense quantities of produce passing through their hands. They are enabled to sell cheaply, by depreciating the value of all the labour that enters into such produce; and thus they not only miserably impoverish the labourers concerned in the production, but, as a necessary consequence, cause them to operate unfavourably on their exchangers. We thus see the truth of what has been elsewhere observed, that the cheap-selling associations doing much business because they sell cheaply, so far from being an evidence of general prosperity, manifests the existence of an exactly opposite state of things.

155. But such is the nature of competition, that if a man ordinarily were not to buy as cheaply as possible, and do as much business as he could, he would be looked on as a madman by the generality of his neighbours. If he were to give a higher price than others, he would be undersold; and unless he was a grower or manufacturer, though he did so, the relief would not reach the impoverished workmen. But how impracticable any thing of this kind usually is, will appear from considering, that from the liability of masters to losses, from fluctuations in prices, bad debts, and the unceasing tendency of competition to reduce profits, very few, as we have said, are rich. In an extensive trade, a very trifling advance to the ordinary price on wages would amount to a considerable sum. Besides, a master knows that the more wealth he can by competing accumulate, the more easily will he be able farther to augment his possessions. The command of money will enable him to get a discount on what he buys; to hold his goods when the market is declining; to make a profit by speculation; to command the best of the labour and produce the market affords, and thus secure to himself some of the largest and most wealthy customers in his trade. A master also may be carrying on a large business almost or altogether on credit, and may therefore have recourse

to every unjustifiable mode of enriching himself. Young men commencing business, to get a connection, will endeavour to undersell more than usual. Whilst men have land and labour at their own control, and know, that by rightly uniting, the greatest afflux of prosperity may, under the divine blessing, be educed, all incitement to avarice is utterly superseded; i. e. because men know they have always the sources of plenty, land and labour, belonging to themselves; and no necessity exists for there being a single pauperized person in the whole world. Destroy this happy state of things, by the introduction of the engrossing, oppressing, and competing system, and general pauperism cannot but be generated. Men are struck with horror at the sight of it; and (from the abstraction from multitudes of one of the sources of wealth, rendering the other useless) they are anxious to accumulate as much as possible, that they may be as far as possible, from the unhappy situation of their pauperized brethren. Instead of the many being incessantly anxious that the unholy system under which they groan shall be superseded by a righteous one, the great desire of each is, generally speaking, that he may be one of the enriched few, forgetting that in a lottery, where one gains, nine hundred and ninety-nine lose. Hence nine hundred and ninety-nine of mankind allow themselves to be deprived of their right to the land, and driven into commercial oppression and competition, unceasing toil, and a less or greater degree of pauperism.

156. Let us look at the situation of a master woollen manufacturer for example; retire into his domestic circle, and contemplate him with his family, enjoying all the delightful reciprocation of domestic endearment, that cultivated minds can communicate; let us imagine he displays in all his actions a consciousness that he is a probationer for eternity; that it is his duty, therefore, to be both the exemplar and preceptor of his family:—let us suppose we are receiving from our host all those attentions which emanate from the most refined hospitality; and, carrying our thoughts a little farther, let us imagine the happy family and ourselves approaching the throne of mercy, the benevolent host being the organ of our petitions, and after this manner praying: 'Our Father, which art in Heaven, hallowed be thy name, thy kingdom come, thy will be done on earth as it is in Heaven; give us this day our daily bread; and forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors; and lead us not into temptation, but deliver us from evil.'—And fix on our minds thy injunctions, so well calculated to promote both our temporal and eternal happiness, that we 'look not every man on his own things, but every man also on the things of others;' as members one of another should, in all things, doing as we would be done unto, and thus loving our neighbours as ourselves: remembering, that whilst we continue to make justice and mercy the great rules of our

conduct towards one another; under thy blessing, universal love, prosperity, and happiness, cannot but be generated;—all educing nothing but the greatest good to one another:—as this must necessarily be thy will, for thou art infinitely benevolent, and as the Universal Parent, all thy children must be dear to thee. Let us, therefore, ever be mindful, in all our ways, to acknowledge thee, that thou mayest direct our paths; as we most humbly desire, whatsoever we do, to do all to thy glory. 'For thine is the kingdom, and the power, and the glory, for ever. Amen.'—After this, let us proceed to our host's counting house. We here find him surrounded by three different classes of persons: those of whom he buys the raw material; his servants; and his customers. Of the first and second, his object is to purchase as cheaply as possible; to the third, to sell as dearly as possible. He is thus in a state of opposition with all his connections, or acting as though he and they were not members one of another. It may therefore truly be said, *his hand has been 'against every man, and every man's hand against him.'* Any thing more contradictory than the tenor of such a life is scarcely to be imagined. It is an attempt to do, that which our Lord declares to be impossible, i. e. 'serve two masters.' And what is here stated of course applies, in a less or greater degree, to all masters among the productive classes.

157. How wholly opposed the vicious mode of association is to the divine will, appears from considering, that in it, a man in the productive class has only the choice of two evils. He must either be content to be in a less or greater degree pauperized, and even this he cannot willingly lawfully permit,—or incur the guilt of becoming a master oppressor and competitor. How devoutly, then, is it to be wished, that a system which presents such miserable alternatives, should be abandoned,—as either of these the faithful servants of heaven should avoid, though assuredly it is preferable to be of the class of the pauperized many, than of that of the enriched few;—the wholesale dealers in the merchandize of the bodies and souls of their brethren! 'A merchant,' says the apocryphal writer, 'shall hardly keep himself from doing wrong, and an huckster shall not be freed from sin.' The desire of riches blindeth men, and makes them fall into sin, for 'as a nail sticks fast between the joinings of the stones, so doth sin stick close betwixt buying and selling.' The extreme difficulty for men, even that desire to be righteous, to approximate to a fit mode of life, in a state of things where oppression and competition prevail, is conclusive evidence that such a state is at variance with the will of God.

158. Should, says Mr. Wade, an excess in the supply of labour continue to lower its price, there is no depth of misery and degradation to which the working classes may not be compelled to submit. The low wages which of late years have been paid

to weavers in Lancashire and Scotland, to frame-work-knitters in Leicestershire, and to farm servants in the southern and midland counties, incontestibly establish the veracity of this principle. The disgusting atrocities practised in mills and factories are another corroborative circumstance. The proprietors of these abodes of wailing, and anguish, and vice, are many of them enlightened men,—Christian men,—men who in all other relations of life are swayed by intelligence and humanity, but who in this *are callous to every motive, save that of gain—who know no law, save that of supply and demand,*—and who feel justified in running against each other a race of competition, *in buying the greatest quantity of human toil at the lowest price an overstocked market may compel the owner to accept.* The 42d. Geo. 3, c. 73, passed in 1802, and many subsequent enactments, show that parliament found it necessary to interfere for the protection of infants against the cupidity of their task-masters. Whether a labourer is hired by a landowner or his tenant, he is hired at the lowest wages he will submit to work for. Conscience does not enter into these bargains. They are all regulated on a principle of business; that is, of saving all that can be saved, and gaining all that can be gained. (*Hist. of the Middle and Working Classes.*) Reader, have you ever heard of hapless mariners, who in a foundering ship, are incessant at the pumps to save their lives? They know their fate must soon be decided; that a watery grave or deliverance cannot be far distant. But it is not so with the pauperized productive labourers; their miserable fate chains them to the pumps; their exertions to preserve themselves from starvation must be incessant; from morn to night, and from Monday to Saturday; and this not for a season, but week after week, month after month, and year after year! Nothing but the minds of men, being brought as nearly as possible to the level of the brute creation, can make them insensible to all the horrors of such a situation. And those who are the prime instruments of bringing them there, must of necessity be equally or more debased.

159. No error, assuredly, can be greater than men fall into concerning wealth, as things are managed among them. Suppose, as to our little association of three hundred and twenty persons, the whole aggregate of their wealth in lands, houses, and merchandize of all kinds, estimated in money, is worth ten thousand pounds; that this wealth is distributed among forty, two hundred and eighty, being worth little or nothing; and that they use one hundred pounds' worth of copper, silver, and gold, with paper nominally worth five hundred pounds, as a circulating medium. A generation will have passed through life thus. The members of it have adopted the circulating medium of six hundred pounds to facilitate their exchanges; as to their aggregate wealth, a good deal has changed hands. Some have

lost part of what they began life with,—others have lost all they had; others, therefore, are necessarily richer than when they started into the world,—others, again, from being worth nothing, are got very rich. This is, however, only *changing parts of the ten thousand pounds, from some hands to others;* what some have lost others have got.—But all the oppression and competition of the whole generation during their whole lives, have not increased the amount a single farthing, nor would they, if, instead of going on for one generation, they were to do so for a million of generations. All the competition and oppression in the world will never make men *collectively* richer. It only *individually* enriches. And even the change of wealth from the masters who lose to those who win, is not accomplished except through the slavery and poverty of the many. Wealth does not change hands in the way we are considering, without men are engaged in commerce. And the whole tendency of competition, we have seen, is to reduce profits and wages. The masters, however, go on, as though there was somewhere an accumulation of wealth, a large share of which each hoped to obtain; but this accumulation exists no where but in the imagination. And supposing its existence possible, every one by competing, uses his endeavours that it shall never be created. With the wealth that has been produced and distributed, forty have been well fed, clothed, and housed, some of them extravagantly so; whilst the two hundred and eighty have been, as we have said, in a state of slavery and poverty.—The whole three hundred and twenty being in a state of condemnation in the sight of heaven, the productive classes for oppressing and competing; the non-productive for participating in their unhallowed practices and gains. That the system we deprecate does not enrich men, is evident from looking at any nation during the existence of a generation. The national wealth may be somewhat greater at the end, but the amount is quite inconsiderable. Some moralist represents the world as a great lunatic hospital. The course of things here mentioned confirms his views. Seeing, therefore, that all opposition of interest among men, is entirely at variance with the great law of their being, the language of the psalmist may be too truly applied to us in reference to our Heavenly Father:—'*All our days are passed away in thy wrath, we spend our years as a tale that is told.*'

160. As far as production and distribution are concerned, a primary association, in a state of opposition, may be divided into the following classes:—

Multitudes of under-labourers, who are, in a less or greater degree, pauperized.
Three-fourths of the masters of these, who are but slightly enriched.
One-fourth, who are considerably enriched.
Land engrossers.

161. A system, therefore, which pauperizes the great bulk of mankind,—which places three-fourths of the upper labourers in a situation little better than the under ones,—which, consequently, considerably enriches only a small portion of such upper labourers,—which makes the land less valuable to those allowed to engross it, than it would be if they rented it under a right system,—which renders every farthing all the four classes acquire, unhallowed gain,—which makes every man, and every woman, and every child concerned in production and distribution, spend every moment of their lives in a state of rebellion against their heavenly Father, because they are occupied in a manner opposed alike to their temporal and eternal happiness, ought assuredly to be banished out of the world.

162. From the productive powers of men being in a state of opposition,—

The quantity of wealth produced, is, as has been observed, not only very far less than it would be under a right system,—
But the distribution even of this diminished quantity, is most unjust.

163. That the quantity produced is far less than it should be, is thus evident; much labour is at all times unemployed, and all that is employed is less powerfully associated than it might be. —(3—6, 7)

164. That the distribution is most unjust will be thus seen. The persons enriched are the following classes :—

The engrossers of the land.
Those who live on taxation of any kind, or monopolies authorized by law.
The greater mercantile competitors; and all others in a less degree, whether natives or foreigners; the exchangeable value of whose labour is generally higher than those with whom they interchange.
The principal of the non-productive classes,—as divines, physicians, lawyers, &c.

165. The persons least enriched are the most numerous as well as the most laborious among the productive classes, as, for example,—agricultural labourers.

166. As to the first and second, putting our own nation out of the question, let us look at other countries, as Russia, Spain, France, &c., where the whole of the land is illegally held, and every farthing of the taxation raised, is illegally assessed and levied : all monopolies, under all circumstances, being also unlawful. For things to be otherwise, the constitution and code must be formed conformably with the will of God; but this is not the case in any of these countries.

167. With regard to the third class,—if even those, the exchangeable value of whose labour is lower than those with whom they principally interchange, or the most impoverished among the productive classes, are guilty before God for not doing all that lawfully lies in them, to put an end to the unholy system under which they suffer; it being impossible to gain one

farthing in accordance with his holy law by willing opposition; the condemnation of the persons, the exchangeable value of whose labour is higher than those with whom they principally interchange, must be heavier. What, then, must be the degree of guilt contracted by those high-priests of the temple of Mammon, the greater competitors, or rich among the productive classes? Let this, and the two preceding classes, look with especial attention to the words of our Lord—'Jesus looked round about, and saith unto his disciples, How hardly shall they that have riches enter into the kingdom of God! And the disciples were astonished at his words. But Jesus answereth again and saith unto them,—Children, how hard it is for them that trust in riches to enter into the kingdom of God! It is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle, than for a rich man to enter into the kingdom of God!'

168. As to the fourth class, as these persons derive their wealth from the first, second, and third, they must obviously be in the same condemnation. If the profits of their employers are unlawful, can the illegality be cured by their passing into other hands? If the non-productive classes could wash away the impurity of the profits of the greater mercantile competitors, they might be handed over to them to-day, and returned to-morrow; and thus the will of heaven might be set at nought in the easiest possible manner. Nothing, therefore, can be more clear than that the following words are truly applicable to the riches of the non-productive classes, derived as all their wealth must be from the productive classes: 'Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean? not one.' *Who can make those gains pure in the sight of God, that are obtained from profits made by dealing in that kind of slave labour, which arises from men being deprived of their right to the land; and thence obliged to part with their labour upon any terms?* With regard to the various descriptions of persons in the non-productive class, the land-engrossers inflict pure unmitigated evil on the primary association to which they belong, without even pretending to afford any return, except with regard to a few of them, that of making and executing the unrighteous laws which secure them in their possessions. Next to these, the more important persons are statesmen and their under labourers; military and naval persons, churchmen, lawyers, and medical men. As there will be a future occasion to refer to the vocations of all these, except the last, it may be oberved in passing, that from the absurd mode which prevails with us of paying according to the quantity of medicine taken, there is reason to think, the best that can be said of much that passes down the throats of the people of England, is, that it is innoxious.

169. If, then, we look at the distribution of the wealth of a pri-

mary association, we find, considering of course the relation the numbers bear to each other, that by very far the largest part, including the best, is absorbed by those that are least entitled to it; the smallest portion, including that which is inferior, being assigned to those that are most entitled to the largest quantity of the best; namely, the most industrious of the productive population. That agricultural labourers, whom we mentioned as an example, are among the most important persons in an association, cannot be denied. Men may exist for a considerable time, though their clothing, habitation, and mental culture, is not what it should be; but a constant and due supply of food is indispensable.

170. Rousseau and the Abbé Mably have made an objection, says Mr. M'Culloch, to the institution of private property, which has been in some measure sanctioned by Beccaria and others. They allow that this institution is advantageous for those who possess property, but they contend that it is disadvantageous for those who are poor and destitute. It has condemned, they affirm, the greater portion of mankind to a state of misery, and has provided for the exaltation of the few by the depression of the many. The sophistry of this reasoning is so apparent as hardly to require being pointed out. Every individual is constantly exerting himself to find out the most advantageous methods of employing his capital and labour. It is true, that it is his own advantage, and not that of the society, which he has in view; but a society being nothing more than a collection of individuals, it is plain that each, in steadily pursuing his own aggrandizement, is following that precise line of conduct which is most for the public advantage. (*Princip. Pol Econ.*) We have adverted to an erroneous doctrine advocated by Adam Smith. In reference to Mr. M'Culloch's observations, it will be only necessary again to quote his own words: "The sophistry of this reasoning is so apparent as hardly to require being pointed out." (It is, however, due to observe, that his writings indicate him to be an enlightened and good man.) To evince this, the following is sufficient. It should, says he, always be kept steadily in view, that it is never any part of the business of the economist to inquire into the means by which the fortunes of individuals may have been increased or diminished, except to ascertain their general operation and effect. The public interests ought always to form the exclusive object of his attention. He is not to frame systems, and devise schemes for increasing the wealth and enjoyments of particular classes, but to apply himself to discover the sources of national wealth and *universal prosperity*. (*Disc. on Pol. Econ.*)

171. The following will perhaps be considered just views on the subject of political economy. The tendency of the existing arrangement of things as to wealth, says Mr. Thompson, is to

enrich a few at the expense of the mass of the producers, to make the poverty of the poor more hopeless, to throw back the middling classes upon the poor; that a few may be enabled, not only to accumulate, in perniciously large masses, the real national, which is the only aggregate of individual capital; but also, by means of such accumulations, to command the product of the yearly labour of the community.—(*Inquiry into the Distribution of Wealth.*) It has been, and still is, says Mr. Owen, a received opinion among theorists in political economy, that man can provide better for himself, and more advantageously for the public when left to his own individual exertions, opposed to and in competition with his fellows, than when aided by any social arrangement which shall unite his interests individually and generally with society. This principle of individual interest, opposed as it is perpetually to the public good, is considered by the most celebrated political economists to be the corner-stone of the social system, and without which society could not subsist; yet, when they shall discover the wonderful effects which combination and unity can produce, they will acknowledge that the present arrangement of society is the most anti-social, impolitic, and irrational that can be devised; that under its influence all the superior and valuable qualities of human nature are repressed from infancy, and that the most unnatural means are used to bring out the most injurious propensities:—in short, that the utmost pains are taken to make that which by nature is the most delightful compound for producing excellence and happiness,—absurd, imbecile, and wretched!—(*Report to the County of Lanark.*) I cannot, says Dr. Hall, help considering all or almost all that which is called original corruption and evil disposition, to be the effects of the system of civilization, falsely so called, and particularly that prominent feature of it, the great inequality of property. Do we not see in children artless simplicity, pure disinterestedness, and benevolence, so constantly as to be characteristic of that age; and does not scripture itself characterize children by those qualities, and as such declare them fit for the reception of the gospel? As they advance in life, the natural dispositions of that age become gradually altered and corrupted. I would ask, whether any other cause whatever is so well adapted to counteract and destroy these good qualities of simplicity, disinterestedness, and benevolence, as the *mine* and *thine* established in such a rigorous and unrelenting manner?—(*Effects of Civilization.*)

172. Mrs. Radcliffe observed, that the infatuation of loving money, not as a mean, but as an end, was paramount in the mind of almost every Dutchman, whatever might be his other dispositions and qualities. The addiction to it was fervent, inveterate, and universal, from youth to the feeblest old age.

Almost the same thing is said of the North Americans. Two English gentlemen being in company with a Dutchman, one of the former not understanding Dutch, desired his friend to apologize for not being able to enjoy the pleasure of the Hollander's company. The Dutchman heard the translation with great composure, and taking his pipe from his mouth, said, "There was a consolation for the accident; since, "added he," having no connections and dealings in trade together, our conversing could not possibly answer any useful purpose."

173. Experience proves, says Guthrie, that in the more simple state of men, the selfish and more sordid passions are not predominant. It is, therefore, an undeniable fact, that in the uncultivated parts of Europe, generosity and friendship reign with more universal sway, than in the more refined circles; and human nature, displaying her usual efforts, appears all friendly and generous in the islands of the South Seas. There the inhabitants are profuse in their presents, and can scarcely refuse any thing that is solicited from them. Almost under every government, indigence exposes to neglect and a certain degree of reproach, but among this people poverty never renders a man contemptible; and to be affluent and at the same time avaricious, clothes a man with universal infamy and disgrace. Nay, should any individual refuse to part his provisions in time of necessity, his neighbours would suddenly rise against him and destroy all his property; and such is the strength of generosity or force of custom, that they will even part with their clothes rather than be deemed avaricious.—(*Geog. and Univ. Hist.*) I feel convinced, says Captain Cochrane, that compassion is the leading characteristic of what are termed barbarians, and that man in a state of nature will freely give to the distressed that bread which he would not sell for money. I am confident that man is really humane, and that he gives more from the dictates of a good heart than from ostentation. I have received food from a family who were almost in a starving state, and am therefore justified by grateful experience in affirming, that those people who are the most ignorant and uncivilized are the most hospitable and friendly to their fellows. (*Journey through Tartary, &c.*)

174. The Most High, as has been observed, designing men a great degree of felicity in time, to be only the preparation for a still greater one in eternity; has made this felicity to arise from a constant reciprocation of kind offices between men and love to himself. The whole constitution and course of things should, therefore, throughout their operation, advance his glory, by promoting the felicity of his creatures. Hence it is, that men are dependent on each other every moment of their lives. Hence it is that they thus pray to God, 'Give us day by day our daily bread.' What, then, can be more revolting to every proper feeling, than that, in a constitution of things—where

nothing can be done without association,—whence consequently all the good that can flow to any, must ever emanate,—and from which, when separated all are necessarily equally inefficient,—as when united all may be equally or nearly equally valuable;—that *a few are so to operate on the many*, (to whom as members of the primary association to which they belong, they are indebted for all the benefits that flow to them;) *as to make the great law of their being the greatest curse to them?* The imaginary good the few attain, being as to any of them far below the real good that might accrue to all without a single exception, by rightly associating. The enriched few, therefore, are but parricides!—the chief destroyers of the prosperity of the community! Truly, therefore, may be applied to them the words of Solomon—'There is a way which seemeth right unto a man, but the end thereof are the ways of death'—or the language of our Lord—'The light of the body is the eye: if, therefore, thine eye be single, thy whole body shall be full of light. But if thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If, therefore, the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!' Because, instead of human association educing nothing but prosperity and happiness, and through them love to man and God in all, and thus men's temporal felicity becoming the best preparation for their eternal one; association is made to educe the combined evils of ignorance, pauperism, guilt, and misery; and through them, of neglect and hatred of men to each other, and neglect of God. Thus, whilst shipwreck is made of men's temporal happiness, their eternal welfare is greatly endangered. To those who are the prime agents of educing such effects, how forcibly, therefore, do our Lord's words apply,—If 'the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!'

175. Let then the faithful servants of heaven remember, that 'godliness with contentment is great gain. For,' continues Paul, 'we brought nothing into this world, and it is certain we can carry nothing out; and, having food and raiment, let us be therewith content. But they that will be rich fall into temptation and a snare, and into many foolish and hurtful lusts, which drown men in destruction and perdition. For the love of money is the root of all evil; which while some' have 'coveted after, they have erred from the faith, and pierced themselves through with many sorrows.' 'An inheritance,' says Solomon, 'may be gotten hastily at the beginning, but the end thereof shall not be blessed.' 'And what profit hath he that hath laboured for the wind?' 'A faithful man shall abound with blessings, but he that maketh haste to be rich shall not be innocent.' Hence all may truly join in the prayer of Agur,—'Two things have I required of thee, deny me them not before I die: Remove far from me vanity and lies, give me neither poverty nor riches,

feed me with food convenient for me, lest I be full and deny thee, and say, Who is the Lord? or lest I be poor and steal, and take the name of my God in vain.'

176. And we may in some degree perceive how important it is to us, that we earnestly attend to the following passages of sacred writ:—

'If thou seest the oppression of the poor, and violent perverting of judgment and justice in a province, marvel not at the matter; for he that is higher than the highest regardeth.'

'If thou sell ought unto thy neighbour, or buyest ought of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not oppress one another.'

'Let no man seek his own, but every man another's wealth.

Let 'no man go beyond and defraud his brother in any matter; because, that the Lord is the avenger of all such.' 'For God hath not called us unto uncleanness, but unto holiness.'

'Envy thou not the oppressor and choose none of his ways.'

'Take heed and beware of covetousness, for a man's life consisteth not in the abundance of the things which he possesseth.'

'Woe to them that devise iniquity, and work evil upon their beds! when the morning is light they practise it, because it is in the power of their hand. And they covet fields and take them by violence, and houses and take them away; so they oppress a man and his house, even a man and his heritage.'

'Woe unto them that join house to house, that lay field to field, till there be no place; that they may be placed alone in the midst of the earth!'

'Woe unto you that are rich! for ye have received your consolation. Woe unto you that are full! for ye shall hunger. Woe unto you that laugh now! for ye shall mourn and weep.'

'All the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this:—Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. But if ye bite and devour one another, take heed that ye be not consumed one of another.'

'He that walketh righteously and speaketh uprightly, he that despiseth the gain of oppressions, that shaketh his hands from holding of bribes, that stoppeth his ears from hearing of blood, and shutteth his eyes from seeing evil. He shall dwell on high, his place of defence shall be the munitions of rocks; bread shall be given him; his waters shall be sure.'

God 'hath shewed thee, O man, what is good; and what doth the Lord require of thee; but to do justly, and to love mercy, and to walk humbly with thy God?'

177. The reader will here probably be ready to ask, whence comes it that the members of the same primary association go on constantly pauperizing themselves in the manner we have pointed out, a very small number only being considerably enriched, without perceiving their amazing folly? To this question the reply may be as follows:—'If,' said our Lord to his hearers, ye 'being evil, know how to give good gifts unto your children, how much more shall your heavenly Father give the Holy Spirit to them that ask him?' Another of our Lord's memorable sayings was the following, alluding to himself: 'Verily, verily, I say unto you, the Son can do nothing of himself.' If then, this divine personage to whom 'God giveth not the Spirit by measure,' could 'do nothing of himself,' how much less can such poor erring sinful creatures as men universally are,

do any thing of themselves? Notwithstanding this, so general is the neglect of man to seek the proffered aid of heaven, that it may be truly asserted, none saith, at least as they ought, 'Where is God my Maker?' Hence it may most certainly be affirmed of the great majority of mankind, that 'they have mouths but they speak not; eyes have they, but they see not; they have ears, but they hear not; noses have they, but they smell not; they have hands, but they handle not; feet have they, but they walk not.' From a want of making a right use of their faculties, and obtaining the divine assistance, they are intellectually dark; they see not the things which make alike for their temporal and eternal welfare. The right of every man that cometh into the world, to a property in the land, it is believed has never yet been fully recognized; nor has it been sufficiently insisted on, that by the great principles of justice, mercy, and humility prevailing, universal prosperity and happiness cannot fail to be generated.

178. Every step and every movement of the multitude, says Ferguson, even in what are termed enlightened ages, are made with equal blindness to the future; and nations stumble upon establishments, which are indeed the result of human action, but not of design. (*Hist. Civ. Soc.*) Thus it is, that men 'regard not the work of the Lord, neither consider the operation of his hands.' 'But wisdom is justified of all her children.' She 'crieth without, she uttereth her voice in the streets. She crieth in the chief place of concourse, in the openings of the gates, in the city, she uttereth her words, saying: How long, ye simple ones, will ye love simplicity? and the scorners delight in their scorning, and fools hate knowledge? Turn you at my reproof; behold I will pour out my spirit unto you, I will make known my words unto you: Because I have called, and ye refused, I have stretched out my hand, and no man regarded: But ye have set at nought all my counsel, and would none of my reproof; I also will laugh at your calamity, I will mock when your fear cometh. When your fear cometh as desolation, and your destruction cometh as a whirlwind, when distress and anguish cometh upon you; then shall they call upon me, but I will not answer; they shall seek me early, but they shall not find me. For that they hated knowledge, and did not choose the fear of the Lord. They would none of my counsel, they despised all my reproof. Therefore shall they eat of the fruit of their own way, and be filled with their own devices. For the turning away of the simple shall slay them, and the prosperity of fools shall destroy them.'

179. From what has been elsewhere advanced, the wickedness of mankind renders the perfect mode of association inadmissible; that mode which we have called the imperfect, therefore, seems best adapted to human nature, as it is at present consti-

tuted. The objections that may be urged against the adoption of it are, that in it also licentiousness may arise, as well as fraud and violence. As to licentiousness, the reader is referred to observations that will hereafter be made. The inducements to commit either fraud or violence, diminish proportionably as men approach the perfect mode of association; but when either of these do arise, a sufficient degree of punishment should be awarded to bring the most contumacious to their duty. Whence we may perceive, the great difficulty the moralist has,—is not to guide all to the attainment of the very highest plenitude of prosperity, and simultaneously with this, to teach them how to make a constant progression in wisdom, and virtue, and happiness: but to prevent men on the one hand from destroying all these mighty blessings, by the abstraction of the rights of some, and the oppression and competition thence induced; or on the other, when all have attained their rights, from misapplying the mighty power it places at their disposal, by the introduction of licentiousness.

180. The notion of a whole nation living according to the perfect mode of association, or as one great family having 'all things common;' may seem to many so strange, that they may be ready to charge the writer with being 'a pestilent fellow,' a setter forth of 'divers and strange doctrines.' To those who thus think, we may observe as follows: Nothing can be done but by association. Any opposition to be necessary to its well being, is one of the greatest contradictions imaginable. The only questions that can arise, therefore, are—What is the greatest number of those that may lawfully enter into an association? And how must the wealth they acc mulate be divided? No difficulty can arise as to the second question; as, when men rightly associate, more, if necessary, as we have already said, than the greatest plenitude of wealth may be produced for all; to deny this, being equivalent to affirming, that Heaven has so constituted things, that nothing that men can do, can preserve a less or greater number from a certain extent of pauperism; but this is not to be supposed. As to the number,—how can the number of those that enter into an association, all the objects of which are lawful, be too great?

181. Those who think any limit to the number can be assigned, and who differ from the views here taken, are bound to evince; *What is the greatest number of those who may enter into an association, the objects of which are all righteous: and what kind, and degree of opposition, are necessary to its well-being.*

182. From what has been observed we may collect as follows:

Self love causes every man to desire the utmost plenitude of wealth, to bring his corporeal, intellectual, and moral faculties to perfection.

This, as to each, is only attainable in the ratio that association progresses in corporeal, intellectual, and moral greatness.

That it should do so, is therefore the individual interest of every man.

We thus see, that self and social love are most rigorously synonimous.

Consequently, men can only lawfully attain temporal prosperity, by, as far as lies in them, diffusing an equal degree to what they themselves enjoy, to all with whom they are in any manner whatever, either proximately or remotely, connected.

Association, therefore, progresses in corporeal, intellectual, and moral greatness; in the exact ratio, that justice, mercy, and humility prevail among men.

It is then for the individual interest of every one, that these virtues should universally prevail.

We thus further perceive, that all that God requires of men, is for them to make a large measure of temporal happiness the preparation for an inconceivably larger measure of eternal felicity.

These things may be otherwise expressed, thus: it is only by a perversion of the great principles of justice, mercy, and humility; that poverty and its attendant evils, is ever experienced among men.

For all wealth being attainable from the application of men's labour to the land, and their being a superabundance of both land and labour, with an unquestionable assurance, that God will abundantly bless the labours of men, whilst they do his will; the right application of men's labour to the land, cannot fail, under the divine blessing, of producing the very utmost exuberance of all good things, for all without a single exception.

Righteous men, therefore, cannot willingly be concerned in the perversion of the great principle of justice, as far as regards one another, and of humility towards God;—the great end thereby attained, being, in a less or greater degree, to pauperize multitudes, for the gain only of a few; instead of, as we have just observed, educing the utmost exuberance for all—pauperized persons, besides the loss of temporal good they sustain, also being ordinarily, from this loss, incapable of loving either one another, or their heavenly Father, aright.—The rich being also still more demoralized.

And righteous men not only cannot act in the way we have just mentioned, but mercy also obliges them to do all that lies in them; that all other righteous persons, brought into a state of pauperism by the unrighteousness of any, shall be emancipated therefrom, and so placed, as to be able, by the application of their labour, to obtain the utmost plenitude of wealth they can reasonably require. Thus only can the divine law be obeyed. Thus only can the great end of human association be educed,—namely, to diffuse the greatest plenitude of good to all its members;—thus only can men become truly happy in time;—thus only can they suitably prepare themselves for eternity.

It is also the duty of righteous men unceasingly to make the most powerful exertions; to cause the unrighteous to 'turn from their wickedness, and do that which is lawful and right:' and when they do so, they should, of course, be treated as we have just mentioned other righteous men ought. Thus, by the prevalence of justice, mercy, and humility, human association will continually progress in corporeal, intellectual, and moral greatness.—Men's practice will be in accordance with their prayer to God—'Thy will be done on earth, as it is in heaven,' and their temporal happiness will prepare them for eternal felicity.

THE CIRCULATING MEDIUM.

'Lo! this only have I found, that God hath made man upright; but they have sought out many inventions.'

183. The only legitimate object of a circulating medium, is simply to afford an expeditious and convenient instrument for exchanging labour and produce.

184. Associated labour acting on the land is, as we have seen, the sole source of wealth. The precious metals are only one, and a very unimportant species of it. These may be considered either as they form a circulating medium, or as an article of merchandize. Coinage saves the trouble of weighing and assaying, but it does nothing more. The value of metal, or coin, is in all cases governed by precisely the same principles that determine the value of all commodities.

185. With reference to coining being in the hands of governments, Mr. Hodgskin observes, that they have declared themselves the only lawful coiners. Had the matter not been interfered with, there would have arisen a class of labourers deserving the confidence of society, whose exclusive business it would have been to have supplied metallic, as such a class of men now supply paper money. It would carry me a great deal too far, were I to enter into a history of the proceedings of the different governments of Europe, in debasing the coin of their respective dominions, endeavouring to cheat their subjects by tricks unworthy of the meanest sharpers. It has been quite in vain, however, that governments have tried to give a value to their coin different from that of the precious metals they contained.—(*Popular Pol. Econ.*)

186. The lower labour, and consequently produce, becomes in any part of the world, the higher will in such place be the value of gold, and thither persons, of the same country or foreigners, will take their gold for any produce they may require, unless prevented by the cost of carrying away such produce, or by legislative enactments: whence it is obvious, that though agricultural produce may be lower, that is, exchanging for less gold in Russia than in London, if the labour which enters into it is proportionably low, as may be expected to be the case, the Russian labourer is no better off than the Londoner. Was agricultural produce as easily transportable as gold, and no legislative enactment operated to prevent its transportation, there would be little difference between the prices of it in Russia and in London, or indeed throughout the whole world.

187. The exportation of gold from a country, for which other merchandize is to be returned, is therefore unimportant,

because the gold will come to the country which exported it, as soon as foreigners require any of its produce. A country, says Adam Smith, that has no mines of its own, must undoubtedly draw its gold and silver from foreign countries, in the same manner as one that has no vineyards of its own must draw its wines. A country that has wherewithal to buy wine, will always get the wine which it has occasion for; and a country that has wherewithal to buy gold and silver, will never be in want of those metals. They are to be bought for a certain price like all other commodities; and as they are the price of all other commodities, so all other commodities are the price of those metals. We trust, with perfect security, that the freedom of trade, without any attention of government, will always supply us with the wine which we have occasion for: and we may trust with equal security, that it will always supply us with all the gold and silver which we can afford to purchase, or to employ, either in circulating our commodities, or other uses. — (*Wealth of Nations.*) When, says Say, a nation has a smaller stock of the precious metals than its necessities require, its value within the nation is raised, and foreign and native merchants are equally interested in the importation of more. When it is redundant, its relative value to commodities at large is reduced; and it becomes advantageous to export to that spot where its command of commodities may be greater than at home.—(*Pol. Econ.*) The laws, says Mr. M'Culloch, which regulate the trade in bullion, are not in any degree different from those which regulate the trade in other commodities: it is exported only when its exportation is advantageous, or when it is more valuable abroad than at home. It would, in fact, be quite as reasonable to expect that water should flow from a low to a high level, as it is to expect that bullion should leave a country where its value is great, to go to one where it is low! It is never sent abroad to destroy, but always to find, its level.—(*Dict. Art. Balance*)

188. If Portugal were to say to England, you may have our produce, but it must be all paid for in gold; and Spain were to say to England, our wines are at your service, and in exchange we will take your produce; it is obvious that the demand for our goods on the part of the latter, tends to raise the exchangeable value of our labour; whilst as to Portugal, we must find a second customer to do this: and we could not continue extensively paying gold for foreign goods to one nation, unless some other, or several others, brought it to us.

189. Whether the circulating medium of the world is a hundred millions of pieces of gold, or a hundred millions of pieces of copper of the same weight, is of no consequence to any one man or to all men; the important affair to each being, how many of the pieces of gold, or how many of the pieces of

copper, falls periodically to his share: and this is entirely dependent on his living under the perfect, imperfect, or vicious mode of association, and the station he occupies—in other words, how he is associated. Hence, therefore, a man may receive a small return in the precious metals for his labour, from two very different causes;---either a scarcity and consequent high exchangeable value of silver and gold, or from the exchangeable value of his labour being much depreciated by oppression and competition. In the former case it is of no importance whatever,-- in the latter, of the utmost; as, if in one age an ounce of silver will exchange for as much labour, flour, beef, &c.; as a quarter of a pound of silver will in another, a man that receives the quarter of a pound is no better off than he that receives the ounce: but a man, the exchangeable value of whose labour, in either age, is so reduced that but few of the ounces, or few of the quarters of pounds, fall periodically to his share, is of course prejudicially affected.

190. Prices in England, remarks Mr. Cobbett, have been rising, as it is commonly called, for hundreds of years. Things have been getting dearer and dearer: the cause of which, until the bank-note system began, was the increase of gold and silver in Europe, in consequence of the discovery of South America, and the subsequent working of the mines. But the increase of the quantity of gold and silver was slow; "Nature," as Paine observes, "gives those materials out with a sparing hand;" they came, as they still come, in regular annual quantities from the mines, and that portion of them which found its way to this country, was obtained by the sale of things of real value, being the product of our soil or of our labour. Therefore, the quantity of money increased very slowly,---it did increase, and prices gradually rose, but the increase and the rise were so slow, as not to be strikingly perceptible. During the average life of man, the rise in prices was so small, as hardly to attract any thing like general attention.---(*Paper against Gold.*)

191. It seems now, says a recent writer, to be very generally acknowledged, that it would be of no consequence to the world, whether it possessed twenty times the quantity of gold and silver money that is now in circulation, or that it was reduced to one twentieth part of its present amount. Exchange of commodities could be effected as well by the instrumentality of money, if it were reduced in quantity, as at present; or as if it were increased to twenty times its present amount. Food, clothing, &c. are the things desired by men, and money is only a means of [exchanging] them. If the same food and the same clothing can be [exchanged], the weight of the metal used is of no consequence.—(*Econ. Enq. by T. Hopkins.*) Should silver, says Say, become fifteen times as scarce as it is at present, that is to say as scarce as gold now is, an ounce of silver would perform

the same functions in the character of money, as an ounce of gold now does, and we should be equally rich in money; or, should it fall to a par with copper, we should not be a jot richer in the article of money. We should merely be incumbered with a more bulky circulation. On the score, then, of the other utilities of the precious metals, and on that score only, their abundance makes a nation richer, because it extends the sphere of those utilities and diffuses their use. In the character of money, that abundance no wise contributes to national enrichment.—(*Pol. Econ.*) It would, therefore, have been of no importance, whether copper, or gold had been employed for the circulating medium of the world, if one had been as scarce and difficult of attainment as the other. It would also have been of little importance, whether the quantity of either metal was much or little. The less the better in reason.

192. In reference to what is usually said *as to the scarcity of money*, the real ground of complaint, therefore, obviously is, that *competition reduces wages and profits.*

193. Gold, silver, and copper, or other articles of value in lieu of them, may be termed a *real* currency,—paper, a *nominal* one.

194. All who know the state of the currency in this country during the late war, when with a small quantity of silver and copper for small amounts, and with paper for large ones, all the exchanges of the country were effected; as the larger ones still are, must be sensible that the use of the precious metals may be altogether superseded as a circulating medium. For the information of those who are not acquainted with the commerce of London, it may be observed, that nearly all the persons engaged in extensive business keep accounts with bankers. The payments of commercial men are usually made by checks, the amount of which is immediately demandable; and bills, the amount of which is not demandable until a certain time specified on them has elapsed. These checks and bills are made payable at the banking-houses; clerks from all which meet every afternoon at a place called the Clearing House. Here they settle with each other the demands each has on all the different banking-houses. In 1810, says Mr. Hodgskin, according to evidence given before the Bullion Committee, the amount settled on ordinary days at the London Clearing House, between the different bankers, was at least five millions sterling: and on settling days at the Stock Exchange, this amount was frequently fourteen millions. By means, however, of the clerks of the different banking-houses meeting at the Clearing House, and only paying the balance of their respective accounts; £220,000 was the whole amount of money or bank-notes required to pay the enormous sum of five millions sterling daily. The bankers of the metropolis are the agents for paying the greater part of the

bills in circulation; so that, in fact, the chief money transactions of all England, are settled by the insignificant sum just mentioned. Even this, it is supposed, may, and will be dispensed with.—(*Pop. Pol. Econ.*)

195. With regard to paper-money, if A. has an order on B. for a hundred pieces of gold, and chooses to take B.'s promissory note or notes payable on demand; simply because it is more convenient to exchange with one piece, or a hundred pieces of paper, than a hundred pieces of metal; *such pieces of metal being in B.'s coffer,* there can be no objection whatever to the use of paper instead of metal; the artificial or paper currency being employed simply, and for no other reason, than to save trouble; B. being allowed a commission for transacting the business. This, then, is the simplest, and perhaps the only entirely sound system of banking.

196. The next gradation in the banking art is as follows:—Suppose B., besides having pieces of gold to meet all the demands that can be brought against him, has a hundred or a thousand over, and chooses to lend fifty or five hundred to C., he charges for this a certain profit, commonly called interest. To illustrate this matter, we may revert to our little association of three hundred productive labourers; all they had to do, was to produce and distribute. If they chose to make gold the medium of exchange, and those who provided food wanted ten sovereigns' worth of clothes, they might go to the clothiers, and exchange their gold for clothing, and so of all other exchanges. But all the world must see, that running about borrowing at interest, would of itself neither produce nor distribute an atom of any thing, however long it might be continued. By the perfect mode of association, all the members are partners, and have the entire and unlimited command of production and distribution. The largest quantity of produce of all kinds that can possibly be required, can be grown, manufactured, and distributed with the utmost celerity. Here none can have the least occasion whatever to borrow.

197. Let us ascend a step higher in the banking art, and suppose that B., having only a thousand pieces of gold, circulates pieces of paper of the nominal value of ten thousand pieces. Three parties are here concerned, the banker, his customers, and the country at large. The first issues the nominal money to the second, who circulates it among the third. The public, therefore, give credit to the banker, and he to his customers. If the public refused to take the paper money, the trade in it could not exist. A man may as well take from a banker a hundred grains of sand, as a hundred notes that will not circulate. Many of the English country bankers, says Mr. M'Culloch, who failed during the late crisis, were not only in the habit of discounting the paper of those engaged in the wildest projects, but

of paying a high commission to persons employed to circulate their notes. In fact, their only object seemed to be, to get themselves indebted to the public. Nor when establishments conducted on such principles, and enjoying an unlimited degree of credit, were to be met with in every district of the empire; and when individuals, who never were masters of any real capital of their own, frequently succeeded in obtaining by their means the command of immense sums, can we be surprised that every sort of wild and profligate delusion should have abounded? —(*Edin. Rev. June*, 1826.)

198. Supposing, then, that by a tacit compact the public do agree to take the notes of a particular banker, it is obvious, that he and a customer may go into partnership together, thus a banker and an extensive iron and woollen manufacturer may unite. It is also equally obvious, that the same individual may carry on two branches: he may be both a banker and an iron manufacturer. If, then, Mr. Thomas carries on these occupations, it is those who by a tacit compact agree to give him credit, that is, the public at large, who enable him to prosecute his business; and as precisely the same principle holds universally on the artificial currency system, the labouring part or great body of the people give credit to certain bankers, master growers, manufacturers, and others, to set them to work.—Properly speaking, this may be affirmed even of the real money employed by bankers, master growers, and manufacturers,—all wealth being but an accumulation of labour; and nearly all the labour, as has been remarked, necessarily proceeding from the great body of the people,—to whom, therefore, the heads of the secondary associations should be simply considered as the agents or overseers, appointed to educe the greatest degree of good to all: and, assuredly, not individually to aggrandize themselves at the expense of those who support them.

199. This is further apparent from considering, that the produce of labour resolving itself into labour—being all that is required to be exchanged, the circulating medium, whatever it may be, should be wholly subordinate to demand or consumption. As the consumption should regulate the demand for produce, it should also regulate the currency, whereby such produce is exchanged. But the land of a country being engrossed by the few, the *many must sell their labour* for whatever it will fetch, to those who have money to pay for it,—or rather *to those who have credit from the labourers themselves;* thus it is that the natural order of things is reversed. To use a common saying—"the cart is put before the horse." This, therefore, furnishes an indubitable evidence that the state of things is unsound. The currency in a less or greater degree controls the labour, instead of the labour altogether controlling the currency.

200. The expansion of a currency may obviously take place

in two ways,—among bankers and other individuals, and by loans to government. By the latter a national debt may be created. And those who discount bills or otherwise lend nominal money, may by expanding or contracting their issues, always in a less or greater degree operate on the value of labour and produce in a nation. Wherever, says Mr. M'Culloch, the power to issue paper not immediately convertible has been conceded to any set of persons, it has been abused. *It is now admitted on all hands to be indispensable, in order to prevent injurious fluctuations in the value of money, that all notes be made payable at the pleasure of the holder in an unvarying quantity of gold or silver.* This renders it impossible for the issuers of paper to depreciate its value below that of the precious metals. When an artificial and real currency simultaneously exist in a country, and the former is equally valuable as the latter, the issuers of paper money must have real property sufficient to meet the demands upon them, or nearly so; as, if the contrary was the case, by the extension of the artificial currency, produce, of course, including gold, would be nominally high; and one of two things would happen, there would either be a difference in the value of paper and gold, or the latter would disappear from circulation, flowing to that country whose produce was cheaper. It has elsewhere been intimated, that the existence of an exchangeable value of labour different from the real one, is unsanctioned by Heaven. Another human invention may here be noticed, the giving labour and produce a *nominal* value distinct either from its *exchangeable*, or *real* one; the nominal value arising from the difference of what paper money promises to pay, and that for which it will actually exchange. At present in notes of the Bank of England there is no depreciation. During the present century they have been at a very considerable discount. A paper circulation, says Burke, in reference to the paper money of France,—not founded on any real money, deposited or engaged for, amounting already to four and forty millions of English money, and this currency by force substituted in the place of the coin of the kingdom, becoming thereby the substance of its revenue, as well as the medium of all its commercial and civil intercouse; must put the whole of what power, authority, and influence is left, in any form whatsoever it may assume, into the hands of the managers and conductors of this circulation. In England, not one shilling of paper money of any description is received but of choice, that the whole has had its origin in cash actually deposited, and it is convertible at pleasure in an instant, and without the smallest loss, into cash again. Our paper is of value in commerce, because in law it is of none. It is powerful on 'Change, because in Westminster-hall it is impotent. In payment of a debt of twenty shillings a creditor may refuse all the paper of the Bank of England. Nor

is there amongst us a single public security of any quality or nature whatsoever that is enforced by authority.—*(Reflections on the Revolution in France.)* It is much to be desired for this country that this could always have been said.

201. There being only three things on which the expansion of a currency by paper or nominal money can operate—land—labour—and the value of labour,—let us consider how each is affected. Either the land or the labour it obviously cannot increase; its operation, therefore, can only be on the *value of labour*. An increase in the supply of money will cause an increase in the demand for labour. The supply not experiencing any change will cause its value to advance; workmen will receive higher wages; those without employment will obtain it. Persons receiving advanced wages, and those previously out of employment, now earning wages, will become more profitable exchangers to their neighbours; and produce and profits will advance. Nominally high prices may in this way be maintained for years. Most of the greater competitors that from time to time hold large quantities of produce, will be enriched by the constant advance in prices. An immense augmentation in a national debt may take place, as all the loans contracted for by government will be in nominal money. If a man took a farm or a house before it came into fashion, by paying the rent in such money, it is a reduction of such rent amounting to the difference between the value of it and real money.—This, of course, applies to all other sums paid periodically by contract, as interest, &c.

202. But the unceasing tendency of the artificial currency system, is for the money to flow into the hands of the great competitors, and thus make the oppression and competition more fierce; as nothing can be more obvious, than that, to a certain extent, the richer men are, the better they are liked for customers by bankers. We may thus perceive how the great body of the people have been lending their own money, to increase the oppression and competition, and thus impoverish themselves, for the gain of a few great competitors. Consequently, the inundating a country with paper, though it makes wages and profits *apparently* higher, actually reduces both—(excepting only during the continual augmentation of the currency), the profits of the greater competitors alone being increased. The tendency of nominal money to reduce the value of labour, may be seen from what follows:—according to the researches of Mr. Arthur Young, the medium price of agricultural labour in England in 1767, 1768, and 1770, was very nearly 1*s.* 3*d.* a day,—its medium price in 1810 and 1811, when money wages were at the highest elevation to which they attained during the war, amounted to about 2*s.* 5*d.*, being a rise of nearly, though not quite, 100 per cent. But the price of wheat, ac-

cording to the account kept at Eton College during the first mentioned years, was 51*s.* a quarter, and during 1810 and 1811 its price was 110*s.*, being a rise of 115 per cent: and Mr. Young estimates that butcher's meat had, during the same period, risen 146, butter 140, and cheese 153 per cent, being, at an average, a rise of 138½ per cent; showing that wages as compared with these articles had declined in the interval 38½ per cent, or considerably more than a third. And if the increased cost of beer, leather, and some other necessary articles had been taken into account, the fall in the rate of real wages would have appeared still more striking.

203. From many favouring causes, says a writer recently quoted, the owner of merely nominal capital has been able to depress all the real property of the country, and of course to increase his own fictitious wealth to the same extent. That both the owners of the soil, and the productive industry of the country have been dragged down,—that the scheme has enriched the large body of capitalists, the writer believes to be indisputable: for it is never to be lost sight of, that, with our immense productive powers and extraordinary industry, the nation, as a whole, ought to have been rich beyond all precedent. But with very few exceptious, the capitalist it is who has overtopped all others, and now rules the empire with a rod of iron, if not in name, at any rate in reality, interfering and moulding every man's operations to his own lordly will. What is the reason so few goods, comparatively speaking, are now consumed in this country, but that only one half the amount of wages is now paid, although the quantity of goods manufactured is so wonderfully multiplied? And what has led to this but the superabundance of capital, or nominal wealth, and thence derived morbid competition?—(*Public Econ. Concentrated.*)

204. The currency of one country, or part of the grand commercial association of the world, cannot be looked upon as distinct from another part: and gold being the great standard of value, the actual value of labour is the amount of gold or other produce it will exchange for in the great market of the world, —the nominal value in any country, the amount of the paper circulating in that country, it will bring. The artificial circulating medium of one country, therefore, in no way affects another, except as it impoverishes the former by increasing the competition; thus lowering the exchangeable value of labour, and thereby giving foreigners a greater real value for a less, in the way elsewhere mentioned. If foreigners take away produce at a nominally high price, what they bring in return will obviously bring them a nominally high price.

205. But the nominal money system being entirely one of credit, as all accounts between creditor and debtor must be settled at some time, and in some way or other, let us see how

things operate when the settlement takes place; premising, that though the expansion must necessarily be gradual, legislative enactments may direct the contraction shall be sudden. The currency, then, has to be reduced in a given time,—things have to retrograde as nearly as possible to their original position,---every thing has nominally to decline in price as much as it before had nominally advanced;—a decrease in the supply of money will cause a decrease in the demand for labour; the supply not experiencing any change will cause its value to decline;—workmen will receive lower wages;—many will be thrown out of employment. Persons receiving reduced wages, and those that are unemployed, will become less profitable exchangers to their neighbours,—produce and profits will decline, —those that from time to time hold large quantities of produce will be impoverished by the constant decline in prices; those who entered into contracts for rent, &c., to pay in a nominal currency, by liquidating the demands in a real one, will be losers of the difference between the value of the nominal and the real money. This, then, is equivalent to a rise in rents, &c., the operation of which does not, of course, affect a single transaction only, but may extend through a long series of years. Some of the borrowers of the nominal money may have their pecuniary means so employed, as to be quite unable to pay off large sums demanded at short notice. Some of the holders of produce, also, may not be able to stand the decline in prices, necessarily arising from the contraction of the currency: the consequence of which is, that persons thus situated may be not only ruined themselves, but if many such, owe large sums to bankers, these may also experience a similar fate; and their downfall may cause the failure of other mercantile persons who kept accounts with them, and cannot go on without their assistance; and thus hundreds or thousands of persons may be losers from holding the bankers' notes, from making other bad debts, and from being thrown out of employment. In a system where much is artificial, a universal distrust may seize men's minds as to the safety of banking establishments; thus, a 'panic' may arise, and by a sudden calling on bankers to pay their debts, much confusion, loss, and distress, may be produced. The temptations to commit forgery, when much imaginary money is in circulation, are too obvious to need insisting on. The last thing we may notice is, that if a government has borrowed *nominal* money, and pays the debt or its interest in *real* money, *the nation will be a loser of the difference* between the value of the nominal and real money *during all the years the interest is paid*; the produtive labour of the country being mortgaged to the capitalist for an indefinite period, and thence affording him such an undue influence.

206. One of the modes in which our debt came to be so large,

arose from its being contracted in a nominal currency. The government permitted the enlargement of the currency amongst private individuals to be carried on without limit, and in the state transactions with the bank of England, to a great degree, so that the currency expanded itself to an extent wholly unknown before. In 1797, remarks Mr. Cobbett, the bank of England notes in circulation were between ten and eleven millions, and there were two hundred and thirty country banks. Thirteen years afterwards, or in 1810, the bank of England circulation had risen to twenty-one millions, and the country banks had increased to seven hundred and twenty-one; making, of course, a proportionable augmentation in their circulation.—(*See Paper against Gold, Letter* 22.) The history of the world, perhaps, affords no similar instance of the injury the bank of England, in conjunction with the finance ministers for the time being, have inflicted on the people of this country by expanding the currency. To the finance ministers, the houses of parliament, the bank of England, the country bankers, and all those who in any way supported the financial measures, we are indebted for a vast increase in our national debt. When a late ministry caused a great contraction of the currency, they made no reduction in the dividends payable as the interest of the debt, nor has the present administration done it. A vast amount of public debt, says a writer on political economy, was contracted during those years in which the depreciation was greatest, and the state is now paying this debt, borrowed when the bank-note was not worth more than fourteen or fifteen shillings, with bank notes whose value is increased to twenty shillings.—(*Sup. Ency. Brit. Art. Money.*)

207. From all which we may perceive, that in the expansion and contraction of a nation's currency, and simultaneously with the former, the creation or increase of a national debt, such debt being paid in real currency—

Many will gain by the expansion of the currency, others will lose by the contraction, in their commercial dealings.

Many also will be very large gainers by the creation of the national debt; and their gains will be much augmented by its being contracted for in a nominal currency, and paid in a real one.

Though the exchangeable value of labour will by the expansion nominally be higher, it will really be lower, except as to a few great competitors.

The contraction of the currency will bring labour and produce to their former prices.

And the proper function of money being simply to be instrumental in exchanging labour or produce, whether the circulating medium of the world is in pieces of gold or copper, is unimportant; as it is whether the copper or gold is much or little.

Paper, or nominal money, should, however, only exist as the representative of actually existing value.

Paper money (existing without value), representing only the nominal value of labour and produce,—such money can never be of the least assistance in interchanging, but, on the contrary, is every way prejudicial.

All debts contracted in it, when paid off in real money, as far as it is possible to estimate the difference, should have a correspondent reduction; otherwise, not only the debt itself, but a further sum corresponding with what ought to have been reduced, is paid;—and on the contrary, by debts contracted in a real currency, being liquidated in a nominal one, the creditor loses the difference. *Nominal money* should, therefore, never be made a legal tender, or to speak more correctly, its existence (without value) should never be allowed in any country.

208. Between an artificial commercial prosperity induced by more than ordinary credit for produce arising, and an expansion of the currency through the instrumentality of paper money, there is this difference;—Credit for produce takes place between a few individuals; paper money is frequently supported by a government and the public generally. The former can be maintained for a limited period only—the latter may be upheld for years.

209. As to the former, we have seen that when labour preponderates from any branch, it causes the supply of produce to be less in reference to the demand. This tends to advance wages and profits. Capital or credit (which of course operates in a similar manner to capital) has, therefore, an unvarying tendency to flow to such produce, and by causing the supply to be greater than the demand, at length to reduce the supply, with wages and profits, to the ordinary level. The application of capital is therefore limited to the supply of produce, (generated by such application,) becoming so great as to be beyond its demand. Suppose, that a more than ordinary application of capital is made to several kinds of produce; this would cause the relation between the supply and demand of produce in general to be more unequal. And those kinds, of which the supply in reference to the demand was the largest, would decline in value. Hereby both the producers and their exchangers would be affected. After some had lost and others had gained portions of the capital employed, things would find their ordinary level. But probably not until they had been aggravated by the losers hastily withdrawing their capital, as they might lose in two ways, by decline in prices, and by bad debts, from some of their debtors being unable to stand such decline. And in a state of things such as we are supposing, it is also obvious, that however great the mania for the embarkation of capital may have been, it will have been limited to a few kinds of produce.

210. As to paper money, from the greater support it receives, and its divisibility, it may obviously be expanded through every branch and division; and thus operate both more regularly and more permanently, than an unusual degree of credit. When, however the currency comes to be contracted, the unfavourable results that have been mentioned cannot but arise. Paper currency, says Mr. Buchannan, is one great cause of over trading,

as it furnishes merchants with borrowed capital almost to any extent. Nothing, perhaps, says Mr. M'Culloch, so tends to generate a spirit of overtrading, and by consequence to lead to commercial revulsions, as sudden changes in the quantity and value of money. Those who embark most readily and eagerly in time bargains and other speculative adventures, are not, generally speaking, of the class of rich and old-established merchants; they consist principally of those who have but recently entered into business, and who are tempted by the chance of speedily making a fortune to engage in such hazardous transactions. And while any unusual facility in obtaining discounts, must act as an additional and powerful motive to such persons to speculate; it is at the same time obvious, that the rise of prices consequent upon any additions made to the currency, will not only lead them to believe that their anticipations are to be realized, but will most probably induce even the most considerate merchants to withhold their produce from market, in the expectation of a further advance. The miscalculations of particular classes of producers or merchants affect themselves only, or at most exert but a comparatively slight influence over the rest of the community; but a revulsion occasioned by a sudden change in the quantity and value of money affects every individual, and is always productive of the most pernicious results.—*(Edit. of Smith's Wealth of Nations.)* Previous to a very recent period, national debts were never heard of among mankind. Did they not exist, men could not possibly oppress one another, and compete together to the extent they now do. The principal objects of competition would then be land and houses. As these could only be engrossed for a limited period in a right constitution of things, it would be impossible by commerce to engross so much or so many, as to enable men by the quantity of slave labour thence to be disposed of, to make such extensive speculations, and to form such powerful mercantile associations, as are to be seen in our days, and which have such a baneful effect in lowering the value of labour. The public funds are a constant and most baneful stimulant to the cupidity of the upper mercantile class, on whom the lower and vastly more numerous class is dependent. Persons who possess these bonds on the public labour are considered to be worth a certain sum, according to the amount held: thus, men hear of one being worth ten, another twenty, a third fifty thousand pounds, and so on;—and though these are few, they are quite numerous enough to excite inordinate desire in the minds of very many. It is no answer to this, that these funds are merely imaginary riches;—they have precisely the same influence as real ones in exciting desire.

211. In the short space of three years, 1814, 15, and 16, says a writer in the Sup. Ency. Brit., ninety-two country

banks, or one out of every seven and a half of the total number of these establishments existing in 1814, became bankrupt; besides a much greater number that stopped payment for a longer or shorter period. Nor did the mischief cease here. The currency was not only diminished by the sudden withdrawing of the notes of the insolvent banks, but the issues of all the rest were very greatly contracted. The Board of Agriculture estimated, that in the county of Lincoln only, above three millions of country bank paper had in the course of eighteen months been withdrawn from circulation. And in a variety of other extensive districts in England, and in the South of Ireland, no money was to be found in circulation. Credit was totally annihilated, and so great was the panic, that even the notes of the Bank of England would hardly pass current, except at a discount. These failures were the more distressing and calamitous, as they chiefly affected the industrious classes, and frequently swallowed up in an instant, the fruits of a long life of unremitting and laborious exertion. That support on which too many of the agriculturists and manufacturers rested, gave way at the moment when it was most necessary. Prices instantly fell, and thousands who but a moment before considered themselves affluent, found they were destitute of all real property. The late Mr. Horner, the accuracy and extent of whose information on such subjects cannot be called in question, stated in his place in the House of Commons, that the destruction of English country bank paper in 1814 and 1815, had given rise to a universality of wretchedness and misery, which had never been equalled, except perhaps, by the breaking up of the Mississipi scheme in France. —*(Sup. Ency. Brit. Art. Currency.)*

212. The increase of the issues of the metropolitan and private banks, says Mr. Wade, during the three years which preceded the reaction of 1825, amounted to no less than ten millions, whereas it appears from the return of stamps issued for bills of exchange, that the simultaneous increase in that description of commercial paper alone amounted to between ninety and one hundred millions. The fall in prices, and a deficiency in the circulation for the purposes of trade and industry, have been ascribed to the withdrawal of the small-note currency. But this cause is quite inadequate to the production of the effect assigned. The mercantile depression experienced since the crisis of 1825 has resulted, I apprehend, more from the contraction of credit.—*(Hist. of the Middle and Working Classes.)*

213 Securities for money known by the name of accommodation bills, are well known in the commercial world. A. without having received any value, accepts a bill to accommodate B.—As a necessary consequence, B. may do A. a reciprocal kindness. If either or both are in credit the bills are discounted by bankers or other monied men, or they are paid for produce of any kind.

When two people, says Adam Smith, who are continually drawing and re-drawing upon one another, discount their bills always with the same banker, he must immediately discover what they are about, and see clearly that they are trading not with any capital of their own, but with the capital which he advances. But this discovery is not altogether so easy, when they discount their bills sometimes with one banker and sometimes with another, and when the same two persons do not constantly draw and redraw upon one another.—*(Wealth of Nations.)* It sometimes happens that a man really not worth twenty shillings carries on a large business with this kind of paper. But when the cost of stamps, banker's commission, postage, and other charges are considered, as well as the tendency of competition to reduce all profits,—accomodation bills are rarely beneficial to a trader, even when used on a limited scale. From the inability of one party, the other is occasionally called on to pay both the bills he draws and those he accepts;—though he may have only received value for one set. Hence it sometimes happens that insolvency of both parties is the consequence.

214. And here we may say a word on the principal causes of the fictitious commercial prosperity during the late war. These appear to have arisen from the greater demand for labour in reference to the supply, thereby augmenting wages and profits; population increased less rapidly than in peace,—the amount of productive labour was also less from so many being engaged in actual warfare,—the demand on the part of government was great for certain kinds of produce,—and thence the national debt, taxation, and the currency were for many years continually expanding; all which tended to make the interchange of labour more brisk in all branches and divisions,—and some markets also were open to us exclusively. Productive labour can, however, not only be associated in the most powerful manner without war, but all the inconveniences be avoided, in reference to such labour, resulting from a change from war to peace.

215. A curious argument has been employed by some,—namely, that national debts are beneficial, inasmuch as the receivers of the interest give profitable employment to those among whom it is spent. But this is wholly fallacious, since, rightly to associate labour, a national debt is as little necessary as war. It would be a serious reflection on divine wisdom so to have constituted things, that for the future produce of men's labour to be mortgaged, should be the best mode in which they can carry on the business of production and distribution.

216. Let us now consider with what justice a national debt can exist at all. A nation insolvent, conveys something very remarkable in the bare expression. The whole productive power of a country, unable to save itself from incurring a mighty debt! It may be asked, to whom does the nation owe

it? To foreigners. Suppose this to be the case for a moment, let us see what questions arise. How was the debt contracted? Was it for foreign produce imported? If so, could the English produce nothing, or not sufficient, to give in exchange? And how came foreigners to be such simpletons, as to let a stupid lazy people, such as the English, get into their debt year after year, to an immense amount? As creditors are usually sharp-sighted, one would have supposed these foreign ones would have reasoned something in this way. If a set of English louts cannot pay their debts as they accumulate, surely, the larger the amounts become, the less able will they be to discharge them. Year after year that things get worse, the creditors, we may suppose, would get tired, and determine not to trust a set of insolvents any further. But nothing can be more clear, than that the labour of one nation can find an equivalent only in that of another; and that it is impossible to imagine any consideration for which one should barter to the other its labour prospectively, but a similar equivalent, and then the bargain amounts to nothing. It is, therefore, obvious we could not have contracted the debt with foreigners.

217. During the French revolution, the issue of paper money in France rose to the enormous sum of nearly sixteen hundred millions of pounds sterling. It is extremely difficult to determine who are the worse legislators and political economists, the members of the French government that tolerated this enormous abuse; or the members of the British government who permitted the rise, and those who now permit the *maintainance* of our national debt.

218. Let us have recourse for illustration to Russia, assuming that it has a national debt, and in its creation, that it has at some time employed a nominal currency, though we know not if this is the case. The following are the foundation and superstructure of the debt:—

1. The political right is unlawfully engrossed.
2. Through this the land is engrossed.
3. Wealth is accumulated from the oppression and competition thence arising, by a few to the unspeakable prejudice of the many. This accumulation is nominally raised by an artificial currency.
4. To prosecute a war, the engrossers of the political right take a portion of the unlawful wealth acquired by making merchandize of the bodies and souls of men from its possessors. They take also the lives of others.
5. They next impose interest on the wealth so obtained.
6. They then affirm, that the faith of their country is pledged for the payment of such interest.
7. Lastly, that all these things are done with the sanction of the Most High.

219. As to the first to the fifth, it will in its proper place be made evident that the whole political right, and thence the land belongs to all the native adult males of Russia. *Hence there does not exist one Russian, from whom the produce of his*

labour, to the value of a single farthing, can against his will be lawfully abstracted, by the unanimously consenting voice of the assembled world. This can lawfully be done in no other way than by laws, in the making and executing of which, an opportunity has been afforded him of having a voice. Consequently, the Russian government going to war without the consent of the governed, dividing them into two parties, and saying to one,—You must go and murder the Turks, English, Spaniards, or some other people, and be murdered by them;—and to the other party,—You must provide whatever is requisite to carry on these wholesale butcheries: and if you object to thus parting with your lives and properties, we shall compel you to submit as long as you are wicked enough to allow us,—is altogether utterly iniquitous. Let it be supposed that in Russia all had a right to the land, and that Austria was unjustly to declare war against her: it is obvious, that to resist the aggression, the Russians should all be knit together as one man, ready to sacrifice their properties and lives: as, if men in the attainment of any object would give up the latter, they surely would the former. If, then, at the termination of hostilities, the property of any one was found injured by the war, it should be instantly repaired by the assistance of all. Thus, if a man's house, stack of corn, or warehouse of goods, had been destroyed, a very short space of time, would through the instrumentality of labour rightly associated, be sufficient to remedy the mischief. Any injury to the property of individuals that requires a long time to repair, can never arise in a right constitution of things, because some can never lawfully be much richer than their neighbours. Instead of this, the way in which a grateful country deals with too many families, is this: the adult males are murdered on the field of battle, and from the rest of the family is squeezed part of the miserable pittance, which is all they are able to earn, (from the value of their labour being reduced by oppression and competition;) and upon this a set of wretched usurers, greater mercantile competitors, land and political right engrossers, fatten; for many of this latter class are both landholders and fund-holders. Reader, you would think the highwayman who had robbed you and murdered your father or brother, a very bold villain indeed to make you pay interest on the wealth of which he had deprived you. It is quite comprehensible, how an extravagant few at the head of a nation may get into debt to the many; but how the many are to get into debt to the few, is perfectly incomprehensible. A peck of wheat may be put into a bushel measure, but a bushel of wheat can never be put into a peck measure; and as it cannot be got in, it certainly never can come out. The bare possibility of a truly *national* debt is so palpable an absurdity, as to carry its own refutation. All the vast productive power of one of the greatest

nations of the earth, incapable of keeping that nation out of debt to a few hundred of its members! who, for any good they ever rendered to the nation, might all have been at the antipodes during the whole prosecution of the war.

220. Under any circumstances, it is only by the united and nearly equal labour of all, that all wealth is accumulated; consequently all should be equal or nearly equal sharers:—as, if the great body of the people employed all their labour on account of their country during the war, the money lenders could do no more. These, therefore, can equitably have no greater claim than the rest of their countrymen. If any interest could be imagined to be really due, it must belong to those to whom the wealth truly belonged—that is, to all, and thus it becomes a nullity, or all paying to all. The whole tendency of the competing system is to impoverish, and the masters of the commercial houses, who are some of the prime supporters of it, take an undue share of the diminished wealth. The nominal currency system upheld by the great body of the people alone, also increases the competition; and while it farther augments the wealth of the greater competitors, still farther impoverishes the servants. Thus we have the land unlawfully abstracted from men, rendering them worse than insolvents, and in addition to this, they were required to pay interest for money they never borrowed! (unless it was of themselves). But if such outrageous proceedings are allowed to go on during the continuance of one generation, that surely must be sufficient. To enslave men for their whole lives is bad enough, without wanting to entail slavery on their posterity. A heavy national debt can be created but in one way:—*The political right must be engrossed—next the land; then a few mercantile men must enrich themselves in the ratio that they pauperize the many. Lastly, these gains must be nominally augmented by an artificial currency. Thus a whole nation may apparently be made to get into debt to almost any amount, to a few of the most unrighteous of her sons, the wholesale dealers in the merchandize of the bodies and souls of their brethren. All which is utterly iniquitous throughout.*

221. How and by what unaccountable legerdemain, says an anonymous writer, has it happened that the great city speculator, and the whole tribe of trading capitalists, have contrived to become so powerful, that they can control the destinies of Europe?—that a few individuals—through the agency of wealth, or rather it ought to be said, capital—can achieve that which the empire at large was kept busy in doing? Surely, the very question ought to stagger the most incredulous. For what is all our aristocratic influence, compared to the anti-national thraldom in which we are held by those important personages of the stock exchange? With all their hereditary possessions, what indi-

vidual of all our landed aristocracy, had they possessed the wish, could ever have added, by dint of saving or any possible competition they could resort to, so enormously to their revenues as these speculators in nominal capital have done. *Does any man suppose, that all this nominal wealth has been acquired, but by absorbing, by open or covert means, the industry of the country to themselves?* And, after all, what does their capital benefit the country, or rather *what mischiefs has it not produced,* by creating the unnatural and ruinous competition! Have we anything as a nation either to speculate in or to lend,—either directly or indirectly, but our industry, and have we not as much of that one year as another?—(*Public Econ. Concentrated.*)

222. As to the sixth. The robber would appear still more bold, if, reader, upon remonstrating with him, he was coolly to tell you that your faith was pledged for the payment of the interest. Perhaps those who are interested in the maintenance of the Russian national debt, will scarcely have the assurance to talk of the faith of that nation being pledged for any thing. If, however, this language is not used in Russia, we know a nation where it is, *assuredly with as little reason as it may be in Russia.* It is irresistibly evident that the faith of that nation can be pledged in one way alone: namely, by all the native adult males appointing, by their majority, who shall make and execute the laws. That the faith of Russia can be pledged in any other way, we defy all mankind to prove.

223. As to the seventh. This brings us to the last stage of this strange eventful history,—Let us recapitulate the six preceding,—1. Men are robbed of their share of the political right;—2. Of the land;—3. Oppression and competition are introduced;—4. Some are robbed of their wealth, others of their lives;—5. The relations of the survivors are made to pay interest on the wealth thus stolen;—6. In addition, they are told their faith is pledged for the payment;—And now comes the consummation of all this iniquity, in their being further told, that it is sanctioned by the Lord God Almighty!—as, amongst other abominations illegal governments commit, they generally, perhaps always blasphemously declare, they are appointed by God; and that all their most damnable iniquities are done by his providence, his grace, &c.

224. It may, however, be alleged that national debts have sometimes been incurred for defensive wars prosecuted on just grounds. As every country in Europe but Sweden and Switzerland has, or had till very recently these debts, this can assuredly be said of some of them only. Let us, however, assume that the French invasion of Russia was utterly unlawful, and that, therefore, it was perfectly justifiable to repel the invader. It will be seen in its proper place, that the only lawful acts the

Russian or any other illegal government can do, is entirely to supersede itself. Suppose, then, when Buonaparte threatened Russia, that the Russian government had been a lawful one. If such government had addressed him as follows, the invasion might have been altogether prevented.—We neither have committed nor do we intend to commit any breach of international law, but hope, under the divine blessing, to conduct ourselves righteously; and, as much as lies in us, to live peaceably with all men. As to your threatened invasion, did we rely on human power only, we might be justly apprehensive of the result, but being humbly confident of the support of heaven, whilst we deprecate war, as one of the most fertile sources of sin and suffering human nature admits, we have only to add that, if you think proper to attack us, you will not find us unprepared;—and all the guilt and misery arising from your unprovoked aggression will lie at your door. An unlawful government urging that a national debt was contracted on proper grounds, is, therefore, no justification, as the answer to such government and all who directly or indirectly support it; is,—however justifiable the war might have been, you had no right to rule the country. Had the government been in the hands of those who were lawfully entitled to it, the necessity might have been avoided. A nation having a righteous people, and thence a righteous government, need be under little apprehension of being attacked; and when this does happen, it cannot be doubted that the arm of the Most High would be so signally exerted in its favour, that the attacking nation would soon have reason to repent of its temerity. And such a war assuredly could not be of long continuance, nor afford an opportunity for the creation of a national debt to any extent, or of any long duration. The contracting national debts may find a parallel in the conduct of a person who became insolvent, and who upon one of his creditors reproaching him for his misconduct, replied:—"Oh! it was your own fault; every one knew my character, therefore you ought not to have trusted me." And certainly, when the members of unrighteous governments are reproached by those whom they misrule, for contracting or *maintaining* national debts, they may with quite as much grace as the insolvent debtor, say,—*All the world knows our characters; you should have never allowed us to do so, or indeed to misrule you at all!*

225. But the reader may be ready to ask,—suppose a Frenchman or Turk invests his money in the Russian funds, can he be justly prevented from claiming an annual dividend? What does the man buy? Is it lands, or houses, or moveable wealth? —No, human labour.—Who sold it to him, the labourers themselves?—No; those who illegally enslave the Russians, by making and executing the laws without their consent. Can it

be imagined for a moment that there exists a just man, who, for any consideration whatever, would or could voluntarily bring himself and his posterity into debt, and sell his and their labour for an indefinite period? Every one must see that this is impossible. It may, however, be affirmed, that though the original purchasers of the Russian bonds could not legally purchase them, the present owners have a right to their value. As they were originally purchased with the gains acquired by the land-engrossing, and oppressing, and competing system, so subsequent purchasers could only acquire them in the same way: a similar illegality, therefore, attaches to all through whose hands they may have passed, down to, and including, the present holders. The only mode whereby any can possibly attain great wealth, is from engrossing those rents which are the property of all, by illegal taxation, or by dealing in one of the two kinds of slave labour. Every farthing acquired in any of these ways, is unlawful gain in the sight of God: no human power can cure the vice of a title originally unsound. Before a man makes a purchase either of land or in the funds, he is bound to see that his title agrees with the law of God, i. e. with human laws therewith according (i. 23) If a man parts with his money for an unsound title, that is his own fault. If he has any remedy, it is to get his money returned by the vendor. When, says Burke, the only estate lawfully possessed, and which the contracting parties had in contemplation at the time in which their bargain was made, happens to fail, who, according to the principles of natural and legal equity, ought to be the sufferer? Certainly, it ought to be either *the party who trusted, or the party who persuaded him to trust, or both; and not third parties, who had no connexion with the transaction.* —(*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*) A lawful title to miscalled funded property can never exist at all. A lawful title to land can only be created where the national code emanates from a government appointed by all the native adult males.

226. The creation of the national debt of Russia, however, arising from the Russians generally allowing an unrighteous system of things to prevail, they ought consequently not to take advantage of their own wrong doing, and require the Russian fundholders immediately to cancel their bonds. How long they should be permitted to receive interest on them, it is not the province of an individual to decide. There are two ways of disposing of them, — by gradually diminishing the amount of interest till nothing remains, or at a future period annihilating it all at once;—the former seems the preferable mode. Perhaps an annual deduction of four per cent., so that nothing would remain after twenty-five years, would be doing no injustice to any. It seems, however, better for a whole

nation to be more taxed than it ought for a few years, than that some individuals should be inconvenienced, although to be so may be deserved by them.

227. The following is an instance of a government first abstracting from some and then lending to others. The biographer of Catherine II. of Russia, tells us that twenty-two millions were to be lent to the nobility for the term of twenty years upon mortgages on their estates. The mortgages were not to include the whole estate, but such a number of villages, with the peasants appertaining to them, as should appear to the directors a sufficient security; the male peasants to be estimated at 40 rubles per head, the females at 30, well-grown boys and girls at 12.—(*Life of Catherine II.*)

228. Among the ancient Hebrews, the taking interest from each other, on any pretence whatever, was utterly forbidden, both payer and receiver being in the same condemnation, (*Ex.* xxii, 25; *Deut.* xxiii, 19, 20; *Neh.* v, 1 to 13; *Isa.* xxiv, 2; *Jer.* xv, 10); the prohibition being made most imperative from this remarkable circumstance, 'that the Lord thy God may bless thee in all that thou settest thine hand to' Thus, the exaction of interest was not only criminal as regarded each other, but also sinful in mistrusting the divine goodness. With us in the present day, the terms usury and interest have different acceptations, usury being applied only when the interest is excessive. When our translation of the Bible was made, the term usury signified only ordinary interest: were a new translation made, wherever the word usury is applied, the word interest should be substituted.—(*Lev.* xxv, 36, 37.) In sacred writ, the taking interest is mentioned in terms of severe condemnation, and placed on a parallel with heinous sins. 'He,' says the psalmist, 'that putteth not out his money to usury, nor taketh reward against the innocent; he that doeth these things, shall never be moved.' Ezekiel thus speaks of it,---'Thou hast taken usury and increase, and thou hast greedily gained of thy neighbours by extortion, and hast forgotten me, saith the Lord God. Behold, therefore, I have smitten mine hand at thy dishonest gain which thou hast made.' 'He that hath not given forth upon usury, neither hath taken any increase, that hath withdrawn his hand from iniquity, hath executed true judgment between man and man; hath walked in my statutes, and hath kept my judgments, to deal truly; he is just, he shall surely live, saith the Lord God:' and after several great sins are enumerated, it is added, 'hath given forth upon usury, and hath taken increase, shall he then live? he shall not live, he hath done all these abominations: he shall surely die; his blood shall be upon him.'

229. Formerly, in this country, receiving interest was illegal. All usury, says one of our most celebrated lawyers, being for-

bidden by the law of God, is sin and detestable; and it is also enacted by act of parliament that all usury is unlawful. Thus, what men consider sinful and detestable in one age, they think perfectly warrantable in another. It may be so with them, but it is assuredly not so with God. The receiving of interest, says Dr. Paley, was once prohibited in almost all Christian countries. Even among the Mahometans, taking interest is forbidden by the Koran. As our law stands at present, a creditor cannot exact more than five per cent per annum. Some of our legislators are anxious to abolish the restriction. If they succeed, as the necessities of the borrower become more pressing, the cupidity of the lender will be stimulated to prey upon his victim more unrelentingly; whilst the debtor, if he pays extravagantly, must in some way make reprisals on others. *By the Mosaic polity, all debts between the Hebrews were cancelled septennially.*---(*Deut.* xv, 1.) *And it must be remembered that every Hebrew was a freeholder. If, then, the Divine Being declared that just debts, that is, those for which value had been received, contracted among freeholders, and the amount of which could never have been considerable, should be thus cancelled; with what justice, it may be asked, can imaginary debts (for which it was utterly impossible value could have been received, and which were necessarily contracted without the consent of the miscalled debtors) be continued for an indefinite period,---to speak more correctly, be paid over and over again?* And as to the payment of interest at all, can any one believe that a practice prohibited among the followers of Moses is allowable among those of Jesus, even as relates to the comparatively small transactions between private individuals? The Christian dispensation is a far nobler one than the Mosaic.---(*Heb.* x. 28 *to* 31; *Mat.* v. 17 *to* 42; *James*, ii. 10.)

230. Unhappy men who are supporters of national debts, not only incur the guilt of those who willingly gain by the competing system, but they gamble in the merchandize of the bodies and souls of men, by what are called time bargains: that is, by selling and buying stock to be delivered at a future period, usually without any transfer of such stock, or any intention of making a transfer, the nominal seller often possessing no stock at all. When the fixed day arrives, if the price is higher than the purchaser bought at, he receives the difference; if lower, he pays it. The settlement in Paris for the month of July, says a journalist, was attended with the following fatal consequences: four suicides, six cases of insanity, a loss of eleven millions of francs to the Parquet, another of twenty-five millions to M. Rothschild, and considerable embarrassments to many of the Change agents, who have called for time to meet their engagements.—(*Times, Aug.* 13, 1834.) It would be an insult to the understanding of the reader to say a single word in reproof of such

abominations. An anonymous writer, speaking of the Stock Exchange of a certain nation, says, Sheer love of lucre, inordinate ambition, and avarice of the most debasing kind, alone characterize the genii who preside over the Stock Exchange; whose practised falsehoods are not more disgraceful to the members thereof, than they are destructive to the happiness of the nation. Of all the places called HELLS with which the metropolis abounds, here only is it, that *nations are enslaved and their dearest interests bought and sold.* At all the other so called places, individuals only are made bankrupt; but at this sink of iniquity and fraud, whole kingdoms are beggared, their natural advantages thrown away, their commerce directed into improper channels, and in one word, their industry sacrificed.—(*Pub. Econ. Concentrated.*)

231. That the whole foundation and superstructure of national debts should be utterly abolished, no wise and good man can for a moment doubt, as it is impossible to deny that—

The abstraction of the share of the political right from any man whatever in any nation, *is a contravention of the will of God.*

The abstraction and appropriation of the land without men's own consent *is a contravention of the will of God.*

The willingly making gain by means of either of the species of slave labour which arise out of these abstractions, *is a contravention of the will of God.*

All gambling *is a contravention of the will of God.*

Gambling in the merchandize of the bodies and souls of the living, therefore, *is a contravention of the will of God.*

Gambling in the merchandize of the bodies and souls both of the living and the unborn—seeing that those who are guilty of it are implicated in the iniquity of all the preceding measures, *is a yet greater contravention of the will of God.*

232. And a stock exchange is but a monument of the daring impiety of man, and the wonderful forbearance of Heaven; a monument which should be utterly razed to the ground, to be replaced by another, whereon may be inscribed as a lesson to future ages :—

ON THE SITE
OF THIS MONUMENT,
STOOD ONE OF THOSE ABOMINATIONS,
AN EXCHANGE
FOR THE MERCHANDIZE
OF THE BODIES AND SOULS
NOT ONLY OF THE LIVING BUT THE UNBORN :
ERECTED A.D. * * * *.

233. Connected with national debts are savings' banks. These can be of no service whatever in a rightly constituted association, where, as has been shown, no lending or borrowing for gain need take place. Suppose a poor family to be thrifty and to take

part of their gains to a savings' bank,---when illness or extraordinary want arises, the money is withdrawn. If another family spend what they get, when illness or want of work overtakes them, they apply to the parish, and are supported by their richer neighbours. Savings' banks thus circumscribe the enjoyments of the poor, to increase those of the rich. If a poor family has neighbours still poorer, it would be an act of charity occasionally to assist; but savings' banks being ever open to receive the poor man's gains, he is tempted to disregard his neighbour's necessities, and thus these institutions have a demoralizing effect. (1 *John* iii. 17.)

234. The reader will acquire some idea of the effect of public funds, savings' banks, annuity offices, &c., by imagining all the members of a nation having claims on the future labour of each other. The absurdity of this is manifest. If, then, such an extension of the system would be absurd, let any one endeavour to determine the exact point at which it would cease to be so; how many persons should have claims on the future labour of a whole association composed of a certain number, to what amount and for what period, in order that men may most beneficially associate. One obvious pernicious effect of the funding system in all its ramifications, is, the causing the fundholders to consider it to be their interest to support any unrighteous government by which it is upheld. But it may be inquired, if the funds were suppressed, how is provision to be made for widowhood, orphanage, and old age? The answer is, restore to men their right to the land. Among the Hebrews, all these must have occurred, and we find no provision of the kind we are considering made against them by God. There can, perhaps, be little objection to the formation of associations for guarding against the consequences of these contingencies, the members of them taking care not to prejudice the rights of one another, or of those who are not members. All associations, however, that deal in any way in the produce of future labour, are evidences of an unsound state of things; for were justice, mercy, and humility, universally the rules of men's conduct,—the members of families who might be prevented from labouring by old age or sickness, would in no degree be burthensome to their relatives possessed of health and strength.—The great and constant plenty that could not fail to be generated, if men rightly associated, would utterly supersede the necessity of the institutions called for by a vicious state of society. In filial affection, says Mr. Hodgskin, we may find a better security for the supply of our wants in old age, than any interest or accumulated savings can give. The natural and best method of saving against the wants of old age, is to rear, educate, and instruct our offspring. In their willing contributions, paying back to their parents when no longer able to toil, some of those advances the parents had made in manhood

to support and rear them, old age would find a certain subsistence derived from a pleasing source.—*(Pop. Pol. Econ.)* It is also obvious, that the numbers of the sick and decrepit among those who lived according to the divine will, would be greatly diminished or altogether annihilated. The whole system of buying annuities, and what is miscalled funded property, have a powerful tendency to weaken men's reliance on the constant providential care of Heaven, though such reliance is of unspeakable importance both to men's temporal and eternal welfare; for without faith it is impossible to please God.

235. Whilst national debts are in fashion, and men believe that the dividends will continue to be paid, there will be little hoarding of money. When there are no national debts, as whatever hoarding there is may be supposed to be usually without any sensible variation, it will little affect the circulation. If society was rightly constituted, there would at any time be as little temptation to hoard gold, as wind or smoke. One effect of war is to force gold in large quantities to the places where armies are concentrated. The money principally finds its way to that country where produce in general demand is to be had cheapest, but acted on to a certain extent, by exportation or importation being prevented through suspension of intercouse between the belligerents or their allies, or by the causes elsewhere considered.—Competition, by lowering the gains of all except the greater competitors, thus acts on the circulation. The gain such competitors abstract, flows from the particular places where the competition prevails, into the great market of the world. The low price to which labour and produce have been reduced causes a greater demand for it: hence money flows to such places, but in diminished quantities. The constant tendency of oppression and competition, therefore, is to contract the circulation or make money scarce in the pockets of all, except the greater competitors.

236. In reference to absenteeism, suppose ten families spending ten thousand a year at Cheltenham, remove to Rome; the tradesmen at the former place lose all the benefit they derived from dealing with these families. The money will return to England, if the Romans want some of our produce. If they do not, the ten thousand per year will be drained from this country to go into the great market of the world, and part of it will probably flow back to us through some other channels. It is considered by some that absenteeism is not unfavourable to a country;—on this principle,—though the families that migrated to Rome spend their ten thousand per year there, and thus a less demand for English produce to this amount is made,—still the Romans or some other people require produce of some kind to the same amount, and thus the effect is neutralized. In answer, however, to this, it may be

observed, that the labour which enters into produce exported in wholesale quantities is usually worse paid for than that which a man of fortune requires for his establishment. And thus it is in favour of the foreigners with whom absentees spend their money. Besides which, the tendency of absenteeism is to disturb, still further than would otherwise be the case, the regular supply of labour to the different branches and divisions of production and distribution, so essential to the well-being of society. Thus much for mankind on the whole. When we look at the particular persons from whom the money is drained, it is especially ungracious to cause them to lose all the benefit of its being spent in their neighbourhood. Absentees act unfavourably on a country, inasmuch as they contribute very little towards its taxation.

237. Taxation is of two kinds: that levied on houses, which may be called direct; that on produce, which may be called indirect. Suppose a man to hire a house in London, the rent of which is £100 per year,—and that the parliamentary, parochial, and ecclesiastical taxation, is £50. If the £50 was taken off, the competition to take houses would cause the rent to advance to £150,—the only difference being, that in the latter case the tenant has to pay the yearly cost of his house to one person, in the former to several. We are not, however, to suppose that the taxation is paid by the owners of houses, as wealth of whatever kind can only come from productive labourers. The owners of lands and houses let them for a certain annual amount, to obtain which a quantity of produce is exchanged for money, with which the rent is paid. The same takes place with regard to the taxes. The indirect taxes are levied immediately on produce, though paid for in money. The effect of taxation may be thus seen.—Suppose the amount paid by a country town to be £2000 per year, and that this goes into the pocket of a sinecurist who lives in its neighbourhood, and whose family spends this money in the town whence it is derived. The simple effect, then, is to do that for the town's people which they could do better for themselves: i. e., spend their own money. Sometimes, however, as we have just been considering, they do not get the benefit of the expenditure, from the money being carried elsewhere. A most baneful effect of taxation is that its collection has an unvarying tendency to increase competition. The heavier men's expenses are, and the more straitened their means, the more anxious they are to enrich themselves. Hence they have recourse to a more furious oppression and competition, but these only increase the evils under which they labour. Rent, of course, operates in the same way as taxation. As to the latter, the more oppression and competition there are, and the more the value of labour is thereby lowered, the greater amount of produce will those who

live on taxation obtain. Some idea of the enormous evil of taxation may be thus seen. Without adverting to the ecclesiastical assessments made on the people of the British Islands: all the wages earned by the one-third of the adult males, the exchangeable value of whose labour is most depreciated, is, we apprehend, scarcely sufficient to pay the rest of the taxation. If this rough estimate cannot be impugned, what a miserable state is this for a country;—*the whole earnings of one man out of every three throughout the nation absorbed for only a portion of the taxation.* And it must not be forgotten, that the labour of this third of the population is, or might be made, some of the primest of our productive labour, being that of adult males. Surely, all commentary on such a state of things must be entirely unnecessary. But, notwithstanding this unspeakable abuse, *was every farthing of the taxation taken off, its effect on the country would be scarcely perceptible;—beyond this, if even the whole of the rent paid for lands and houses was also given up, this would be of little service.* We have seen that all our improvements in machinery, and all our increase of wealth or capital, have little beneficial influence. If, therefore, all our taxation and rent were annihilated, the cost of production would thereby be reduced but in a trifling degree; and competition might prevent the exchangeable value of labour being much, if at all higher, than it is at present. *Nothing can duly raise the value of labour, but interchangers leaving off oppressing one another, and competing with one another.*

EXAMPLE OF THE OPERATION OF COMPETITION.

238. Occasion has presented itself to notice two large distributing associations in London. (iii. 27.) The mode of business adopted by houses of the class, to which these belong, will illustrate what has been advanced.

239. The wholesale dealers or warehousemen of London have warehouses to receive goods from manufacturers. These goods are supplied to shopkeepers who reside in London and different towns situated over a large part of the British Isles. The class under consideration distributes the lighter kinds of cotton, woollen, and silk goods. Formerly, if the sales of a warehouseman amounted to ten or fifteen thousand pounds yearly, realizing a profit of about as many hundreds, he was satisfied. His great aim was to buy cheaply and sell dearly, the bounds as to price being of course limited by other houses in the same division. But within the last half century a monopolizing system has arisen, which, if it is not altogether new in principle, is certainly so in extent.

240. The trifling expense of carriage, the small quantity of warehouse-room, and the few hands necessary to distribute a large amount of the sort of goods just named, are obviously all favourable to a great extension of business. Besides, the demand for such goods is considerable. But it is evident that the whole quantity of any particular kind of goods, demanded either for the consumption of a particular nation, or the whole world, must have a limit. Suppose, then, the quantity of woollen goods annually required by a little country to be worth a million sterling, and that there are one hundred warehousemen to distribute them. If all distribute equal portions, it will be ten thousand per annum each; and if the profit be ten per cent, this will be a gain to each of £1,000. per annum. The monopolists whose operations are now to be considered, altered the old-fashioned system, by not only buying cheaply, but also *selling cheaply:* the latter, that each might engross to himself a large share of the trade, of course to the prejudice of his competitors. Thus there were several trying to get the greatest quantity of a limited thing. It has been supposed that the profit of each of the hundred was £1,000. per year, the annual gain to all being consequently £100,000. Let it be further assumed that the number of monopolists was four. If each of these could obtain one tenth of the whole business, and transact it at the former rate of profit, the aggregate gains of the four would be £40,000. per year, leaving £60,000. for the other ninety-six. But the four could only increase their business by reducing the amount of profit, say from ten to five per cent. The entire sum of profits on the whole £1,000,000. would be thus £50,000.; and for the four to take £40,000. would only leave £10,000. for the rest; a state of things which obviously could never actually arise. The precise effect was—the houses which did not monopolize, were acted on in two ways: they not only lost a considerable portion of their trade, but were obliged to reduce the profits on what they preserved; for unless they had done so, their remaining customers would have gone to the monopolists, and thus they would have lost their whole trade. The joint action of these two causes, loss of trade, and loss of profit on a contracted business, was of course too ruinous to be supported: the consequence, therefore, has been, that many houses failed, and the customers went to the monopolists, whose business, thus augmented to a vast extent, enabled them to continue selling at reduced profits; and having destroyed some that were in the trade, they effectually kept most others out. Formerly, if a young man had two or three thousand pounds, he was able successfully to engage in a limited wholesale business, but to compete with these Leviathans, requires tens or even hundreds of thousands either in money or credit, which of course very few possess.

241. One of these large houses, Messrs. Leaf and Co., published a statement of their annual purchases, which, taken upon an average of five years preceding, are as follows:—

From Glasgow and the neighbourhood	£100,000
Leeds	150,000
Manchester and Macclesfield	400,000
Coventry	250,000
Leicester	100,000
Nottingham and Derby	100,000
Norwich	80,000
Worcester and Yeovil	100,000
Spitalfields	150,000
All France, Switzerland, Germany, and Italy	110,000
	£1,540,000

(*Times, Feb.* 9, 1832.)

242. The house of Messrs. Morrison and Co. are said to do about the same extent of business as Messrs. Leaf and Co. There are several others, as Messrs. Ellis and Co. of Ludgate Hill, whose business is on a more limited scale.

243. To justify the statement, that these monopolizing houses arose in some degree on the ruins of others, no positive evidence is required; it being sufficiently clear that it was impossible to have been otherwise. A few houses doing an unusual and immense extent of business in any division, can be attributed only to an extension of the demand generally, to the failure of some houses which assisted in supplying it, and to the prevention of others from embarking. The extent of trade which the monopolists acquired and retain, is assignable to a combination of these causes.

244. They supply most articles of woman's apparel, and much of men's. No inconsiderable part of the productive labour of the whole population is employed in manufacturing these, and is consequently under the influence of the monopolists. Their action on the trade of the country is therefore of considerable importance to all its people. Some of the monopolizing houses are manufacturers as well as wholesale dealers, but this is unimportant to the present view of the matter. The common course of proceeding is for the wholesale dealers to send out what are called their buyers to the places mentioned by Leaf and Co. These buyers have an almost unlimited command of money, and their great object being to underbuy each other, a perpetual struggle exists among them, the effect of which is to lower the value of all the labour that enters into the goods they purchase. Formerly, the manufacturers may in some sense have been considered the masters of the wholesale dealers; that is, the former employed whom they pleased; now, the matter is reversed, the manufacturers being little else than the instruments of the

wholesale houses. And it is clear that the agents of the latter not only lower the value of all the goods they actually themselves purchase, but of *the entire quantity brought to marhet by the manufacturers, to whomsoever sold,* whether to English or to foreign customers. Thus, a wholesale trade in the articles we are considering, is carried on to a limited extent at Bristol. Suppose, then, a Bristol wholesale dealer, or an American, goes to Manchester to buy goods of the manufacturers; if the Bristol and American purchasers cannot buy as cheaply as the London houses do, they will buy of such London houses; who, by purchasing at the lowest possible terms, and doing business at a very reduced profit, will undersell manufacturers themselves.

245. The different branches and divisions of the trade of the country are connected in ways almost numberless. Customers of shopkeepers, (that buy of Leaf and Co., Morrison and Co., and others) are of course indirectly instrumental in supporting those monopolists; and such customers, in doing all they can to depress the price of goods, further prejudicially operate on themselves, from the reciprocal action. They reside, as we have intimated, over a large part of the British Islands. Suppose the wife of a Devonshire farmer goes to a Plymouth draper, and buys a silk gown as cheaply as she can, which gown went from Leaf's or Morrison's; on taking it home, her husband may tell her, he cannot afford silk gowns, although they are cheap, as he can scarcely pay his rent, much less for luxuries; one of the causes of which is, that the impoverished weavers and others of the productive class throughout the country, cannot buy as much agricultural produce as their families ought to consume, or give a fair price for what they do purchase. We thus see how the people are oppressed every one by another, and every one by his neighbour; or, how 'these members one of another,' act and re-act and impoverish one another.

246. The ultra competition of the monopolists is scarcely practicable but in large associations; for, if small ones in any branch were to act thus, their profits would be so much reduced, that they would be scarcely able to pay their expenses. Having mentioned the names of Messrs. Ellis and Morrison, it may be observed, that the people of Leicester returned the former, and the people of Ipswich the latter, as members of parliament. Consequently, whatever the reader's opinion may be of the community in general, he will perhaps consider, that in returning two such persons, their constituents, at least, must have been in the situation already noticed. (177.)

247. We have seen that an artificial currency not only cannot do good, but that it is highly injurious, from encouraging a fiercer oppression and competition than could arise, did none but a real currency exist. The artificial currency system assisted in the rise of the monopolists. By the great increase of the

national debt and the expansion of the currency, all classes of persons had more than ordinary quantities of imaginary money passing through their hands; this flowed in the usual channels from the consumers to the retail shopkeepers, and from them to the wholesale dealers, manufacturers, and growers. This afforded the monopolists an opportunity of doing much business, and they were enriched of necessity. Their bankers and others, knowing they were growing in prosperity, were quite ready to assist them with more artificial money, if they required it. They were thus enabled to obtain discount on their purchases. The gradual expansion of the currency also caused their large stocks continually to augment in nominal value. And when the currency was contracted, their losses were comparatively unimportant, from the very short time necessary to dispose of their whole stocks. Some of the monopolists finding they could enrich themselves thus rapidly, in the genuine spirit of commercial competition; realizing the words of Solomon, that 'he that loveth silver shall not be satisfied with silver, nor he that loveth abundance with increase;' still further lowered their profits, in order that they might engross a yet larger quantity of the trade, and thus were raised those gigantic houses, which have swept before them so many minor competitors.

248. Their greatness also originated, in part, from the distress of the manufacturers, and it was increased by the successive ruin of many of them. Their distress thus arose. The same cause — namely, the state of the currency, which contributed to the rise of the monopolists, necessarily influenced manufacturers. From the fictitious prosperity generated by the war, goods frequently could not be made fast enough. When the war terminated, things took a different turn; taxation was reduced, and the state no longer borrowed money; —the circulating medium was contracted,—the demand for goods was less,—the supply remained the same,—prices of course fell,—and the manufacturers became embarrassed.— Alluding to the circumstances that have been detailed, one of them, in a communication to the author, says, "It is easy to perceive that the monopolists must have caused great embarrasssment among manufacturers and others that had engagements to meet, and who were so little prepared for the turn of things; because the experience of their lives up to this period, had taught them, that in order to be prosperous, they had only to extend their operations; and that he only who hesitated to speculate, was to be deemed imprudent. The difficulties which the manufacturers soon began to feel, compelled great numbers of them either to suspend payment, or to part with their goods at most ruinous prices;—a great many preferred the latter course, which gave birth to a monstrous system of monopoly, by which the manufacturer soon found himself supplanted in his

most valuable connexions. The very goods that he ought to have supplied them with, as he had been accustomed to do, he had been forced to part with at prices so low, that the monopolist was enabled to astonish the manufacturer's customers, by selling them the same goods 10 or 15 per cent under what they had been giving; and from one end of the country to the other, every body was wondering how the monopolists were enabled to sell so much below what the manufacturers could. It is natural to suppose, that in numerous instances, the manufacturer would have a preference given him by those who had long been in the habit of getting their supplies from him direct; and it is equally natural, that when the manufacturer did receive orders of this sort, he would, as he had been in the habit of doing, charge a fair profit on the goods:—the consequence was, that they were found to be out of all comparison with those that had been sent by the monopolist; and they were generally either the whole or in part returned. This system was managed so artfully, that the manufacturer soon found himself entirely at the mercy of the monopolist; for the confidence that used to exist between the manufacturer and his customers was now destroyed. This, of course, was the natural result of such a system, although not seen by the manufacturers until it was too late; or, if seen, such was their embarrassment, that they could not avoid the gulf that has been swallowing them in quick succession."

PARTICULAR OPERATION OF COMPETITION.

249. Hitherto, we have been insisting on the effects of vicious association, as it continually acts on all persons under its influence. This may be called its common operation. Something may be said of its particular operation: but to this, the limits within which it is desirable to confine this Essay, will only permit a glance. Indeed, were it practicable to detail all the evils attendant on vicious association, it may without hyperbole be said, 'the world itself could not contain the books that should be written.'

250. In every state of association, it is obvious that each person must derive pecuniary benefit in the exact ratio of the number of the associates working advantageously for him, and the extent of his transactions with them. In vicious association, all the members, in a less or greater degree, work against each other,—each tries, as far as possible, to lessen the aggregate gains, whence alone all can be benefited. In perfect association, all work for the good of each,—each does all that he can to increase the aggregate of wealth, till all have abun-

dance. Some of the causes which more especially affect the masters have been noticed. Many are plunged into commercial ruin, from the misconduct either of themselves or their connexions, or both. If from any cause they are reduced to insolvency, where can they look for relief? Frequently, the greater part of their immediate connections, though perhaps not in the same situation, are so much impoverished as to be incapable of affording such assistance as may enable them to retrieve themselves. *Whilst men viciously associate, we can scarcely too earnestly solicit the productive classes to consider, with all the attention in their power, both the injuries they may inflict on, and sustain from one another!* And seeing the straits in which men may be placed from inattention to this, on the part of some of their connections, others should especially support them if they are righteous men, under all the difficulties to which they may be exposed. By perfect association, things are wholly different: here, ruin must arise rather from a superabundance than a paucity of wealth. A man's immediate connections could by no possibility act very injuriously on him, in a pecuniary sense; and even if very heavy losses were to arise, —for example, the destruction of a fleet or a city, the almost incredible ease and rapidity with which either, or both, might be replaced and refurnished with the greatest plenitude of wealth, by an association composed of the productive power of millions, all in a state of perfect or imperfect association, is too obvious to need insisting on.

251. It has been elsewhere remarked, that by men viciously associating, a diminished quantity of wealth is produced, and that diminished quantity most unjustly divided; that, taking the whole existence of a generation, and looking at those that are impoverished and those that are enriched, the wealth of the primary association has simply changed hands;—what some have gained, others have lost. Let us look, then, at the distribution of an enriched man's property after his death;—the cases are exceedingly rare, where a less or greater degree of enmity is not engendered among the survivors; some thinking that others have had too much, or that some have had legacies that were not entitled to any thing. Next, as to the appropriation:—suppose a member of the productive classes leaves £5,000, to be divided among ten survivors: the money, whilst it remained undivided, was perhaps profitably applied; but its division may prove a cause of nothing but unhappiness to some of those, who in the present instance, are enriched. They embark in business with insufficient wealth, and fail, from being unable to compete with those that have been long established and have greater means. Most of the families where such occurrences can arise, can, in their immediate or remote connections, produce an example.

252. In not a few instances, it would to many young men, situated as we have been supposing, have saved incalculable anxiety, if, instead of embarking their money in trade, they had thrown it into some river, and sought a subordinate situation. The numbers who are unsuccessful in endeavouring to establish themselves, are large; and of course the amount of money lost—either their own, or other persons, considerable. Instances are constantly occurring of masters, long established, falling victims to the system of competition. Some one with greater means, or greater talent, or both, establishes in their neighbourhood, and by underselling, and other acts, takes away their trade. We have seen a family of two generations thus ruined. The father found the opposition too great to withstand, and died of a broken heart; and the son was unable to conduct the business with advantage. In the race of competition men run, they seek assistance from falsehood and fraud. Falsehoods innumerable are told to attract and secure customers; false weights and measures are used; one description of goods is sold, and another delivered; and persons are charged with goods they have never had. All such means must be utterly ineffectual in promoting the end sought. Frequently, men finding themselves declining, determine to defraud their creditors. In order to possess themselves of as much money as possible in the shortest time, they sell their stocks at ruinous prices: the buyers generally know well the cause, but they care not; their object is to buy cheaply, and it matters not to them who loses. Creditors are necessarily cheated by the sale; and the goods thus cheaply bought are resold to shopkeepers, who are thus enabled to undersell their neighbours, and take away their trade: these have no means of standing against them, unless they could buy stolen property likewise:—the epithet is obviously correct; for as creditors were cheated, the property can be looked upon only as stolen. The amount of property for which persons are criminally prosecuted, is probably inconsiderable, compared with the amount of which creditors are cheated by fraudulent debtors. Could the annual amount of this, as regards London alone, be ascertained, the sum would be found enormous: and it is not, in very many instances, the greater mercantile competitors on whom these losses fall, but the smaller ones; the former, from doing business on better terms, being able to select their customers.

253. Under a system, the great tendency of which is to pauperize as many and as much as possible, sparing few but the principal masters in their several branches, a less or greater difficulty is experienced by the generality of the others, to meet the pecuniary demands on them with proper regularity; and as their credit is of the highest importance,

this becomes a constant source of anxiety, and, with the other cares of business, assuredly renders them incapable of preserving their minds in that state which becomes Christians; or bringing up their families as wise and good men ought, even if the causes to which we have already adverted, i. e. the whole system of oppression and competition, were not sufficient to produce this effect. Hence, to the class of persons we are considering, the labour to prosecute their business is more than double what it would be in a right constitution of things. So numerous, says Mr. Morgan, are the difficulties and dangers arising from the selfishness, fraud, and duplicity of the competitive system; that the utmost vigilance is required on the part of each head of a family, to protect his dependants, and to procure for them the necessaries of life.—(*The Revolt of the Bees.*)

254. The conduct of the government of this country is worth remarking. It first anthorizes the engrossing of the political right and the land,—this throws the productive part of the population into a state of oppression and competition;—next, for any produce wanted for the use of the government, it makes contracts at the lowest rate.—Having by all these means lowered the exchangeable value of labour as much as possible, or in other words pauperized the community to the utmost extent of its power, it next extracts an amount of taxation, of which the history of the world affords no parallel; in doing this, it necessarily further increases the oppression and competition, and consequently impoverishment of all those under its paternal care, except the few who fatten on the wealth obtained by this pauperism and demoralization. We have seen men miserably impoverished working for the East India Company. On the principle of the everlasting rule of equity, the directors by whose authority they were so employed, should be placed for a month in the situation of these unhappy persons. This would afford them a lesson on the contract system that they would never forget. Could an account be taken of the masters of the secondary associations, who have been ruined by taking contracts of government and the East India Company, we believe the number and their losses would be much greater than many imagine. Not the least remarkable of the anomalies the system we pursue presents, is, that governments complain of poverty, though they have means literally incalculable at their command. But the wealth which must be given in exchange for any labour or produce they require, is obtained from the people at large, who are all in a state of oppression and competition; and the more they are taxed the more these evils augment, and the more difficult it is to obtain wealth from them. By rightly associating labour, any amount of wealth is attainable.

255. The state of London and other large places in the British Isles affords incontestable proof, that for ages past and down to and including the present, the language of a prophet too truly applies to our forefathers and to us: namely, that there has been and now is 'no truth, nor mercy, nor knowledge of God in the land.' It is evidently impossible, but that men should form secondary associations for the various branches and divisions of production and distribution (i. 8), and equally so, that there must be some form preferable to every other, which the aggregate of these, including the non-productive classes, should originally assume and go on increasing in. And those who impugn the necessity of the productive powers of men being controlled by a head, surely cannot deny they will be better associated the more that design and harmony exist among them:—to deny this, being equivalent to affirming that they will be best associated the less men co-operate: in other words, *they will be best associated the more they are dissociated;* the absurdity of which is obvious, as it would utterly terminate all human association. Under any form that association may take, locality will necessarily have its influence. Thus, at the first colonizing a land, men will form a number of secondary associations, and erect habitations near a river, or the sea, or both, for the convenience of carriage; the same thing will happen where fuel, or such other produce as is extracted from the bowels of the earth is to be found in abundance. And where some associations for production are established, others necessarily follow: for instance, those for distribution as well as for the production of any other sort of goods, those who first established themselves require. Thus, the secondary associations of the various branches and divisions have a tendency to approximate as to space;—production and distribution being thereby carried on with less labour: i. e., cheaper. And when higher objects, such as men's health and comfort, are not sacrificed, the congregating thus together is not objectionable. The inhabitants of a city, says Adam Smith, must always ultimately derive their subsistence and the whole materials and means of their industry from the country; but those of a city situated either near the sea-coast, or the banks of a navigable river, are not necessarily confined to derive them from the country in their neighbourhood; they have a much wider range, and may derive them from the most remote corners of the world, either in exchange for the manufactured produce of their own industry, or by performing the office of carriers between distant countries. —(*Wealth of Nations.*)

256. But though, as to location, the settlement of certain secondary associations, may originally have been very judicious, their increase beyond a certain point may be improper: i. e., looking at all the facilities a country affords for the establishment

of a primary association in the most preferable form. And any one individual can to a limited extent, only act as he is acted upon;—consequently, whilst the productive powers of men are uncontrolled by a head, a primary association cannot but deviate from the right form, whatever that form may be. It being impossible to suppose that the business of an association (*the prosperity of which must ever augment in the exact ratio that the union between the associates becomes more close, and the power this union gives them is employed about right objects;*) —can be rightly carried on, when few, if any of the multitudes that compose the association, ever consider general co-operation at all necessary.

257. Perhaps, says Mr. Morgan, there is not a more striking contrast between the old and new systems of society, than that which is exhibited in the disposition of their dwellings. Under the former, mankind were congregated in towns or large cities, some of which contained many hundred thousand persons; the houses were so crowded together, that the inhabitants could scarcely move without annoyance, inhaling an unwholesome atmosphere and deprived of the view of a single green leaf. Within a few miles of these cities the most beautiful parts of the country were found to be perfect solitudes. Under the new system, mankind have in the first instance selected the most favourable and agreeable situations; and the buildings are so arranged as to afford the advantages both of large cities and country residences, without the inconvenience of either.—*(Revolt of the Bees.)* In Bishop Berkeley's Querist, are the following queries:—50. Whether, if a man builds a house, he doth not in the first place provide a plan which governs his work? And shall the public act without an end, a view, a plan?—587. Whether the particular motions of the members of a state in opposite directions will not destroy each other, and lesson the momentum of the whole, but whether they must not *conspire to produce a great effect*?

258. Such overgrown populations as London, Manchester, &c., &c., therefore extend themselves, principally because production and distribution are controlled by the circumstance of their being carried on with less labour: that is, they are done more cheaply by men so congregating. Secondary associations being formed, the masters want to enrich themselves in doing business cheaply, by reducing the amount of labour required, and the exchangeable value of that which is indispensable. Persons who are not employed in agriculture, &c., must sell their labour to prosecute some other department of production or distribution, and wherever secondary associations are formed for the purpose, thither they must go. But the population of the metropolis, and other large places, extending in consequence of production and distribution being carried on with less

labour, is utterly vicious; because, if it can be supposed that there is any thing to complain of in the natural constitution of things, apart from the accursed inventions of men, it is, that the supply of labour is too great. Were men restored to the land of which they are despoiled, and associated in other respects according to the divine will, the whole country would be overspread with inhabitants. More labour is required on some accounts by multitudes congregating together, as in the carriage of fuel, agricultural produce, &c. This is, however, altogether overlooked by men who act as though they had *separate* interests, instead of a *common* one. And this the more so, as the conductors of the distributing associations are of course enriched by the quantity of carriage demanded. *To men's error in acting as though they had separate interests, instead of a common one, may be attributed the far greater part of the sin and suffering arising out of vicious association.*

259. The greater increase, of late years, of the manufacturing portion than the agricultural part of our population, must be obvious to the most superficial observer.—In 1801, says Mr. Wade, the number of persons engaged in trade and manufactures in England, as compared with those occupied in agricultural pursuits, was as six to five; in 1821, it had increased to eight to five; in 1830, to two to one. In Scotland, the change has been still greater, having risen from five to six in 1801, to nine to five in 1821, and is now estimated at nearly two to one, as in England. In four rural districts the increase of population during the last thirty years has been only thirty per cent, in London fifty-eight per cent, in ten large manufacturing towns eighty per cent, and in three of the largest manufacturing towns no less than one hundred per cent, or exactly double. In 1774 the parish of Manchester is estimated to have contained 41,032 inhabitants, a number which was more than quadrupled in the subsequent fifty-seven years. The population of Preston is said in 1780 not to have exceeded 6000, whereas it amounts at present to 33,112. In 1780 the city of Glasgow contained only 42,832 inhabitants; in 1831 it contained 202,426. The growth of Paisley, inclusive of the abbey parish, has been in a similar ratio during the last half century.—*(Hist. of the Middle and Working Classes.)* It is not common, says Say, to meet with such large concerns in agriculture as in the branches of commerce and manufacture. A farmer seldom undertakes more than four or five hundred acres, and his concern in point of capital and amount of produce, does not exceed that of a middling tradesman or manufacturer. The difference is attributable to many concurrent causes, chiefly to the extensive area this branch of industry requires, to the nature of the business itself, which is not susceptible of any regular and uniform

system; and requires in the adventurer a succession of temporary expedients and directions, suggested by the difference of culture, of manuring, and dressing; and the variety of each labourer's occupations, according to the season, the change of weather, &c.—(*Pol. Econ.*)

260. One of the sad signs of the present times, is the rise, especially in London, of those places not inaptly called "Gin Temples."—"The devotees of the great spirit, Gin, devote themselves to lingering misery: for his sake they are contented to drag on a degraded, miserable existence,—to see their children pine, dwindle, and famish,—to steep themselves in poverty to the very lips; and die, at last, poor and despised paupers. In these temples of the great spirit Gin, may be seen unwashed multitudes,—the old and young; grandsires and grandams; fathers and mothers; husbands, wives, and children—crowding, jostling, and sucking in the portions of the spirit, which the flaunting priestesses dole out to them in return for their copper offerings."

261. The miserable incongruity of the closest juxtaposition of the most miserable poverty and the greatest affluence in some parts of London, is well remarked on by Mr. Morgan. In those days, says he, there dwelt in the heart of our metropolis a multitude of people *in the lowest state of mental degradation, destitute of the common necessaries of life, clothed in rags, and occupying miserable houses in crowded and dirty lanes.* Under these distressing circumstances were their children trained, whose career was almost unavoidably one of crime, terminating in a prison, or hastened by an ignominious death. Immediately adjoining this scene of human wretchedness, which was called St. Giles, were erected, in airy and spacious squares, houses and *palaces of great magnificence; inhabited by men of immense riches, in the enjoyment of every luxury!* The different classes are so much unknown to each other, that severe distress is not heard of even in contiguous districts; and the sufferers of Manchester, or even of London, may be as unheeded, as those who are enduring the calamities of an earthquake in the Caraccas.—(*The Revolt of the Bees.*)

262. I looked for a number of years, says Mr. Gray, upon London and its myriads, as an intricate problem, that however much I might wish, I could hardly venture to hope ever to be able to solve. But London soon lost for me all its imposing grandeur. My occupation led me almost weekly to every corner of it; and, such as it is, I soon knew it as well as most men. I saw, however, nothing to satisfy, every thing to puzzle me. Something is wrong; some enormous error exists among this moving mass of flesh and blood, was an opinion which soon formed itself in my mind, never, as I am now convinced, to be removed from it: *and that the commercial proceedings of man-*

kind were at variance with the whole system of nature, and that God could never have intended his creatures to be the mere stumbling-blocks of each other, as I saw them to be at every step I trode!—(Social System.)

263. Without enlarging upon a disagreeable subject, let us consider, for a moment, the quantity of filth constantly accumulated in the metropolis and other large places, tainting their air, and rendering it unfit for respiration. Even brute animals are distressed at being taken from the country and its pure air, and manifest the highest delight at being restored to them. For men to be insensible to their charms, must be regarded as indicating a deficiency both of wisdom and virtue. The cultivation of a taste for natural beauty, says an esteemed writer, not only refines and humanizes, but dignifies and exalts the affections; it elevates them to the admiration and love of that Being who is the Author of all. Scepticism and irreligion are hardly compatible with the sensibility of heart, which arises from a just and lively relish of the wisdom, harmony, and order, subsisting in the world around us. Emotions of piety must spring up spontaneously in the bosom that is in unison with all animated nature. Actuated by this beneficial and divine inspiration, man finds a fane in every grove, and, glowing with devout fervour, he joins his song in the universal chorus, or muses the praise of the Almighty in more expressive silence.—(*Dr. Percival.*) To those who know what living in the country is, and do not concur with these sentiments, we may ask, in the words of the poet,—

Oh, how canst thou renounce the boundless store
Of charms which nature to her votary yields!
The warbling woodland, the resounding shore,
The pomp of groves, and garniture of fields;
All that the genial ray of morning gilds,
And all that echoes to the song of even,
All that the mountain's sheltering bosom shields,
And all the dread magnificence of Heaven,—
Oh! how canst thou renounce, and hope to be forgiven?

BEATTIE.

264. How much, says Dr. Wallace, agriculture was in esteem in the happiest times of the Greek and the Roman republics, is evident from their history. It was reckoned the most innocent, most useful, most pleasant, and most honourable employment. The greatest men took delight in it. Those who commanded victorious armies, who shone in the most august assemblies, and who had the chief direction of public affairs, not only amused themselves with agriculture, but studied it, and often employed much of their time in it. In this way they supported their families in a simple and frugal manner, in this way they promoted

the interest of their country. Sometimes these ancient husbandmen have been suddenly called from the plough, and from the tillage of their little farms, to the command of armies and defence of their country ; and, having vanquished their enemies, delivered the state from the danger which threatened it. This simplicity of taste continued long among the Romans, and was only destroyed by the ruin of their commonwealth, and that universal corruption of manners, which was both the cause and the effect of it.—(*On the Numbers of Mankind.*) The wealth and strength of a country, says the President of the United States, are its population ; and the best part of that population are the cultivators of the soil. Independent farmers are every where the basis of society, and true friends of liberty.—(*Message to Congress, Dec.* 4, 1832.)

265. Mr. Thackrah, alluding to the class of shopkeepers, says, they injure health not by direct attacks, not by the introduction of injurious agents, but by withholding the pabulum of life; a due supply of that pure fluid which nature designed as food for the constitution. Be it remembered, that man subsists upon the air more than upon his meat and drink. Numerous instances might be adduced of persons existing for months and years upon a very scanty supply of aliment, but it is notorious, that no one can exist for an hour without a copious supply of air. The atmosphere which shopkeepers breathe is contaminated and adulterated air ; with its vital principles so diminished that it cannot fully decarbonise the blood, nor fully excite the nervous system. Hence shopkeepers are pale, dyspeptic, and subject to affections of the head. They often drag on a sickly existence, die before the proper end of human life, and leave a progeny like themselves. [As to merchants and manufacturers,] of the causes of disease, anxiety of mind is one of the most frequent and important. When we walk the streets of large commercial towns, we can scarcely fail to remark the hurried gait and care-worn features of the well-dressed passengers. Some young men indeed, we may see, with countenances possessing natural cheerfulness and colour, but these appearances rarely survive the age of manhood. Cuvier closes an eloquent description of animal existence and change, with the conclusion that "life is a state of force." What he would urge in a physical view, we may more strongly urge in a moral. Civilization has changed our character of mind as well as of body. We live in a state of unnatural excitement,—unnatural, because it is partial, irregular, and excessive. Our muscles waste for want of action, our nervous system is worn out by excess of action. Vital energy is drawn from the operations for which nature designed it, and devoted to operations which nature never contemplated. And we may without hesitation affirm, that inordinate

application of mind,—the cares, anxieties, and disappointments of commercial life greatly impair the physical powers.—(*The Effect of Arts, Trades, &c. on Health and Longevity.*)

266. And here a few words seem necessary on the state of Ireland. If to relieve her from some of her difficulties, large manufacturing associations were attempted to be established, the inability successfully to combine all the advantages necessary to carry them on profitably, would at first entail large pecuniary losses on the projectors; notwithstanding the reduced price of labour in Ireland is much in their favour. Labour, indeed, is abundant; but the people generally not having been accustomed to manufacturing, are little calculated for it. Besides which, the local situation of materials of some kinds, and of the manufacturing portion of the population, may be both so greatly in favour of England, as to render the successful establishment of great concerns in Ireland almost impracticable. Nations, says Dr. Robertson, already possessed of extensive commerce, enter into competition with such advantages, derived from the large capitals and extensive credit of their merchants, the dexterity of their manufacturers, and the alertness acquired by habit in every department of business; that the state which aims at rivalling or supplanting them must expect to struggle with many difficulties, and be content to advance slowly.—(*Hist. Amer.*) By the present wretched constitution of things, though England barters much of her productive labour to foreigners considerably below its real value, much of the labour of Ireland, from its not being so effectively associated, cannot be disposed of even by this miserable mode of exchange! But even if new and extensive manufacturing establishments could be founded and maintained there, it would be utterly objectionable, on the oppressing and competing system. In the exact ratio in which the perfect mode is departed from, is an association prejudiced. When men viciously associate, if the supply of labour unduly preponderates in a division, the produce of which is readily transportable, it is less important, because a market may be found at a distance. Irish linen may be sent to America. If the supply unduly preponderates in a branch in which transportation is restrained by the cost of carriage, it is much worse. Though potatoes may be much cheaper in Ireland than in America, they cannot be sent thither, on account of the expense of freight. The situation of a very considerable portion of the productive population of Ireland appears to be precisely this: *a large part of the productive labour of the whole world forms one great commercial association,* which not being directed by any head, *the supply to the different branches and divisions of production and distribution is,* as has been elsewhere intimated, necessarily *almost as irregular as it is possible for it to be.* Many divisions of production and distribution are car-

ried on almost exclusively in England and Scotland. *The supply of labour in Ireland greatly preponderates, more especially in the agricultural or untransportable branch,* as in all cases the labour must be thrown on the land which cannot find other employment. The exchangeable value of Irish agricultural labour is therefore extremely depressed, and in the few exchanges it makes, it generally gives a greater real value for a less. In other words, for the small quantity of produce not agricultural, that it consumes, it gives a higher real value than it receives in return. *It is thus reduced to the worst state in which productive labour can be placed.*

267. The superabundance of the population, says a writer in the Sup. Ency. Brit., is felt in every occupation and every corner of the land. In every line of life, in every branch of industry, there is an excessive competition for employment: if a small farm is to be let, the landlord is beset by numbers of persons wishing to take it, and who in their anxiety to fix themselves somewhere, offer the exorbitant rent of £3, £4, and even £5 per Irish acre, for land which, under their system of management, will hardly produce this sum. It is from this cause that the number of cotters is so inconceivably great, and that such high rents are given for the smallest pieces of potatoe land. In every other employment the same symptoms of a redundant population appear; and it is well known in the adjoining countries of England and Scotland, that wherever any public work is undertaken, there is almost instantly an inundation of Irish poor, seeking that employment which they cannot obtain at home.—(*Art. Ireland.*) Nothing can be more obvious, than that the agricultural population of Ireland operates unfavourably on the agricultural population of the other parts of the British Isles, by causing the supply of agricultural labour to preponderate throughout them. (53.) The preponderance, therefore, similarly acts on manufacturing labour. (55.) And, again, this re-acts on agricultural, all over the British Isles; (and especially Irish, so large a portion of it being located in Ireland) by the application of powerful machinery, employment of children, and extended hours of working; the first of which reduces the demand for, and the second and third increase the supply of, manufacturing labour: *and thus the aggregate of the productive labour of the British Isles is very greatly prejudiced.* (36, 37.)

268. *To what a miserable state men may be reduced by viciously associating, every page of Ireland's history testifies:*—the following is an example. Since I assumed, says Sir Hussey Vivian, the command of the army in this country on the 1st July, 1831, I have received from officers commanding detachments in different parts, reports of no less than fifty-two murders, not including those of Carrickshock—that have been committed in the immediate vicinity of their cantonments, for such

only are reported to me; consequently, there may be others which never came to my knowledge. Many of those have been perpetrated with a degree of deliberation adding considerably to their atrocity: such, for instance, as a party breaking into a house, placing a man on his knees, and blowing out his brains; walking up to a man at work in a field and shooting him; entering a shop and shooting a man; waylaying a man on the road and shooting him in his gig; shooting the overseer of a mine whilst engaged in the discharge of his duty; with many others of the same description, to say nothing of the numerous instances of men having been beaten to death with sticks or stones. —(*English Chronicle, Sep.* 15 *to* 18, 1832.)

269. Ireland, says Mr. O'Connell, is the finest and most fertile country upon the face of the globe; she is the best situated for domestic industry and foreign commerce; she produces more of the prime necessaries of life than any other country of three times her extent under Heaven, yet her work men are unemployed, her manufactures are annihilated, her commerce is the mere export of the produce of her luxuriant soil, to bring back no return, her people are starving.—(*St. James's Chron. London, Jan.* 13 *to* 15, 1835.) In the case of Ireland, says Mr. Hodgskin, we have not far to seek for, [the causes of poverty and distress] they lie on the surface. And when we are called on, as the people of this country are, daily and practically on occasions of the deepest interest to all, such as that of submitting to forced emigration; and of paying annually for a large standing army to keep the Irish obedient, *to choose between the dispensations of Providence and the institutions of man,* we cannot hesitate which to condemn! The numerous population of Ireland, instead of giving strength and opulence, and multiplying productive power in the ratio of their numbers, as nature dictates, is a serious misfortune to every part of the empire. The Irish labourers are now pulling down to their own level of wretchedness and ignorance, the people of the country who have been instrumental in degrading them. *Misgovernment,* therefore, poisons at its source the natural spring of healthy existence, and turns the principle of life into disease and corruption. Under its withering, its demoniac influence, the natural principle of population, the origin of all present national greatness, and the promise of all future national power, teems only with poverty and wretchedness;—continually threatening present disasters, and leading inevitably to future commotion. —(*Popular Pol. Econ.*)

270. But it may be asked, supposing that all Irishmen possessed land as they have a right to do, and some would not then associate their productive powers as they ought; what are individuals, disposed to act righteously, to do under such circumstances? The answer is, that if they consider it not incumbent

on them to migrate to another country, they have in remaining in their native land only one duty to perform, the same as every other man that comes into the world: namely, to live as nearly as possible in accordance with the divine law:—they will discover how this is to be accomplished, by humble, earnest, and repeated applications to the throne of mercy. If any cannot conveniently belong to a rightly conducted association, embracing all the necessary branches and divisions of production within itself, they should in exchanging with an association viciously conducted, be careful that themselves and their exchangers, shall thereby be as little as possible prejudicially affected.

271. Legislators and political economists in operating on Ireland, will find it nesessary, if they hope to benefit that unhappy country, to remember that—

Any contravention of the Law of God can never be cured by human means.
All the parts of the same whole influence one another.
Nothing effectual can be done for Ireland without restoring her land to all her people.
And not only England, but all parts of the globe that belong to the grand commercial association of the world, now influence Ireland. And Ireland influences England, and in a less or greater degree, all other parts of the world.
In the application of Ireland's productive powers, she should exclude all Englishmen and foreigners from her commercial association, that will not interchange on the principles elsewhere laid down. (66)
If she associates her own labour on these principles, being under the divine blessing, (iii. 33) careful that the plenty thereby generated does not lead to licentiousness; (iv. 8)—an opportunity will not only be afforded of replying in the negative to the second of the following queries, but *Ireland will exhibit to the astonishment of mankind, the most illustrious association the world has yet produced.*

272. In Bishop Berkeley's Querist, the following queries refer to Ireland:—

Whether, if there was a wall of brass, a thousand cubits high, round this kingdom, our natives might not nevertheless live cleanly and comfortably, till the land, and reap the fruits of it?
Whether there be any country in Christendom more capable of improvement than Ireland?
Whether it be not a new spectacle under the sun, to behold in such a climate and such a soil, so many roads untrodden, fields untilled, houses desolate, and hands unemployed?
Whether the maxim—What is every body's business is nobody's, prevails in any country under the sun more than in Ireland?
Whether we are not, in fact, the only people who may be said to starve in the midst of plenty?
Whether it is not a great point to know what we would be at?—and whether whole states, as well as private persons, do not fluctuate for want of this knowledge?
WHOSE FAULT IS IT IF POOR IRELAND STILL CONTINUETH POOR?

PART THE SECOND.

HUMAN LAWS.

CHAP. VI.

LAWFUL CONSTITUTIONS.

1. We have seen that the labour of men operating on the land is the whole source of human wealth. The laws of nations determine in what state all men are to be, in reference to the land, (v. 10). It therefore depends upon the laws in what way they shall associate. In such laws are consequently involved, in a less or greater degree, the following all-important points,—

THE NUMBERS OF MANKIND THAT ARE TO ARISE IN THE WORLD, AND—
THE TEMPORAL AND ETERNAL HAPPINESS OF THOSE WHO DO.

2. We may direct the reader's attention to Russia and North America, for the effect of laws on the power and well-being of nations. But though the state of America is greatly before that of Russia, yet the situation of the former is very different to what it would be, if its laws were in accordance with the will of Heaven.

3. It is obviously incumbent on the Most High to make suitable provision for the support and happiness of the beings he calls into existence.

4. The mode by which he does provide for the well-being of men, we have seen, is so to constitute them that they can live only in association.

5. To different individuals he has assigned different qualities, and the right combination of the qualities of many conduces to the happiness of each. It is the will of God, therefore, that of all the members of an association each should do all that lies in him to bring every member to the highest separate state of excellence, and the whole association to the highest combined state of excellence, (i. 19). In the exact ratio in which these objects are attained, the happiness of all the associates must necessarily augment.

6. If, then, we suppose an association, all the members of which are actuated by these principles; a government would be necessary to control and direct the various powers of the members, in order that the great ends mentioned might be educed. These, then, may be considered the only functions of government strictly in accordance with the will of Heaven.

7. But as men will not live according to the divine will, the plenty which such a state of society would generate, might lead

to licentiousness; it is therefore impracticable to invest a government with such functions.

8. And men not only will not live according to the divine will, so as to make their various powers educe to each other all the good they are capable; but they depart still farther from this holy will, in invading, as regards each other, the means of support and happiness which Heaven has assigned to them. Hence, the necessity of a government over every human association, to prevent these invasions. In other words, the sole office of government is to secure to all the members of a nation the full enjoyment of the means which Heaven awards to them, free from all injury either from their countrymen or from foreigners.

9. Man, says a modern writer, in a state of nature, alone and abandoned to himself, could do nothing for his preservation. It was necessary, therefore, that he should unite himself and associate with his like, in order to bring together their strength and intelligence in common stock. What a man alone would not have been able to effect, men have executed in concert; and altogether they preserve their work. Such is the origin, such the advantage and the end of all society. Government owes its birth to the necessity of preventing and repulsing the injuries which the associated individuals had to fear from one another. It is the sentinel who watches, in order that the common labours be not disturbed. Thus, society originates in the wants of men—government, in their vices. Society tends always to good; government ought always to tend to the repressing of evil. Society is the first; it is in its origin independent and free;—government was instituted for it, and it is but its instrument: it is for one to command,—for the other to obey. Society created the public power; government, which received it from society, ought to consecrate it entirely to its use. In short, society is essentially good,—government, as is well known, may be, and is but too often, evil.—(*Raynal.*)

10. This, says Blackstone, is what we mean by the original contract of society, which, though perhaps in no instance it has ever been formally expressed at the first institution of a state, yet, in nature and reason, must be always understood and implied in the very act of associating together,—namely, that the whole should protect all its parts, and that every part should pay obedience to the will of the whole; or, in other words, that the community should guard the rights of each individual member; and that, in return for this protection, each individual should submit to the laws of the community. The principal aim of society is to protect individuals in the enjoyment of those absolute rights, which were vested in them by the immutable laws of nature; but which could not be preserved in peace, without that mutual assistance and intercourse which is

gained by the institution of friendly and social communities. Hence it follows, that the primary end of human laws is to maintain and regulate these absolute rights.—(*Com. on the Laws of England.*)

11. The origin and objects of political society, require says another writer, the delegation of certain powers and authorities to those who are to administer the government. The ends required, are the preservation of the general rights and the general welfare of the community; and the means to accomplish these ends must be given by the express or implied assent of the governed. In respect to its own internal concerns, every nation possesses general and supreme authority: how that authority shall be exercised, and by whom, depends upon the particular constitution of each state, and is subject to the modification and control of the national will, expressed in such manner as the people prescribe.—(*Ency. Amer. Natural Law; and Nations, Law of.*)

12. Laws politic, says Hooker, ordained for external order and regiment amongst men, are never framed as they should be, unless, presuming the will of man to be inwardly obstinate, rebellious, and averse from all obedience unto the sacred law of his nature; in a word, unless presuming man to be, in regard of his depraved mind, little better than a wild beast: they do accordingly provide, notwithstanding, so to frame his outward actions, that they be no hindrance unto the common good, for which societies are instituted: unless they do this, they are not perfect.—(*Eccl. Pol.*) Were it not, says Mr. Prinsep, for the imperfections of human nature, the propensity of mankind to vice, society might exist without government, for no man would injure another. It is to protect one against the vices of another, that the forms and institutions of society are established or supported; thus arming individual right with the aggregate of social strength. (*Notes to Say's Pol. Econ.*) Society, says Paine, is produced by our wants, and government by our wickedness; the former promotes our happiness positively, by uniting our affections;—the latter negatively, by restraining our vices. Society, in every state, is a blessing; but government, even its best state, is but a necessary evil.—(*Common Sense.*) Man did not enter into society to become worse than he was before, nor to have fewer rights than he had before; but to have those rights better secured. His natural rights are the foundation of all his civil rights.—*The constitution of a country is not the act of its government, but of the people.*—(*Rights of Man.*)

13. But what, it may be asked, are the means that Heaven awards to men for their support and happiness? These are obviously, as to each,—

THE UNRESTRICTED USE OF HIS FACULTIES;
AN EQUAL PROPERTY IN THE LAND WITH ALL HIS FELLOWS; AND,
AN EQUAL SHARE OF THE POLITICAL RIGHT, ALSO, WITH ALL HIS FELLOWS.

Between men and their Creator, nothing as matter of right can arise. Among themselves, they are all equal. What imaginable inequality can exist between those who are all equally inefficient when separated, and capable of being equally, or nearly equally, valuable to each other when united; and who are thus directed, —'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;' or thus,—'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them'? The means Heaven assigns to men, are in reference to each other, usually called rights.

14. *So long only as men's rights are preserved to them inviolate, have they the necessary means of suitably supporting themselves.* To deprive men of property in the land, reduces them to slavery;—to deprive them of their liberty, to a slavery yet more abject;—to deprive them of their share of the political right, is to take from them the only means of preventing the abstraction of their other rights. The equal share of the political right, enjoyed by a man in common with all the rest of his countrymen, therefore, cannot be said to be a right in contradistinction to other rights;—*it is the great right which comprehends all others.*

15. To possess and apply the rights which Heaven assigns to men for the common benefit, is the obligation it lays them under; their rights flowing to them as a necessary consequence of the obligation:—without the rights, they cannot perform the obligation.

16. For Heaven to have allowed some to abstract the rights of others, would only have enabled the former, for all the benefits they receive from association, to educe ill not only to the particular members from whom the rights were abstracted, but in a less or greater degree to the whole association; without any benefit accruing to those who were allowed to abstract from their neighbours.—The prosperity of all association being ever proportional to all the associates having the greatest plentitude of rights, and employing such rights for the well-being of the association; whence alone all good to any and all must ever flow.—(i. 14 to 21.) The damage of any part is a detriment to the whole, says Bishop Cumberland;—unless it be inflicted as a punishment for some crime committed against the public welfare. Hence, all invasion of another's property is prohibited,—for all damage done to the mind, body, goods, or good name of any person, is a loss to the public.—(*Laws of Nature.*) (v. 174.)

17. Thus, as to the right of all men of every country, and of every age, to the land; not only those who engross it are

curses to their fellows,—but those from whom it is abstracted are also necessarily curses to one another; seeing that, from the competition that must exist between them for employment, they cannot but lower the value of each other's labour; whereby they are prevented from loving God and each other aright,—and hence, from both the loss of good and infliction of evil, their existence is made a curse to them. And this must ever unavoidably continue whilst men are deprived of the land. (5—126.)

18. It is obvious, that men's obtaining possession of their rights and properly exercising them, would entirely alter the state of society of every nation in the world. And not less obvious, that if any one nation associated conformably to the divine will, it could not fail in a less or greater degree to influence other nations and future generations, and in time the whole human race: thus, not only unspeakably augmenting the happiness of the living, but causing a far greater number to arise in the world, than does in an unlawful state of things. When the Divine Being created Adam, he thus commanded him:—'Be fruitful, and multiply and replenish the earth.' And after the flood, God thus also commanded Noah and his sons:—'Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth.' It is, therefore, the divine will, that the whole earth should be covered with a righteous population; making their temporal the prelude to their eternal happiness. The influence of a nation whose constitution and code were in accordance with the divine law, would unquestionably be great:—so great, probably, that if other nations would not follow its example, Divine Providence might so order things, that such nations should waste away gradually or rapidly, to make room for the extension of that in which the will of heaven was obeyed, so that it might at length overspread the whole earth. But should this supposition be without foundation, yet with reference to the politics of a single nation, nothing can be more obvious from what has been advanced, than that every thing that is holy is therein comprised. (3—35, 36.)

19. Men foolish and wicked as they are, almost universally concur in condemning, in the severest terms, the conduct of those who are regardless of the well-being of their own offspring. No impiety, then, can be more gross, than to imagine the Most High does not make the fullest provisions for the wants of all his children. But to whatever extent the three great rights of men are taken from any individual, in the same proportion, the means of supplying his wants are curtailed. This is true of all so acted on in any country or age. (1—22.)

20. One immortal spirit must be more important in the sight of God than the land of the whole earth, seeing that this exists for the sole purpose of being subservient to the happiness of living beings. And, had it been necessary for their happiness, the Most High could have called into existence a whole globe

for each. By the laws of most nations, multitudes, as it has been elsewhere said, have not where to lay their heads (v. 10.) If, then, these laws are in accordance with the divine law—*God can be neither wise, powerful, nor benevolent,—as he is the prime Author of obliging men viciously to associate; thereby consigning multitudes to a state of irremediable ignorance! and slavery! and poverty! and misery! and vice!* Thus, shipwreck is made of their temporal well-being, and their eternal happiness is greatly endangered;—and, in addition, multitudes of human beings who would arise under a different constitution of things, are prevented from being called into existence.—Should these pages fall into the hands of any of the faithful servants of Heaven, they may perhaps consider some apology due for this language. None is however, offered, as the fault is not with the author, but with those who render any language, however powerful, mere inanity, compared with their inconceivable iniquity: i. e., the makers of the laws to which allusion has been made. (5—14 to 20.)

21. No want of wisdom, power, or benevolence, can be ascribed to the Most High; as is evident from the constitution of human nature and the revelation he has been pleased to make of his will; both these evincing, in language impossible to be misunderstood, *by those who use their faculties properly*, that the rights of men are as they have been stated. (5—177.)

22. We thus obtain satisfactory answers to two most important questions, namely,—*what are the rights of every man that comes into the world?—and what are the legitimate functions of government*? And the reader will not fail to observe, that as the rights of men accrue to them by the *Law of Nature* which is older than the creation, and the *Law of Revelation* communicated to mankind upwards of 1800 years since; such rights emanate to every man immediately from God, irrespective of, and antecedent to, the formation, not only of governments, but of the entire nations also; whence alone governments can lawfully emanate.—We may thus perceive, that

To DETERMINE THE RIGHTS OF MEN IS THE PREROGATIVE OF GOD ALONE.

To PRESERVE THOSE RIGHTS INVIOLATE, IT IS INCUMBENT ON A NATION TO APPOINT A LAWFUL GOVERNMENT.

FAITHFULLY TO EXECUTE THIS GREAT TRUST IS THE PROVINCE OF SUCH GOVERNMENT.

23. The determination of what the rights of men are, must, therefore, not be confounded with the securing of them. Both the determination and the mode by which they are secured, are declared in the divine law. *The determination is the act of God*, irrespective of all human influence. *The securing them is the act of men* conforming to the rule given them by God.

24 The only lawful province of government being to secure

men's rights,—whatever these rights are, must be irrespective of all government. If men did not infringe the rights of each other, they would want no government. And when one is established, it must be by consent or force. If some by force exclusively appropriate the political right to themselves (in establishing or *maintaining* a government), they obviously do that to others they would not have done to themselves, and thus violate the divine law. How can men love others as themselves if they take from them their liberty, or the property in the land, irrespective of the formation of governments?—How can men love others as themselves, if, in forming and maintaining governments, they abstract from them their equal share of the political right,—this being the only means they have of securing their other rights;—without which they are liable to the evils just mentioned.—(16, 17, 20)? This matter may be otherwise shewn as follows:—If the nature and functions of governments have not been rightly stated, one, or more than one person in a nation, must have the right to make and execute the laws, or, what is equivalent to this, appoint those that shall make and execute the laws; whilst others would be bound only to yield obedience to laws so made and executed: and, if so, it must refer to one, or more than one nation; and to one, or more than one of its generations; but, that it can never apply to any person or persons, in any nation or age whatever, is thus evident. As to those who have to yield obedience only to laws made and executed by others, in whose appointment they have had no voice, the divine law is, as we have just said, utterly contravened. And this refers both to those who appoint others to make and execute the laws, and the persons so appointed; these two classes of persons obviously doing to others what they would not have done unto themselves. If any person or persons in any country or age can exact such obedience, any others may do the same, and consequently all others, in all nations and ages. On which supposition, the whole human race may become governors, though they would, of course, be without any to govern: or rather, a human goverment could not be appointed at all. But this is not to be supposed. All which will appear yet more evident, by reference to the third and fourth Canons of the divine law. (i. 39, 40). We thus see that *men's rights are precisely the same either with or without the existence of governments.* This must be evident, from considering that the sole legitimate function of government is to prevent the abstraction of all right from any.

25. 'There is,' says Paul, 'no power but of God.' The Most High having assigned rights to men, has afforded them the power of preserving them inviolate, by giving to all nearly equal portions of bodily energy; and the whole powers of a nation, uniting for the establishment and support of a lawful

government, are, under the divine blessing, fully able to preserve their rights from violation either by their own countrymen or foreigners. The acquisition of property necessarily infers the protection of it; as that which is open to every lawless invader, is so little deserving the name of property, that it is not worth the trouble of retaining. If one were to sow, but not reap; tread the olives but not anoint with oil; and make wine, but not drink it: nothing more miserable could be imagined, —slavery, or death itself, would be preferable. We find in the Mosaic code the following malediction:—'Cursed be he that removeth his neighbour's landmark. And all the people shall say amen.' We also find Solomon giving this caution:—'Enter not into the fields of the fatherless, for their Redeemer is mighty; he shall plead their cause with thee.' It was therefore indispensable, that landmarks should be set up,—or how would the fields of the fatherless or any other be known; or how any ascertain, whether they were trespassing on the laws either of God or man? It is then abundantly evident, that every thing relating to the rights of men can be declared only by the legislative and executive of any nation, through the laws which they promulgate. Suppose a man had 'violently taken away an house which he builded not,'—the man thus ousted, to have regained possession, must either have resorted to a court of law or to force; but the latter could never be permitted, because, though the man dispossessed would have had just grounds for endeavouring to regain his right, he could not be allowed to do so in this manner: as some neighbour might resort to the same means on another occasion to redress what he considered an injury, but which might be so only in his imagination. Interminable confusion would therefore obviously arise, if, to use a common expression, every man might "take the law into his own hands;"—not to urge, that the weak, even in a righteous cause, would not be able to prevail against the strong. The laws, and the laws alone, therefore, protect the rights of any and all.

26. That whatever government is established or maintained in any nation or age must be precisely that which the majority chooses, is apparent from considering, that with such majority the *power* by which alone obedience to laws can be enforced must necessarily reside. That the majority in any nation in any age does not maintain a lawful government, arises only from their allowing themselves to be misruled, contrary to the divine will. Man, says Paine, acquires a knowledge of his rights by attending justly to his interest; and discovers in the event, that the strength and powers of despotism consist wholly in the fear of resisting it; and that, *in order to be free, it is sufficient that he wills it.*—(*Rights of Man.*)

27. For the Divine Being to have assigned to men certain rights, and not have afforded each the fullest power of securing

them, would have been only tantalizing the holders of such rights, and worse than affording them only limited ones. But this is not to be supposed.

28. To deny what has been affirmed, is to say, that though God has given men *rights* and the *power* of defending them, yet they have no authority from him to exercise that power. This would be equivalent to *their not having the rights.* And thus the *power men possess would be rendered impotent* as far as its chief end was concerned. And where *the less power and the less rights are,* (of men to the unrestricted use of their faculties and property in the land,) i. e. in part of a nation, *God will have assigned greater political rights;* and where *the greater power and greater rights are,* i. e. in the whole nation, *God will have assigned less political rights.* But this again is not to be supposed.

29. The subtracting, on the part of Heaven, the political right of any, makes them less powerful individually, and necessarily therefore makes the association less powerful in the aggregate; a nation being but an aggregate of individuals. And whilst it weakens the nation, it adds in no degree to the power of such as are not excluded from the political right. *It only enables these to act by the power of those remaining dormant.* But as God does nothing in vain, the putting this supposition for any other purpose than to evince its absurdity, would be a gross reflection on the wisdom and goodness of the Most High; i. e. to imagine that he has given the greater power with the less rights, and necessarily, therefore, the less power with the greater rights; as such a disposition of things would produce the evils already mentioned. (16—20.)

30. *The only form of government lawful in the sight of the Lord God Almighty, in any country or age, therefore, is a pure democracy. In all other forms, his most holy law is violated, towards all that are excluded from their share of the political right.* (24.)

31. *That the political right flows to every man from God, is evident from considering, that it is a man's only means of securing his other rights. God would neither have been wise, powerful, nor benevolent; to have given men certain rights, without affording them also the fullest means of preserving them inviolate. And this can only be done by the democratic form of government.*

32. The instant a man enters the world, he acquires immediately from God an exact equality of right with every other man of his nation, *by virtue of his being a man.* (19.)

33. The instant he arrives at years of maturity, he is entitled to the exercise of that right which he acquired at his birth.

34. The right is a sacred trust committed to him by God, for

the benefit of himself, and in a less or greater degree the whole world throughout its generations. (16 & 18.)

35. And all the obligations and rights of men emanating from the divine law, (i. 23.) no shadow of imperfection can attach to a rule which has God for its Author, or any subordinate laws emanating from such rule. These laws are therefore obviously best adapted to enable men most compendiously to promote their temporal and eternal welfare; as Infinite Wisdom must have best known how, Infinite Power been best able, and Infinite Love been most willing, to promote these great ends. And we have seen, in reference to the productive powers of men, they are attained in the exact ratio, that the practice of men conforms with the law given them by their Great Creator.

36. The divine law is therefore wholly irrespective of time, or place, or number. What contravenes it at one time or place, does so at all times and in all places. What contravenes it from one or more, to another or others, whether of the same or different countries; contravenes it from all men to all men, whether of the same or different nations: this applying to all that have arisen, do now exist, or shall hereafter arise, throughout the whole earth. If constitutions and codes in all countries conformed to the divine law as they ought, what was by human laws illegal in one country, would be exactly the same in the other. As it is illegal for the men of one nation to abstract from those of another, their equal share of the political right, it is equally so for men of the same nation to do it to their countrymen; because, as the laws of all nations should be the same, what they would not tolerate from foreigners towards natives, they of course would not from natives to natives; the divine law, whence all righteous laws emanate, recognizing no distinctions of natives and foreigners, but commanding every man of the whole human race,—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' The same proposition strikes different minds with various degrees of force;—to us, that every man that cometh into the world, has a right to an equal share of the political right with the rest of his countrymen; or, as it may be otherwise put, that all the members of the same primary association must have equal rights, appears an intuitive truth; one that it would be as rational to question, as that two and two make four,—that the sun shines at noon-day,—that a man is not a tree,—that a whole tree is more than half a tree,—or any similar truths. As men's obligation to obey the divine law is unchangeable, the means of fulfilling it should be; and, consequently, the laws in any nation by which those means are secured to every man. For it is not to be imagined, Infinite Wisdom, Power, and Benevolence, has so constituted human association, as for men, who are always under the same obliga-

tion and the same penalty for the non-fulfilment of it, to have, in different nations or ages of the world, a continual alteration in the means of enabling them to do their duty in the sight of Heaven. In all the most important points of human legislation, therefore, what are proper enactments for the people of one nation or age, are obviously so for those of all nations and ages, seeing that all righteous human laws must ever rigorously accord with the divine law. *We may repeat, that it be held in everlasting remembrance, whatever are truly the rights of men, have no reference to time, or place, or numbers; the whole human race being under the same law, and this holy law being binding on all of them, until another dispensation arrives from Heaven. What are truly the rights of men in one country or age, are the rights of men in all countries and all ages;—what are the rights of one man of the same generation (to whatever country he may belong), are the rights of the whole human race of his generation:—what are the rights of one generation, are the rights of all generations.*

37. Against the infringement of that which has no existence, there can be no law either divine or human; and where no law is, there is no transgression. If, then, in any country or age, there are any who have no rights, they may be knocked in the head at pleasure by those who have. If there are, in any nation or age, any who have some rights, but not equal to those of others, how is it to be determined, conformably with the divine law, as to the present and all the coming ages of the different nations of the world, who those are who are to have all the three rights elsewhere mentioned, (13); and who those are that are to have one, two, or all such rights abstracted? Unless these questions can be decided with unerring accuracy, the situation in which all men, in all nations and ages, are, and will be placed, is this;—some in every nation and age will have one, two, or all the three rights, and some have none: but as there is no law emanating from Heaven, (if the divine law is not the sole rule of men's conduct,) by which to determine, as to any human being whatever, whether he is to have one, two, or three of the rights, or no rights at all; an utter uncertainty on this momentous subject is the portion of every man that now exists, and will hereafter exist. But this is not to be supposed.

38. This farther appears from considering, that if the divine law can be trampled upon with impunity, no lawful legislative or executive can be appointed in any nation or age;—no obligations or rights can arise between any; no legal title to property in the land or other thing can be made. And if this be so, not any men that ever existed, do now, or shall hereafter exist,—ever had, or can have, any obligations or rights existing between them; that is, if any claim of one or more to the control of others, or the duty of the latter to be controlled, or

the right of any one or more to any property, can be established or maintained, in contravention of the divine law.

39. For, if in the establishment or maintenance of laws in any nation or age, contravening the divine law, the rights of men may be so affected, that a hair of any man's head may be touched, this may be extended to taking his life; and if one man's life may be thus taken, then may that of any other men, and, consequently, of all other men. Between the slightest infringement of the divine law, as regards any man, in any country or any age, and the total abrogation of it as regards all men, in all countries, and all ages, there is no resting-place.

40. And whether the divine law is departed from in the most trifling degree, as regards any one man only, or so much so as for the sole will of one despot to be the only law, and his military followers the executioners of it, he and they committing all the ungodliness and unrighteousness that is within the compass of human ability to perpetrate, and extending to as many as possible: in either case this holy law is set at nought.

41. If it is allowable, in the smallest degree, to infringe the divine law, it is allowable in a greater; so that, at length, the will of God may be utterly superseded by the abominations of men, or they may live without laws altogether.

42. And if this can be done in one nation, it can in another; and if in one age, it can in another;—and so as to all nations and ages; and, consequently, as to all the individuals that compose such nations. Thus, the Divine Being has given a law to men for no other purpose than that it may be trampled upon. And if these things may be done in our world, the same may occur throughout the universe, and the Supreme Being be virtually dethroned;—a supposition more wicked than atheism itself; it being less derogatory to the Lord God Almighty, to question his existence altogether, than, while admitting it, to imagine him capable of tolerating that which is diametrically opposite to his holy attributes of infinite wisdom, power, and benevolence.

43. In reference to all men's having to do with the determination of their rights, or to some having to do with the determination of the rights of others, the following observations arise. If we look at the conduct of men in all countries and ages, we find so universal is the defection, that there is none that does good, no not one. As men thus act, they must surely be incompetent to determine the great question we are considering. That they truly are so, is in nothing more clearly evinced, than the privation of good and infliction of evil, both inconceivable as to their degrees;—brought upon mankind by unlawful governments, taking upon them to determine and assign the rights of men. In reference to the liberties men have in all

nations taken with the rights of each other, it may in a less or greater degree be said of them, as was said of the builders of Babel—'Nothing' has been 'restrained from them which they have imagined to do.'—To show how unfit men are to determine the rights of each other, we need go no further than our own laws. *The English code is unquestionably an utter disgrace to the human intellect!* The more rigorously such code is compared with the only legitimate standard—the divine law, the more obviously it will appear. Trifling matters are not cavilled at, but reference is made to its important features. Nothing, however, can be farther, than an intention to impute incapacity to the framers of the English code, in the various ages of its existence;—what is here intimated, is, that they have not made a right use of their capacities.—(v. 177, 178.)

44. The whole history of mankind evinces the misery arising from unlawful governments taking upon themselves to determine and assign what they presumptuously call the rights of men.—One only inquiry as to any country or age is necessary to be made, as far as human ability can scan this all-important matter:—

What are the nature and extent of the wrongs its unlawful government has inflicted?

How much has been, or now is, the privation of good it has caused?

And what is the extent of evil that has been sustained, or is now sustaining by the governed?

How outrageously have been, or now are, both the governed and God insulted?

45. The following are examples of the miseries brought by unlawful governments, in different countries and ages, on those they have misruled:

Deprivation of the property in the land.

Condemnation of men to toil from morn till night, and from one end of the week to another, and from one end of the year to another, and from the beginning to the end of their earthly existence without respite. And notwithstanding this, to enjoy less of the necessaries of life than the beasts that perish; and this in the midst of filth and misery unutterable, surrounded by half-famished infants, crying for food which the wretched parents have not to give.

The abstraction from the labourers of the produce of their labour, (for as to property multitudes have none;) to whatever extent their masters may please, or dare to take from them.

Being placed in that state of slavery, where they may be bought and sold like bales of goods.

Seeing their children sold before their face, to be sent Heaven only knows whither.

Being kept in so gross a state of ignorance and demoralization, as not to know that they have any rights in this world, or any hope of a mitigation of their miseries in another.

Being kept so miserably debased, as only to know, by some uncertain report, of the existence of the Divine Being. (i. 2.)

Having their backs cut to pieces by that diabolical torture, military flogging.

Being subject to the grossest insults from boys young enough to be their grandchildren; and if they venture to lift their hands against them, being liable to be put to death for it.

Being torn from their families by conscription laws, and sent to a foreign country to murder others, and be murdered by others, in unjust wars.

Being kidnapped in the high streets, at noon-day, and sent on board men-of-war, for the same iniquitous purpose.

Sons being made to murder their fathers, brothers their brothers, in civil wars; to settle the disputes of miserable wretches, that pretend to a miscalled right of ruling their countries, when neither of such wretches, in any case whatever, have any more real right than they have to govern Heaven.

Being burned alive, for not professing to believe that which it is impossible to believe.

Being murdered in cold blood, only because they are enslaved.

And, in consequence of men being acted on, in all these ways, other unspeakable mischiefs brought on nations,—for example,—

Standing armies, maintained for no other purpose than to maintain the relation of tyrants and slaves among men, and thence all the evils we are considering.—Also,

Popular discontents.

Tumultuous meetings.

Opposition and bloodshed on the part of the military, and the rest of the people.

The shadow of liberty the oppressors allow the oppressed, further attenuated by new legislative enactments.

Imprisonments.

Fines.

Banishments.

Perjuries.

Seditions.

Conspiracies.

Plots.

Espionage.

Suicides.

Private and public assassinations.

Executions,

Civil wars.

Revolutions.

Internal commotions, causing the aid of foreign nations to be called in, oftentimes to the extreme prejudice of a disturbed country.

Foreign wars brought upon the disturbed country, and all the crimes and miseries consequent thereon.

War carried by the disturbed country into other countries.

Subjugation of foreign nations to the power of a country internally disturbed, but tending only to involve the latter in ruinous wars. This the history of France remarkably exemplifies.

Total subjugation of a country to the power of another, from its internal disputes.

46. *In brief, for men to have to sustain from one another, in a less or greater degree, the privation of every earthly good, and the endurance of every earthly ill, which the damnable wickedness of their brethren can bring upon them.*

47. Nor let it be forgotten, that it is not a few men, or a few hundreds, or a few thousands; but millions, and hundreds of

millions, through a long line of many generations, that have been, and hundreds of millions that now are; suffering under the unspeakable evils superinduced by unrighteous governments. Is it possible to question, then, that all these can be brought upon men without infringing the divine law? Do men educe nothing but the highest degree of good to their fellows conformably with the *Law of Nature?* Do they love them as themselves? Do they do to others all things they would have done unto themselvs, conformably with the *Law of Revelation;*—when they bring any of the evils we have mentioned on them? But it may be objected, that evils may be brought on men under democratic governments;—to this the reply is, that such governments being alone conformable with the will of God,—to whatever evils arise, good men, after vainly endeavouring to remedy, must submit: and God will ultimately make all things work together for their benefit.—It is also obvious, that under the democratic form of government, men have always both the right and the power to supersede their governments. Any other form of government being unlawful, the governed have always the right of superseding it,—but frequently many of the governed, whatever their sufferings may be, have not the power.

48. The whole world, from the creation to the present hour, has been but one scene of confusion, from the wrong determination and misapplication of the rights of men.

49. If the settlement of the rights of men is determinable by human authority, otherwise than interpreting the divine law, in accordance with the will of God; it must be by delegation from Heaven, to one, a part of, or the whole human race; but no licence from above can be pretended by any human being, or all human beings. And as the whole human race is but an aggregate of individuals, if any one of them is a nonentity as to any matter, and all are in the same situation; the whole aggregate of mankind must be as absolute a nonentity, as it is possible to conceive, as far as it has any authority to determine what are the rights of any or all the individuals of which it is composed; numbers making no difference whatever, just as no number of ciphers, however great, will make a unit.

50. Had men any thing to do either with the determination of their own rights, or some could determine what the rights of others were; precisely to the degree interference in either case was exercised, it would be altering the provision the Creator has made for the support and happiness of his creatures, both in time and eternity; and, to a less or greater extent, determining the two great points before mentioned. (1.)

51. It is also obvious, that for God to have allowed men to fix what their own rights were to be, would in a less or greater degree have been making sinners their own law-makers and

executors,—and almost or altogether equivalent to their having no law at all; in other words, to the divine government of mankind being superseded. (42.)

52. Our Lord, in the revelation he has left, notices certain acts of love, commanded by the divine law; such as feeding the hungry and thirsty, clothing the naked, ministering to the sick and imprisoned.—(*Mat.* xxv. 31 to 46.) And it is obvious, that men possessing the unrestricted use of their faculties, and property in the land, are in a much more efficient situation to do the things mentioned by our Lord, than those deprived of either or both. As such privation, (assuming it to be lawful), therefore, altogether alters men's rights, the reward or punishment meted out to them, it may be expected, will be altogether different from those who possess the fullest plenitude of rights. And it seems most consistent with reason and equity, that the power which determines the rights of any beings should also determine the reward or punishment for the fulfilment or non-fulfilment of their obligation. If, then, any human authority has the determination of the rights and obligation of any portion of mankind; this authority should either assist the Lord Jesus in judging such portion, or do it entirely of itself. But we are told the judgment of all men will be left wholly to the Lord Jesus.

53. The only conclusion we can arrive at is, therefore, that no human authority can lawfully interfere with the obligation or rights of any portion of the human race. Let it, then, never be forgotten, that *the obligation to obey the divine law, and the rights accruing by such law, to enable men to perform such obligation, are the same to every man that comes into the world.* Nothing can be more evident than what has elsewhere been stated, that *if the rights differ the obligation must.* (1—22.) We find by the Mosaic code, the Most High was pleased to make a difference, in the obligation and rights of the Hebrews and their 'bondmen.' And, no doubt, both were by the Lord Jesus Christ judged accordingly.

54. The leaving it to men to decide the rights of one another, could in no manner whatever benefit them. On the contrary, its only tendency would have been to have created interminable confusion; and this the rather, seeing that they take all sorts of liberties with the rights of each other, notwithstanding they are determined by God!

55. No conceivable benefit could have been answered by a different course,—even though the conduct of men was exactly opposite to what it truly is: namely, that instead of there not being one that does good, there had not been one that does evil. Who, even on this supposition, would have been so fit to determine the great question, as the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the Universe?

56. Scarcely any thing, then, can be more derogatory to the divine character, than to imagine that God has left the determination of men's rights to themselves. For any men of any country or any age individually, or all men of all ages collectively, to decide either what their own, or that of any of their fellows rights are; is, therefore, a usurpation of the prerogative of the Lord God Almighty:—except, of course, as such rights are declared by the divine law.

57. Those who deny that Heaven assigns to every man that comes into the world, an exact equality of rights, must say, that 'the way of the Lord is not equal; but as for them, their way is not equal.' Where, it may be asked, is the man in any country or age, who will affirm of himself or any other, that either is under a less or greater obligation than the other? Surely, none will be found to do this. None, then, can equitably require greater rights than others. Consequently, though the mercy of Heaven may excuse the full performance of the obligation of those who having ineffectually, done all that lay in them, for the acquisition and maintenance of the rights Heaven affords; but are unable to do their duty as they ought, from the privation they labour under, through the wickedness of others; no such remission can be expected by those, who do not take all lawful measures to possess themselves of their rights, whereby alone they attain the means of performing their obligation. We ask the spoliators of the rights of their brethren, of any country or age; whether they are prepared to give an account to God, of the reasons that induce them to be parties to the taking from others, the means of fulfilling the obligation Heaven lays them under? And whether they are prepared to bear the penalty those incur, who are thus rendered unable to do their duty? We also ask such spoliators, whether they do not expect to have quite enough to answer for, in the non-fulfilment of their own obligations, without taking upon them in a less or greater degree the accounta bility of others? One of the petitions of the Lord's prayer, is, 'Lead us not into temptation,' but the spoliators of the rights of their brethren seem to think they cannot rush into it fast enough. To all of them, in whatever country they now do, or may hereafter exist, we say, for inflicting such spoliation, and for all the sin and suffering thence arising—know, that for all these things, God will bring you into judgment.

58. *It is the prerogative of God alone, to alter the obligation he has placed every man, of every country, and every age, under, to obey the divine law.* (*Mat.* vii. 12; xxii. 37 to 39; xxviii. 19, 20.)

59. *It is the prerogative of God alone, to divest or subtract in any way, from any man, of any country, or any age; the only means that enable him to obey this holy law, i. e. the rights before mentioned.* (13.)

60. What an idea must that man form of the wisdom and goodness of God, who can imagine that the whole earth, on which, under his blessing, all human existence depends; and in which, therefore, are dependent the two great points already mentioned; (i.) may, in its various nations, and all their ages, be disposed of in any way, POWER WITHOUT RIGHT may think fit to appoint. Is not the fool, that 'hath said in his heart there is no God,' less a fool than the man who can thus think?

61. The divine appointment of two classes of rights to the Hebrews and their 'bondmen,' having been found wholly ineffectual, as nothing saved the former from degenerating and falling; surely, it must be extreme presumption for men to think of establishing different classes of rights in any nation or age.

62. That a legislative and executive can be rightly formed only in the way that has been pointed out (i. 48.) appears from considering, that when any law wanted enacting, altering, repealing, or executing, for a whole nation to have to deliberate upon it, would obviously be highly inconvenient.

63. As to the application of men's productive powers, we have seen that secondary associations should be formed; every member being desirous of attaining that situation in a nation, where his peculiar qualities may be brought most beneficially into operation. (iii. 21.) This rule obviously applies to those who have to make or execute the laws. Those most adapted for the onerous duties should be appointed to them by the people. But though the most eligible persons in a nation should be chosen, any number of persons cannot be allowed to assume it of themselves, as they might choose any other occupation of life.

64. As the whole powers of a nation must necessarily to a certain extent be controlled by its government, however that government may be constituted; for the whole nation not to have the most complete supervision of the conduct thereof would obviously be most unwise; such supervision being the security the nation has, that the national powers shall not be prejudicially acted on by the government.

65. As government is at present administered among men, notwithstanding its functions should wholly consist in preserving their rights inviolate; we find most governments to a less or greater degree interfere in controlling men's productive powers, by enactments influencing importation and exportation, &c. This consideration, added to the necessity of having the wisest and best men to carry on any government, renders it obviously expedient that the whole intellectual power of a nation should be called into action, to determine on the choice of those on whose conduct matters of incalculable importance are dependent. What, in the range of all possible combinations, can afford so great a probability of a wise and upright legislative and executive being appointed, as for the appointment to ema-

nate from all the members of a nation. And this the more so, when what has already been intimated is remembered, that each and every one of this aggregate that rightly seeks wisdom, may obtain it of God, that giveth to all men liberally. In Bishop Berkeley's Querist, the following is the 8th query:—Whether the public aim in every well-governed state, be not that each member, according to his just pretensions and industry, should have power?

66. If an unjust enactment was made by a government constituted as we have said, what could afford more ample room for its amendment than the collected wisdom of a whole nation? It would obviously be impracticable to carry any measure unjust towards some of the governed, in a legislative body emanating from the majority of the whole nation; if such nation generally knew in what justice to all truly consisted, and were determined it should be done. For, if a want of integrity led a few to make an improper choice of their representatives, how easily would any evil intentions be rendered innoxious by the great body of the representatives. Thus is afforded all the security the infirmity of human nature admits, that governors will do their duty, all undue appointment of them being, as far as possible, precluded; corruption and bribery being almost or altogether impracticable, from the number of the electors; and the impossibility for any in a righteous constitution of things being able greatly to enrich themselves. Men have therefore not the power to corrupt.

67. And the measure of good attainable to individuals, ever being proportionable to the whole sum of good attained by the whole association,—the welfare of the whole should manifestly be the object of all its parts. And all the powers of each of those parts should be called into action for the common benefit. (i. 16.) Hereby the best means are afforded for developing the powers of all, (iii. 21.) of appointing such a government as shall have the best opportunity of promoting the great ends of human association—namely, the temporal and eternal happiness of all its members.

68. The Athenians, says Herodotus, continued to increase in number and importance: not from their example alone, but from various instances it may be made appear, that an equal form of government is the best. Whilst the Athenians were in subjection to tyrants, they were superior in war to none of their neighbours; but when delivered from their oppressors, they far surpassed them all; from whence it is evident, that whilst under the restraint of a master, they were incapable of any spirited exertions, but as soon as they obtained their liberty, each man zealously exercised his talents on his own account.—(*Book* v.) The power of Athens, says Dr. Gillies, was great in ancient times, but it became incomparably greater after the re-establish-

ment of democracy; so advantageous to the powers of the human mind is the enjoyment of liberty even in its least perfect form.—(*Hist. of Greece.*) It can scarcely be necessary to inform the reader, that the democracy here spoken of, is not the pure one to which we allude.

69. I feel, said a traveller in reference to Switzerland, great delight in breathing the air of liberty. Every person here has apparently the mien of content and satisfaction. The cleanliness of the houses and of the people is peculiarly striking, and I can trace in all their manners, behaviour, and dress, some strong outlines which distinguish this happy people from neighbouring nations.—(*Coxe.*)

70. A North-American writer, speaking of the revolutionary war, which emancipated his country from the government of Britain, says "it issued prosperously, because it was begun and was conducted under the auspices of private and public virtue. Our liberty did not come to us by accident, nor was it the gift of a few leaders; but seeds were sown plentifully in the minds of a whole people. It was rooted in the conscience and reason of the nation. It was the growth of deliberate convictions, and generous principles liberally diffused. We had no Paris, no metropolis, which a few leaders swayed, and which sent forth its influence like a mighty heart, through dependent and subservient provinces. The country was all heart. The living principle pervaded the community, and every village added strength to the solemn purpose of being free." When, says Mr. Hodgskin, the colonies of North America, consisting of grubbers and back-woodsmen, with a scorn of all regulations, except those the people hewed out for themselves; with a complete individual liberty, and few or none of the shackles of a paternal or politico-economical government, became the mighty people of the United States, increasing still more in prosperity and power as they got rid of the protection of a European government; men plainly saw, that the pretended wisdom of legislation had no effect in producing national prosperity, *whatever might be its influence over national decay,*---(*Popular Pol. Econ.*)

71. Every member of a free state, says Dr. Price, having his property secure, and knowing himself his own governor, possesses a consciousness of dignity in himself; and feels incitements to emulation and improvement, to which the miserable slaves of arbitrary power must be utter strangers. In such a state all the springs of action have room to operate, and the mind is stimulated to the noblest exertions. But to be obliged from our birth to look up to a creature no better than ourselves, as the masters of our fortunes, and to receive his will as our law, what can be more humiliating? What elevated ideas can enter a mind in such a situation? Agreeably to this remark, the subjects of free states have in all ages been most distin-

guished for genius and knowledge. Liberty is the soil where the arts and sciences have flourished, and the more free a state has been, the more have the powers of the human mind been drawn forth into action, and the greater number of brave men has it produced. With what lustre do the antient free states of Greece shine in the annals of the world? How different is that country now under the Great Turk? The difference between a country inhabited by men and by brutes is not greater.—(*Tracts on Civ. Lib.*) Man in a state of simplicity, says another writer, uncorrupted by the influence of bad education, bad examples, and bad government, possesses a taste for all that is good and beautiful. He is capable of a degree of moral and intellectual improvement, which advances his nature to a participation with the divine. The world in all its magnificence appears to him one vast theatre, richly adorned and illuminated, into which he is freely admitted to enjoy the glorious spectacle. Acknowledging no natural superior but the great Architect of the whole fabric, he partakes the delight with conscious dignity, and glows with gratitude. Pleased with himself and all around him, his heart dilates with benevolence as well as piety, and he finds his joys augmented by communication. His countenance cheerful, his mien erect, he rejoices in existence. Life is a continual feast to him, highly seasoned by virtue, by liberty, by mutual affection. God formed him to be happy and he becomes so, thus fortunately unmolested by false policy and oppression. Religion, reason, nature, are his guides through the whole of his existence, and the whole is happy. Virtuous independence, the sun which irradiates the morning of his day, and warms its noon, tinges the serene evening with every beautiful variety of colours; and on the pillow of religious hope he sinks to repose in the bosom of Providence.—(*Dr. Knox.*)

72. Part of a nation, to the exclusion of the rest, never originating or maintaining a government but for the purpose of abstracting the political and other rights of the excluded, an opposition of interests necessarily exists. Oppressors want to retain that which they have unlawfully possessed themselves of; the oppressed, to attain the rights awarded to them by their Great Creator. If this does not happen in every country and age where an unlawful government (30) is established, it simply arises from the oppressed being so ignorant as not to know what are their rights, or that they have not virtue enough lawfully to possess themselves of them. All power exercised over a nation, says Paine, must have some beginning; it must be either delegated or assumed; there are no other sources; —*all delegated power is trust—all assumed power is usurpation* —time does not alter the nature and quality of either.—(*Rights of Man.*)

In reference to governments, therefore, there can be only three classes of men :—

Freemen.—Those who live under a democratic government, delegating power to their rulers in trust for the good of the nation.
Oppressors.—Those who make or execute laws, or appoint, or uphold in any way, such law-makers and executors,—by usurpation.
The oppressed.—Those who are excluded from all interference in the appointment of the government under which they live.

73. All forms of government, then, may be classed under two heads :—

Pure democracies.
Those which divide a whole nation into two classes, oppressors and the oppressed.—For if the government is not purely democratic, every man in the nation must necessarily be in one of the two classes.

74. In other words, there can be only two kinds of government.

One which emanates from a *whole* nation,—
The other, which emanates from a *part* only of a nation.

75. If either the whole, or a part exclusively of any nation, can lawfully establish a government, Heaven can have no will at all in the affair. And very different governments, and very different codes will emanate, from these two entirely different sources. Above all things, desperately wicked as the human heart is, we do not find multitudes of men, in all countries and ages, setting the law of the Lord God Almighty at nought, as though it was an idle tale, for no conceivable end! This, however, would be the case, if the part of any nation that appoints and upholds a government to the exclusion of the remainder, inflicted no other wrong than the abstraction of the political right. Simply to abstract this, can never be an object with any men, of any country, of any age. *In all countries, and all ages, it has been, and now is, followed by the abstraction of the land, men's liberty, or both—the produce of their labour,*— to a less or greater extent, the sad catalogue of ills before given (45); always and everywhere *bringing on men,* in a less or greater degree, *the loss of every earthly good, and the endurance of every earthly ill!* And, independently of what a government, emanating from a part of a nation, might do after it was established, the bare establishment of such a one is obviously unlawful, in taking from any of the governed their share of the political right; from the *possibility only* of the government or its supporters committing farther abstractions, and the certainly depriving any of the governed of the protection of whatever real or miscalled rights the governors may please to assign to them, men being only properly protected in their possessions, by being sharers in the political right. A

human government, then, to be lawful in the sight of Heaven, cannot emanate, indifferently, from either the whole or part of a nation.

76. If the whole be not the lawful source, the part therefore must be. If, then, it be the part, and a government emanating from the whole were established in any nation, it would obviously be the duty of every man (i. 56), to do all that lay in him to supersede such government, in order that one emanating from part of the nation might be appointed in its place.

77. And if, in any nation or age, a government emanating from a part of a nation is maintained, every man coming into the world under such circumstances, has to discover, first—whether the particular part that contains and upholds the government, and the rest of the nation that has nothing to do with it, *are rightly divided*, i. e. according to the divine will; and, secondly, supposing he finds this is so, with *which part he is to connect himself*? These questions being entirely distinct, the first of these queries obviously include the following:—

Is the number of persons whence the government emanates, relatively to the whole population, to be certain or uncertain?

Is it to consist of men, or women, or some of both; and if of both, how many of each?

Are the legislative and executive to be hereditary, for life, elected for a limited period, or have parts of two or all these? What are to be the numbers composing each part? If one part is to be elected, what should be the numbers of the electors?

After the *number* of persons, their *sex*, and the *situations* they are to fill, are discovered; how are the *particular individuals* for the various situations to be ascertained, in *each generation*, of the continuance of the constitution? and how many generations is it to last?

With whom does the right rest, in each generation, to settle all these momentous questions?

How is this right made out conformably with the *Law of Nature* and the *Law of Revelation?*

78. Suppose the Chinese, or any other nation, being desirous of establishing and maintaining a lawful government, consult the books of nature and divine revelation; (if the government may emanate from a part of the nation,) they may as well study the Arabian Nights' Entertainments, or the History of Robinson Crusoe. The Chinese finding no information in their own country, suppose them to send ambassadors to seek it in other countries; after having made the circuit of the world, they will return just as wise as when they set out. Suppose them to determine upon setting up any kind of government, in the hope that succeeding generations will discover that which baffles the present. The constitution of human nature, however, says nothing.—Heaven says nothing.—Where, then, are posterity to learn? Will the sun,—the moon,—the stars,—the fishes,—the beasts,—the birds,—the wind,—the rain,—by any divination,

discover any thing? Nothing but darkness, deep as it is universal, presents itself to all countries, and to all ages, and therefore to every man that comes into the world,—darkness from which there is no escape? But nothing of this kind is to be supposed. The evidence God has furnished men of all nations and ages, that a pure democracy alone accords with his will, prevents any other obscurity attending the matter, than that created by the *unspeakable iniquity of mankind.*

79. That the rights of men must be determinable with the most rigorous accuracy, is obvious from considering; that if any doubt can by possibility exist as to the rights of *any human being whatever, in any country or age,* the same doubt must exist as to the rights of *all men, in all countries, in all ages!* Thus as to any two Spaniards, Turks, Chinese, North-Americans, (i.40.) or natives of any other country:—if it is not ascertainable with the most rigorous precision, whether, in accordance with the divine law—as to the Spaniards, for instance—that both are bound to make or execute the laws of their nation,—or that it is the duty of neither to do these things, but simply to assist in appointing those who shall do so; or that it is the duty of one to make and execute the laws, and of the other simply to obey them:—it is obvious, that the whole population of Spain, throughout all its generations, must labour under the same uncertainty, and this may therefore be said of all nations. For if neither the light of nature, nor that of revelation, guides a man; if he endeavour to become one of those who are to make and execute the laws of his country, or to appoint those that shall do these things, or cautiously to abstain from either; and therefore only to obey laws made and executed by others: in any case he may be wrong,—if, indeed, any thing can be either wrong or right in beings who have no law to govern them. On whom, then, on the supposition we are putting, is to be charged all the guilt and misery, such a state of things must superinduce, in a less or greater degree, in all nations and ages of the world? It cannot be chargeable on men, because they have not the least glimmering of light to guide them; the only alternative, therefore, is the Lord God Almighty!!! On this worse than atheistical supposition, what is it that we impute to Infinite Holiness?—All the sin and suffering brought on men by unrighteous governments. (45.)

80. IF ANY PART OF ANY NATION, IN ANY AGE, CAN FORCIBLY APPOINT OR MAINTAIN A GOVERNMENT IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE DIVINE LAW; (a total uncertainty exists as to every man that comes into the world, in every nation, and every age,—whether he has or has not any claim to a share of the political right:—in other words, to which part of the nation he is to belong, that from which the government emanates, or the other: and) THE LORD GOD ALMIGHTY CAN NEITHER BE WISE! POWERFUL! NOR

BENEVOLENT!—he being the prime Author of the confusion and misery thence arising, and necessarily also of the iniquities unlawful governments commit. (45.) Because he has not furnished mankind with any rule, deductive either from their own constitution, or the revelation of his most holy will; whereby the question may be determined, and a government lawful in his sight be established and maintained.

81. All which will further appear from considering, that if any given number, in any nation or age—suppose one, five, fifty, or five hundred—can lawfully invest himself, or themselves, with the making and executing the laws, any other person or party may do the same. Thus we may have all the men or women of a nation, either as individuals or parties, forming separate governments; consequently, without any individual or party having any to govern; but himself, herself, or themselves. (24.) Neither can any person or party exclusively delegate the legislative and executive offices to another or others. Men cannot convey what they have no right to possess. Besides, if one party can exclusively delegate the functions of government, another may; and thus we may have any number of parties, each setting up its own nominees or governors; but such governors having none to govern, but those by whom they are appointed. (i.40.) The absurdity of all which is manifest. If there were a hundred parties, there would be as many governments in a nation, or rather nothing in it but anarchy.

82. This matter may be placed in another point of view. All men, in all nations and ages, being under the same law; if any one man is found existing in any nation or age, who has no claim to an equal share of the political right with all the rest of his countrymen; any other, and, consequently every other man, must be in the same situation. On this supposition, therefore, no man that ever has existed, that does now exist, or that shall hereafter exist in any nation; ever had, or can have, any claim to the political right, or any part of it: and thus, a government could not be established in any nation or age:—the absurdity of this, also, is obvious.

83. Let us assume that a government emanating from a part of a nation is maintained, and commits all kinds of the most atrocious wickedness; what is the authority, according to the divine law, or as it may be otherwise termed, the will of God, for superseding it? If the whole nation is not the lawful authority, it must be the part: if it be the part, God has provided no remedy for a nation against an unrighteous government, but its own members and supporters. Every nation cursed with such a government, must therefore submit to all its wickedness, for all the ages it chooses to maintain itself:—but this is too absurd to be supposed. *Nothing, then, can be more clear, than that a whole nation has both the power and right to*

supersede its government whenever it thinks proper. If, then it can do this, it can appoint another; as, with whomsoever the right and power of superseding exists, with it necessarily must exist the right and power of appointing; as any government set up contrary to the will of the whole nation, as declared by its majority, can, of course, be instantly superseded by such majority.

84. Nothing, then, can be more obvious than that it is written with the finger of God! in characters too obvious for any but the wilfully blind not to be able to read; that whatever can, in conformity with the divine law, be urged either for or against the claim of any one man, (to an equal share of the political right with all the rest of his countrymen,) that ever did exist, now is, or shall hereafter arise, in any nation of the world; can be urged for or against the claim of any other, and, consequently, of all others. A pure democracy, therefore, is the only lawful government in the sight of Heaven.

85. *Separated from the great electoral assembly, a man is politically nothing.*

86. *He derives no rights from Heaven.*

87. *He can acquire none of men, pursuant with the will of God, as declared in the divine law to be principal or accessory to the establishment of a government.*

88. *And the whole human race throughout its generations, being under the divine law,—this necessarily applies to all men, in all countries, and in all ages.*

89. The integrity of the electoral assembly can only be preserved whilst it respects the rights of every one of its members. It cannot reduce its members by the ejection of any one. If it could eject any one whatever, it could eject any other, and consequently all others; whence a total dissolution of the assembly would arise. *It has no rights by the divine law, but so long as it preserves itself entire.* If it cease to do this, the nation must be altogether without a government, or if one be established, it must be altogether *of power, and not at all of right.* The ejection of any one member, by violating the integrity of the assembly, is therefore an outrage committed on the rights of a whole nation. If, with the exception of one, a whole nation were to agree to disfranchise that one, the whole nation, (excepting the disfranchised person,) would be guilty of a usurpation of the prerogative of God. It is no part of the duties of men to determine what their rights are (22). And as any one human being is a nonentity as to this determination, all mankind are necessarily in the same situation.

90. *Thus, it is only by respecting the rights of every one in any nation, or age, that those of any one can be secured.*

91. *And thus all by divine appointment, are the guardians of the rights of each.*

92. If any are disposed to impugn what is here said, we ask—If a part of any nation, in any age, can lawfully maintain a government to the exclusion of the rest, *how is it to be reconciled with the wisdom, power, and benevolence of God, that he has given the greater rights and less power to the part, and the less rights and greater power to the whole, seeing the evils that would result from such a disposition of things.* (16, 17, 20.)?

93. The lawful power, says Hooker, of making laws to command whole politic societies of men, belonging so properly unto the same entire societies, that for any prince or potentate of what kind soever upon earth, to exercise the same of himself, and not by express commission immediately and personally received from God; or else by authority, derived at the first from their consent, upon whose persons they impose laws; it is no better than mere tyranny. Laws they are not, therefore, which public approbation hath not made so,—sith men, naturally, have no full and perfect power to command whole politic multitudes of men; therefore, utterly without our consent, we could in such sort be at no man's commandment living. And to be commanded we do consent, when the society whereof we be a part hath at any time before consented, without revoking the same by the like *universal agreement.*—(*Eccl. Pol.*)

94. What, says Paine, is government more than the management of the affairs of a nation? Sovereignty, as a matter of right appertains to *the nation only*, and not to any individual. And a nation has at all times an inherent indefeasible right to abolish any form of government it finds inconvenient, and establish such as accords with its interest, disposition, and happiness. The romantic and barbarous distinction of men into kings and subjects, though it may suit the condition of courtiers, cannot that of citizens; and is exploded by the principle on which governments are now founded. *Every citizen is a member of the sovereignty, and as such, can acknowledge no personal subjection.* And his obedience can be only to the laws. [These] control men only as individuals, but the nation, through its constitution, controls the whole government, and has a natural ability so to do. The final controlling power, therefore, and the original constituting power, are one and the same power. A government without a constitution, (12) is power without a right.—(*Rights of Man.*)

95. Upon the true theory and genuine principles of liberty, says Blackstone, *every member* of the community, however poor, should have a vote in electing those delegates, to whose charge is committed the disposal of his property, his liberty, and his life.—(*Com. on the Laws of England.*)

96. Whilst men, says Sydney, are all equal, none will yield to any, otherwise than by a *general consent.* This is the ground

of all just government, for violence or fraud can create no right. (*Discourses concerning Government.*)

97. A free commonwealth, says Milton, is not only held, by wisest men in all ages, the noblest, the manliest, the equallest, the justest government: the most agreeable to all due liberty and proportioned equality, both human, civil, and Christian; most cherishing to virtue and true religion, but also (I may say it with greatest probability) plainly commended, or rather enjoined, by our Saviour himself. It may well be wondered that any nation styling themselves free, can suffer any man to pretend hereditary right over them, I doubt not but all ingenuous and knowing men will easily agree with me, that a free commonwealth, *without single person or house of lords*, is by far the best government; for the ground and basis of every just and free government, is *a general council of ablest men chosen by the people.* In this grand council must the sovereignty, not transferred but delegated only, and as it were deposited, reside. (*The Ready and Easy Way to establish a free Commonwealth.*)

98. Whatever, says Volney, be the active power, the moving cause that directs the universe, this power having given to all men the same organs, the same sensations, and the same wants, has thereby sufficiently declared, that it has also given them the same rights to the use of its benefits, and that, in the order of nature, *all men are equal.* Secondly, inasmuch as this power has given to every man the ability of preserving and maintaining his own existence, it clearly follows, that all men are constituted independent of each other; that they are created free; that no man can be subject, and no man sovereign; but that all men are the unlimited proprietors of their own persons. Equality, therefore, and liberty, are two essential attributes of man; two laws of the Divinity not less essential and immutable, than the physical properties of inanimate nature. Again, from the principle that every man is the unlimited master of his own person, it follows, that one inseparable condition in every contract and engagement, is the free and voluntary consent (i. 40) of all the persons therein bound.—(*Revolutions of Empires.*)

99. Men, says Locke, being by nature all free, equal, and independent, *no one* can be put out of this estate, and subject to the political power of another, *without his own consent.* When any number of men have consented to make one community or government, they are thereby presently incorporated and make one body politic, wherein the majority have a right to act and conclude the rest. Thus every man, by consenting with others to make one body politic, under one government, puts himself under an obligation to every one of that society, to submit to the determination of the majority. If the consent of the majority shall not in reason be received as the act of the whole; and conclude every

individual ; nothing but the consent of every individual can make any thing to be the act of the whole, but such a consent is next to impossible ever to be had ; if we consider the infirmities of health, and avocations of business, which in a number, though much less than that of a commonwealth, will necessarily keep many away from the public assembly. *That which begins and actually constitutes any political society, is nothing but the consent of any number of freemen, to unite and incorporate into such a society. This is that and that only, which did or could give beginning to any lawful government in the world.* The constitution of the legislative is the first and fundamental act of society, whereby provision is made for the continuance of their union, under the direction of persons, and bonds of laws made by persons authorised thereunto, by the consent and appointment of the people; without which, no one man or number of men amongst them, can have authority of making laws that shall be binding to the rest. *When any one or more shall take upon them to make laws, whom the people have not appointed so to do, they make laws without authority, which the people are not therefore bound to obey ; by which means they come again to be out of subjection, and may constitute to themselves a new legislative, as they think best*, being in full liberty to resist the force of those, who without authority, would impose anything upon them. Every one is at the disposure of his own will, when those who had by the delegation of the society the declaring of the public will, are excluded from it; and others usurp the place, who have no such authority. The people alone can appoint the form of the commonwealth, which is by constituting the legislative, and appointing in whose hands that shall be. And when the people have said, we will submit to rules, and be governed by laws made by such men, and in such forms ; nobody else can say other men shall make laws for them, *nor can the people be bound by any laws, but such as are enacted by those whom they have chosen, and authorized to make laws for them.*—(*Locke on Gov.*)

100. The provisional representatives of the people of Holland published a declaration at the Hague,—from which the following are extracts:—

The final settlement of rights ought to be the first work of a national convocation, of the representatives of all the people; named to decree and fix a form of government.

All men are born with equal rights, and these natural rights cannot be taken from them.

The sovereignty resides in the *entire people*, and therefore no portion of the people can arrogate it to themselves.

The people can confer the exercise of it on their representatives, but can never alienate it from themselves.

Each man has the right of suffrage, in the legislative assembly of the entire society ; either personally, or by representation in the choice of which he has concurred.

The law is the free and solemn expression of the general will.—It is equal for all.

Each one has the right to concur, in requiring from each functionary of public administration an account and justification of his conduct.

All men being equal, all are eligible to all posts or employments, without any other motive of preference than those of virtues and of capacities.

The end of all civil societies ought to be, to assure to men the peaceable enjoyment of their natural rights.

Each man has a right to serve God in such manner as he pleases or does not please, without being forced in this regard in any way.

The people have at all times a right to change their form of government, to correct it, or to choose another.

All hereditary dignities, such as hereditary stadtholder, captain general and admiral of this province, and of the equestrian order, as well as hereditary noblesse, are repugnant to the rights of man.—They ought to be held and declared abolished, as they are declared to be abolished by these presents.

(Declaration of the rights of man,—by the provisional representatives of the people of Holland. Done at the Hague, the 31st of January, 1795.)

101. If at the foundation of a nation, its members had formed themselves into the electoral assembly, suppose on the first of January, and had agreed that all who had completed the twenty-first or any other given year of their age, were admissible to such assembly;—they must of course fix some age, as children cannot be permitted to take part in the proceedings, and no adult male can lawfully be excluded,—and one of the young men attained his majority on the second of January, this one, by reason of his minority, would have had no vote in the electoral assembly on the preceding day. The moment, however, his majority was completed, he acquired his right of being an elector; and necessarily, therefore, the right of exercising it at the next election.

102. And the same may of course be said of every male that arises in any nation throughout its generations: no one man of any generation of any nation having less or greater rights than any of his contemporaries;—nor any generation having less or greater rights, than any other or others that precede or follow, as has been already intimated. The divine law is infringed towards any man, of any country, or any age,—whether his rights are in any way abstracted from,—either by those that have *preceded* him,—or those that are *contemporary* with him,—or by *both* his predecessors and contemporaries.

103. Whatever engagement or promises, says Locke, any one has made for himself, he is under the obligation of them; but cannot by any compact whatsoever bind his children or posterity. *(On Gov.)*—(i. 40 & 47.)

104. The rights of minors, says Paine, are as sacred as the rights of the aged. The difference is altogether in the different age of the two parties, and nothing in the nature of the rights.—The rights are the same rights, and are to be preserved inviolate for the inheritance of the minors, when they shall come of age. During the minority of minors their rights are under the sacred guardianship of the aged. The minor cannot

surrender them. The guardian cannot dispossess him. Consequently, the aged part of a nation, who are the law-makers for the time being, and who in the march of life are but a few years a-head of those who are yet minors, and to whom they must shortly give place, have not, and cannot have the right, to make a law to set up and establish hereditary government; or, to speak more distinctly, an hereditary succession of governors; because it is an attempt to deprive every minor in the nation, at the time such a law is made, of his inheritance of rights, when he shall come of age; and to subjugate him to a system of government, to which during his minority, he could neither consent nor object. If a person who is a minor at the time such a law is proposed, had happened to have been born a few years sooner, so as to be of the age of twenty-one years at the time of proposing it, his right to have objected against it, to have exposed the injustice and tyrannical principles of it, and to have voted against it, will be admitted on all sides. If, therefore, the law operates, to prevent his exercising the same rights after he comes of age, as he would have had a right to exercise had he been of age at the time, it is undeniably a law to take away and annul the rights of every person in the nation, who shall be a minor at the time of making such a law, and consequently the right to make it cannot exist.—*(Princip. of Gov.)*

105. The rights of men in society are neither devisable nor transferable, nor annihilable, but are descendable only. And it is not in the power of any generation to intercept finally and cut off the descent. If the present generation or any other are disposed to be slaves, it does not lessen the right of the succeeding generations to be free.—*Wrongs cannot have a legal descent.* If any generation of men ever possessed the right of dictating the mode by which the world should be governed for ever, it was the first generation that existed; and if that generation did not do it, no succeeding generation can show any authority for doing it, nor set any up. Men are all of one degree, and consequently all men are born equal, and with equal natural rights; in the same manner as if posterity had been continued by creation, instead of generation;—the latter being only the mode by which the former is carried forward, and consequently, every child born into the world must be considered as deriving its existence from God. The world is as new to him as it was to the first man that existed, and his natural right in it is of the same kind. Every generation is and must be competent to all the purposes which its occasions require. It is the living and not the dead that are to be accommodated. When man ceases to be, his power and his wants cease with him; and having no longer any participation in the concerns of this world, he has no longer any

authority in directing who shall be its governors, or how its government shall be organized, or how administered.—Those who have quitted the world, and those who are not yet arrived at it, are as remote from each other as the utmost stretch of mortal imagination can conceive. What possible obligation, then, can exist between them? What rule or principle can be laid down, that two nonentites, the one out of existence the other not in, and who can never meet in this world, that the one should control the other to the end of time?—As government is for the living and not for the dead, it is the living only that have any right in it.—(*Rights of Man.*)

106. To be satisfied of a right of a thing to exist, we must be satisfied that it had a right to begin. If it had not a right to begin, it has not a right to continue. By what, right then, did the hereditary system begin? Let any man but ask himself this question, and he will find that he cannot satisfy himself with an answer. The generation which first selects a person, and puts him at the head of its government, either with the title of king or any other nominal distinction, acts its own choice, as a free agent for itself, be that choice wise or foolish. The person so set up is *not hereditary*, but selected and appointed; and the generation which sets him up does not live under an hereditary government, but under a government of its own choice. Were the person so set up and the generation who sets him up to live for ever, it never could become hereditary succession, and of consequence hereditary succession could only follow on the death of the first parties. As, therefore, hereditary succession is out of the question with respect to the first generation, we have next to consider the character in which that generation acts towards the commencing generation, and to all succeeding ones. It assumes a character to which it has neither right nor title, for it changes itself from a legislator to a testator, and affects to make a will and testament which is to have operation after the demise of the makers, to bequeath the government; and it not only attempts to bequeath, but to establish on the succeeding generation a new and different form of government under which itself lived.

107. A nation, though continually existing, is constantly in a state of renewal and succession. It is never stationary. Every day produces new births, carries minors forward to maturity, and old persons from the stage. In this ever-running flood of generations there is no part superior in authority to another. Could we conceive an idea of superiority in any, at what point of time, or in what century of the world, are we to fix it? To what cause are we to ascribe it? By what evidence are we to prove it? By what criterion are we to know it? A single reflection will teach us, that our ancestors, like ourselves, were but tenants for life in the great freehold of rights. The fee

absolute was not in them. It is not in us. It belongs to the whole family of man throughout all ages. If we think otherwise of this, we think either as slaves or as tyrants: as slaves, if we think that any former generation had a right to bind us; as tyrants, if we think that we have authority to bind the generations that are to follow. Every age and generation is, and must be, as a matter of right, as free to act for itself in all cases, as the age and generation that preceded it. The vanity and presumption of governing beyond the grave, is the most ridiculous and insolent of all tyrannies. Man has no property in man, neither has one generation a property in the generations that are to follow.—(*Princip. of Govt.*)

108. And when it is considered, that the safeguards appointed by Heaven for the protection of the rights of any human being, of any country or age, are the same as those appointed to protect the rights of all men of all countries and ages, it is obvious that such safeguards can neither be too powerful nor too distinctly defined. We cannot, therefore, sufficiently adore the goodness of God in so constituting things, that all the members of every nation on earth, in all their generations, without a single exception, are appointed by him the guardians of the rights of each other.

109. The divine law thus preserving inviolate the rights of every man that comes into the world, may be most emphatically called—

THE MAGNA CHARTA

of mankind.

110. By this Great Charter, the Father of all decrees the emancipation of all His children, in all nations, and in all ages!

111. *We therefore hesitate not to affirm, in the most unqualified manner, and challenge not only the whole of the living generation of men of all the nations of the earth, but all that shall hereafter arise upon it, successfully to impugn our assertion, that—all men, in all nations and in all ages, are in a state of the most rigorously exact equality as regards their political rights. In other words, we deny that any other form of government can lawfully be maintained in any country or age but the purely democratic.*

112. To deprive any man, of any nation, in any age, of his equal share of the political right (with all his fellows), or to kill him in the highway, are, therefore, both infractions of the divine law—the one being murder, and the other robbery; and the robbery of the political right is sometimes only the precursor of murder.

113. Whoever, therefore, they are, who, in any country or age, are principal or accessory to the abstraction from any one or more, of his or their share of the political right, contravene

the divine law. Of this law it may be said, 'till heaven and earth pass one jot or one tittle, shall in no wise pass from' it. Let, therefore, not any men, in any country, or any age, presume to set Heaven at defiance; by superseding the law of God by their own accursed abominations. But in all places, in all ages, and by all persons, let such law be obeyed, with the same zeal the divine will is done by holy angels.—*(Matt.* vi. 10.*)*

114. An inquiry into the origin of rights will demonstrate to us, says Paine, that rights are not gifts from one man to another, nor from one class of men to another; for who is he who could be the first giver? or by what principle, or on what authority, could he possess the right of giving? A declaration of rights is not a creation of them, nor a donation of them: it is a manifest of the principle by which they exist, followed by a detail of what the rights are; for every civil right has a natural right for its foundation, and it includes the principal of a reciprocal guarantee of those rights from man to man. As, therefore, it is impossible to discover any origin of rights, otherwise than in the origin of man, it consequently follows that *rights appertain to man in right of his existence only, and must therefore be equal to every man.* The principle of an equality of rights is clear and simple; every man can understand it; and it is by understanding his rights that he learns his duties; for where the rights of men are equal, every man must finally see the necessity of protecting the rights of others, as the most effectual security for his own. But if, in the formation of a constitution, we depart from the principle of equal rights, or attempt any modification of it, we plunge into a labyrinth of difficulties, from which there is no way out but by retreating. *Where are we to stop, or by what principles are we to find out the point to stop at, that shall discriminate between men of the same country, part of whom shall be free, and the rest not?*

115. If property is to be made the criterion, it is a total departure from every moral principle of liberty, because it is attaching rights to mere matter, and making man the agent of that matter. It is, moreover, holding up property as an apple of discord, and not only exciting, but justifying, war against it; for I maintain the principle, that when property is used as an instrument to take away the rights of those who may happen not to possess property, it is used to an unlawful purpose, as firearms would be in a similar case.

116. *In a state of nature all men are equal in rights,* but they are not equal in power: the weak cannot protect himself against the strong. This being the case, the institution of civil society is for the purpose of making an equalization of powers, that shall be parallel to, and a guarantee of, the equality of rights. The laws of a country, when properly constructed, apply to this purpose. Every man takes the arm of the law for his protection, as more effectual than his own;

and therefore every man has an equal right in the formation of the government, and of the laws by which he is to be governed and judged. In extensive countries and societies, such as America and France, this right in the individual can only be exercised by delegation,—that is, by election and representation; and hence it is that the institution of representative government arises. Whether the rights of men shall be equal, is not a matter of opinion, but of right, and, consequently, of principle. Society is the guardian, but not the giver. In all matters of opinion, the social compact, or the principle by which society is held together, requires that the majority of opinions become the rule for the whole, and that the minority yield practical obedience thereto. This is perfectly conformable to the principle of equal rights.—(*Princip. of Govt.*) (99.)

117. The true, and only true, basis of representative government, is equality of rights. Every man has a right to one vote, and no more, in the choice of representatives. The rich have no more right to exclude the poor from the right of voting, or of electing or being elected, than the poor have to exclude the rich; and wherever it is attempted or proposed on either side, it is a question of force, and not of right. Who is he that would exclude another?—that other has a right to exclude him. *Those who oppose an equality of rights, never mean the exclusion should take place on themselves. The right of voting for representatives, is the primary right by which other rights are protected. To take away this right, is to reduce a man to a state of slavery*—for slavery consists in being subject to the will of another; and he that has not a vote in the election of representatives, is in this case. *The proposal, therefore, to disfranchise any class of men, is as criminal as the proposal to take away property.* In a political view of the case, the strength and permanent security of government is in proportion to the number of people interested in supporting it. The true policy, therefore, is to interest the whole by an equality of rights, for the danger arises from exclusions. *It is possible to exclude men from the right of voting, but it is impossible to exclude them from the right of rebelling against that exclusion. When all other rights are taken away, the right of rebellion is made perfect.*

118. The best security for property, be it much or little, is to remove from every part of the community, as far as can possibly be done, every cause of complaint and every motive to violence; and this can only be done by an equality of rights. When rights are secure, property is secure in consequence; but when property is made a pretence for unequal or exclusive rights, it weakens the right to hold the property, and provokes indignation and tumult: for it is unnatural to believe that property can be secure under the guarantee of a society,

injured in its rights by the influence of that property.—(*Princip. of Govt.*) No apology is offered for the length of the extracts from this writer, as they are deemed to contain some of the most important truths that have ever been published to mankind, in any country or age.

119. Makers and executors of laws, *the persons who are officially the conservators of the public peace,* and especially bound therefore, as far as lies in them, to repress the slightest intimations of licentiousness wherever it may appear, and for this purpose, to call on all men, everywhere, to obey the law, under any unlawful constitution whatever, *are the most eminent examples of a disregard to all righteous law in the whole nation;* as the means whereby, and the purposes for which, they have established and maintained the government, are, as far as suits their purpose to supersede the divine law, by making whatever infractions they may think fit, or they may have the power to make, on the rights of those they oppress.

120. Unfortunately, therefore, for the supposed interest of oppressors, it is an important and self-evident truth, that *the good of the governed,* the sole object of a righteous administration, *is not their object.* The very supposition involves a contradiction, as in a system, the only object of which is to work for the good of all, what can there be either exclusive or inclusive? Every thing that has the slightest approximation to either, must be utterly at an end. In the oppressing system, the order of the day is, not to have one grand and simple rule (i. 19, 20), but two very different ones; that it may be truly said to oppressors,—'Woe unto you!' 'for ye tithe mint, and rue, and all manner of herbs, and pass over judgment and the love of God; these ought ye to have done, and not to leave the other undone.' I witnessed, says Burckhardt, one of those cruel acts of despotism which are so common in the East. In walking over a large field, with about thirty attendants and slaves, Hassan told the owner that he had done wrong in sowing the field with barley, as water-melons would have grown better. He then took some melon-seed out of his pocket, and, giving it to the man, said, you had better tear up the barley, and sow this. As the barley was nearly ripe, the man of course excused himself from complying with the Kashef's demand. "Then I will sow them for you," said the latter, and ordered his people immediately to tear up the crop, and lay out the field for the reception of the melon-seed. The boat was then loaded with the barley, and a family thus reduced to misery, in order that the governor might feed his horses and camels for three days on the barley-stalks.—(*As quoted in Burder's Works.*) An esteemed writer, speaking of Mohammed Ali Pasha of Egypt, says,—As to the lands which he has not yet seized upon, the owner is not master of his produce,

not being allowed to dispose of any portion of it, till the agents of government have taken what part they may think proper, at their own price!—(*Modern Traveller—Egypt.*) The conduct of Hassan and Ali, though on a smaller scale than that of some oppressors, exhibits a too faithful resemblance of the conduct of unrighteous governors in all nations and ages; the engrossing the land, and the mercantile oppression and competition thence arising, operating in a precisely similar manner.

121. To any who think the oppressing system is founded on any other basis than the ruins of all righteous law, we ask, what answer an oppressor, of any nation or age, can return to one of the oppressed, who puts the following question?—Why have I not as good a title by the divine law, to an equal share of the political right, as you? 'God shall smite thee, thou whited wall, for sittest thou' as the vicegerent of Heaven, to make or execute the laws for the conduct of thy brethren, or appointest thou in any way those that shall do so; and yet the very means by which thou attainest the power, is in utter opposition to all righteous law. Is it to be expected, that that which is thus unjustly acquired, will be beneficially exercised? 'Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?—not one.' And if thou hadst not some sinister design, why dost thou not restore to me that right of which I am despoiled, that, as justice and judgment are the habitation of God's throne, and mercy and truth go before his face, the eternal rule of equity may prevail between you and me?

122. Surely, no oppressors will be found to affirm,—We call heaven and earth to witness, that we are humbly endeavouring to love our neighbours as ourselves; and as a proof of it, we abstract from them their share of the political right, the great objects of which are, that the land shall be engrossed, and principally by us; and beyond this, that we may take from the oppressed as much of the produce of their labour as we think proper,—without running the risk of causing them to arise up against us, to possess themselves of those rights their all-bounteous heavenly Father has awarded to each of them!

123. In the establishment or maintenance of a government not purely democratic, all persons who are members of such government, and who, either directly or indirectly, actively support it, form *a great unlawful political association* (i. 45). In such association must of course be included, not only the members of the legislative and executive selected out of it, but, if there is an elected legislative, all its constituents, and all the members composing the civil, military, and naval force, and all other persons whatever, in any way actively supporting such illegal government, throughout all the generations it may subsist. And of those who enter an unlawful political association, each individual is chargeable, not only for his own acts, but

necessarily, in a less or greater degree, for the conduct of every one of his living associates, (it being obvious that it is the aggregate of individuals alone (iii. 5) which forms the power), and the acts also of his successors; it may be, through a long line of many generations, i. e. during the whole duration of the unlawful constitution, supported by the association. And, beyond this, each individual is chargeable for all the acts of wickedness committed from a lawful government not being established. Take, for example, the cases of Louis XVI. and Buonaparte. The persons, in their several generations, who formed part of, or supported, the French government, prior to the accession of Louis, formed a great unlawful political association; and were, in a less or greater degree, instrumental in producing the state of things which led to that prince's downfall, and necessarily, also, to the rise of Buonaparte: one of the abuses this man made of which rise—or rather, the French were so infatuated as to allow him to make—was to immolate between two and three hundred thousand of his own soldiers, in the Russian campaign alone. Had a lawful constitution been maintained in France, the excesses committed in consequence of the revolution would never have happened, nor Buonaparte been able to commit the act we have mentioned, or any other of his lawless proceedings.

124. We cannot, therefore, too earnestly beseech all who support an unlawful constitution, or any unlawful act, to consider the responsibility they are under to Heaven, for all the guilt that may be committed by their contemporaries, and their successors through a long line of ages. The titles to the land of England are principally derived from William the Conqueror, and his principal associates. We see not how it can be doubted, that these men are answerable for all the guilt that has arisen since their time, and now exists, from its unlawful exclusive appropriation. It is no answer whatever to say, that their successors of every succeeding age, were bound to remedy the evil; as is incumbent on the present generation. Men are not to trample under foot the law of God, and oppress their contemporaries, in order that their posterity may do justice to the posterity of the oppressed. And the dread responsibility of legislators (who make laws in any country without lawful authority, i. e. delegation from the governed) is increased, seeing that they are, in a less or greater degree, released from accountability to their fellows: this, then, is wholly evil, as all the care that can be taken, is ordinarily insufficient to cause men generally to do their duty as they ought, in any of the relations of life. How awful must be *the death-bed reflections of oppressors*, when they become sensible that all their labours have not been for, but against, the happiness of mankind; that, as far as lay in them, they were regardless of the best interests

of humanity,—that they sanctioned and supported the exclusive appropriation of the political right,—and thence the incalculable evils thereon attendant. And how much must the poignancy of such reflections be aggravated by the consideration, that the evils they have been instrumental in supporting, are not likely to stop with the age in which they live; but may extend their baneful influence through a long line of many generations; all power to avert which is now *for ever* passing from them!

125. It is quite different with a lawful political association. The association is established and maintained in accordance with the divine will, and, therefore, each individual incurs no responsibility beyond himself; excepting, of course, the general obligation he is under in all his actions to promote, as far as lies in him, unspotted and universal holiness among all mankind. (i. 19.)

126. We here call men and angels to witness our solemn protestation against the formation or maintenance of all unlawful associations, whether political, commercial, or of whatever kind. And against the maintenance of those which are lawful, if they have any unhallowed object; or where they cannot be dissolved: as, for example, in the case of husbands and wives, against the prosecution of such object.

127. We have elsewhere observed, (i. 45.) that the following question arises: namely, if some of the members of an association apply the powers they derive from associating to any unlawful purpose, whilst others of their associates refuse to participate in the advantage derivable therefrom; whether the latter may lawfully continue members of the association? We gave what appears to us the right determination in reference to a commercial partnership. As to a political association, we may observe as follows. An association of this kind, it is obvious, may be lawful, and yet do unlawful acts; or, a political association may be utterly illegal in its formation. As to a lawful political association doing unlawful acts, this, for example, happens when, as to any of the natives of a country, their right to the land is abstracted. In this case, all the rest, though the nation was as populous as China, are guilty in the sight of Heaven, for willingly permitting such abstraction, or any other unlawful act: and in this condemnation necessarily, therefore, those are, who acquire no greater portions of land, than they would, supposing it to be equally distributed among all. The maintenance of the political association is beneficial to those who allow the land to be abstracted from others; as it protects the former in their possessions, whilst it is highly prejudicial to those from whom the land is abstracted. No righteous man can lawfully educe benefit to himself, through the unrighteous conduct of others with whom he is associated: for under any and every

combination of circumstances, either directly or indirectly, 'love worketh no ill to his neighbour.' As relates, therefore, to a lawful association, if some of its members educe ill to others, (whether the latter do or do not belong to the association) all its other members, i. e. those not comprised in the injurers or injured, are bound to do every thing in their power to alleviate, and if possible altogether supersede, such ill to all the aggrieved. And as relates to an unlawful political association, existing in any country or age, namely, one not composed of all the native adult males that are to be ruled, all men are bound to do all that lawfully lies in them, that it may be superseded by such an association as alone accords with the divine will, i. e. one that is composed of all the adult males.

128. An unlawful political association too often presents—First, the unspeakable anomaly of a *part* of a nation doing what the *whole* cannot lawfully: the part usurps the prerogative of God in determining what are men's rights. Secondly, it despoils those that do not belong to the association—namely, the people at large, of one or more of their rights. Thirdly, some of its members despoil other members, as the common soldiery are frequently abstracted of one or more of their rights. Fourthly, some of its members despoil other members, though not to so great an extent as the two preceding classes; these have both their share of the political right, and usually the land taken from them, whilst many of the constituents of an elected legislative, though possessing a share of the political right, have no share in the land. Fifthly, its leaders commit any other unrighteousness or ungodliness, they may find convenient or may have the power to perpetrate. Thus, the greater spoliators of the rights of their brethren despoil not only the nation at large, but their fellow members of the unlawful political association into which they enter; though it is through these that they are enabled to oppress their country.

129. The *few* are thus politically enriched at the expense of the *many* and the demoralization of ALL. (v. 160 to 169.)

130. This mode has been adopted in all countries and ages in a less or greater degree. In illustration of our subject, we may quote what a historian says of our Magna Charta.—This famous deed, says he, either granted or secured freedom to those orders of the kingdom that were already possessed of freedom: namely, to the clergy, the barons, and the gentlemen. As for the inferior and the *greatest part of the people*, they were as yet held as slaves, and it was long before they could come to a participation of legal protection.—*(Abridgment of Dr. Goldsmith's Hist. of England.)* If, says De Lolme, we read with some attention the history of states, we shall see that the public dissensions that have taken place in them, have constantly been terminated by settlements, in which the interests

only of a *few* were really provided for, while the grievances of the *many* were hardly, if at all, attended to. The histories of the ancient Grecian commonwealths, and, above all, of the Roman republic, of which more complete accounts have been left to us, afford striking proof of this. The republic of Syracuse, that of Corcyra, of which Thucydides has left us a pretty full account, and that of Florence, of which Machiavel has written the history, also present to us a series of public commotions ended by treaties, in which as in the Roman republic, the grievances of the people, though ever so loudly complained of in the beginning by those who acted as their defenders, were in the issue most carelessly attended to, or even totally disregarded. The revolutions which formerly happened in France, all ended like those above mentioned. A similar remark may be extended to the history of Spain, Denmark, Sweden, &c.—(*Constitution of England.*)

131. To have a share of the political right where it is equally diffused and righteously applied, and to have a share where these things do not take place, are, therefore, very different. In the latter case, its possession may, we see, be rendered to many a mere nullity; i. e. when their more powerful associates are allowed to make and execute unrighteous laws. Hence, though the former spend their whole lives in a constant state of rebellion against the Most High, in allowing themselves to be members of an unlawful political association, they suffer their more powerful associates to engross the fruits of the iniquity. We have elsewhere seen how the miserable system we deprecate reduces the value of both land and labour. (v. 45.) And we now see that it thus operates on the political right: thus blasting with its noxious influence not only both the means of wealth, but that which, in a proper constitution of things, secures to men their right to such means. In illustration of unlawful associations, the reader is requested to compare this paragraph with. (v. 150 and i. 44, 45.)

132. Under any unrighteous constitution whatever, no single individual is certain of his possessions; for, as the government under which he lives exists for the express purpose of doing violence to the rights of some, his turn to be despoiled may come next. And, indeed, every subject of such a government richly deserves that it should, for being in any degree assistant in upholding a constitution of things, never existing but for the purpose of doing violence to the rights of a less or greater number. Though, whatever be a man's demerits under the circumstances we have been supposing, his government ought not to have the infliction of his punishment, all the members of it, and all who support it, must be equally guilty with himself, and some of them more guilty.

133. Those who are under the unlawful authority of others

can only be said to have such immunities as such persons choose to allow, and these subject to all possible fluctuation. It cannot be said that men thus circumstanced possess liberty, the situation they are in being an undeniable evidence of its annihilation. Nor, if they have property, can it be called theirs; for how can men be said to have a property in that which they hold only by such tenure, and for such period, and liable to such deductions, as it pleases others to appoint? Even the lives of the oppressed are not their own, as oppressors take them when they think fit, on no other grounds but their own pleasure. (v. 219.) Indeed, those who will trample under foot the laws of the Most High, by taking from men their political right, can hardly be expected to refrain from invading any rights, when it appears necessary for the attainment of any of their ends. If some unlawful governments act less iniquitously than others, it is often because they have it not in their power to go to greater lengths, or there is nothing to be gained thereby. The oppressed may enjoy the semblance of liberty, from a fear on the part of oppressors that they shall be opposed, and their power pass into other hands. Where oppressors are unawed by this, the oppressed are uncertain whether they shall be allowed that to which they have hitherto been accustomed, or be reduced to slavery yet more abject.

134. If oppressors were obliged to change places with the oppressed, who would be more loud in their cries of the dreadful injuries they were sustaining? Who more clamorous for the divine law being enforced?—as this, in declaring that none shall cause others to suffer what they would object to themselves, would reinstate them in the possession of equal rights with their fellows. As things are at present constituted in some nations, how would a man stare who should receive a visit from a few of his more powerful neighbours, and be thus told.—We do not consider you competent to the management of your own affairs, and are come to take the control of them, to a certain extent:—as our authority, one of us has in his pocket an act of the legislature. However surprising such a scene might be, that the governed who do not appoint their own governors are thus treated, with the exception of the personal announcement, is as evident as that two and two are four; for if a man has no voice in appointing his legislators, it is, beyond controversy, the same as taking the management of his affairs out of his hands. That such treatment with regard to any persons whatever, must be utterly illegal, is obvious from the consideration, that it is on the part of oppressors doing that to others they would by no means have done unto themselves: so far from being contented to be treated as they treat others, they are not satisfied with controlling their own affairs, but must have those also of their neighbours to manage!

All government is maintained for the good or evil of the governed. If the former, why do not oppressors allow the oppressed, who are the only lawful judges, to determine who will best promote their good? (i. 47.) If the latter, it ought in any nation to be superseded with the least possible delay.

135. Under any other than the purely democratic constitution, a less or greater number must necessarily be prevented from applying their talents in the most efficient manner, for the establishment of a righteous government and laws correspondent; whereby an injury is done to the whole nation, comprehending the oppressed and their oppressors. If one only is excluded, that one may be best fitted to benefit the nation, and this, of course, applies to all similarly circumstanced. If we suppose the talents of all to average alike, and that one million out of twenty is excluded, the nation loses one twentieth part of the talent it possesses, and may apply to the great object of government.

136. The waste of wealth accruing from the not applyiug men's productive powers most efficiently, is utterly incalculable; a waste which must necessarily arise, whilst the powers of men, or the land, or both, is or are unlawfully acted on.—And both necessarily are under all unlawful constitutions; the extent differing only in degree. (v. 163.) Let any one endeavour to form some rude calculation of the loss of wealth arising by the productive powers of England not being associated in the best manner for a single year; then let him endeavour to imagine what the loss is that thus arises throughout all her generations; and then extend this to the whole world throughout all time! And, after this, let it be considered, whether any but an Infinite Mind can comprehend the mighty, mighty, mighty waste of wealth mankind has sustained, is now sustaining, and will continue to sustain, by not associating their power in the most efficient manner. In the exact ratio that the number of those who are in any way pauperized increases, one of the great objects of association is defeated. M. Storch, who resided long in Russia, and was an eye-witness to the effects of personal slavery in that country, says it is one of the most deplorable consequences of servitude, that it prevents the division of labour. (iii. 1 to 15.) I do not recollect any useful art, says Mr. Hodgskin, we have imported from Russia, or the slave coast of Africa, or from the West-India Islands. Domestic oppression is a more certain source of national ruin than foreign conquest. It is distinctly ascertained, that in the United States of America the great majority of the people are abundantly supplied with the means of subsistence; they are well fed, comfortably clothed, active, enterprising, intelligent, and moral; while in eastern countries, [Turkey, &c.] the great mass of the people obtain only a meagre and wretched subsistence. They are the victims of

continually recurring plagues and want, and are ignorant, slothful, revengeful, blood-thirsty, and barbarous. The dominions of the Sultan would make several Englands. They are traversed by some of the finest rivers of the old world,—they contain many admirable situations for commerce,—they easily communicate with Europe and India,—they are placed in a temperate climate; and if mere fertility could give wealth, all their inhabitants might be delightfully opulent. Perhaps, however, the different progress made by the United States of America, and the Spanish colonies in the Southern part of that continent, afford the best illustration of the total inefficacy of a boundless territory and inexhaustible fertility, in making individuals wealthy and nations powerful.—*(Popular Pol. Econ.)* Another writer, speaking of the Turkish government, says,—Such is the history of the power and such the nature of the political system founded on the ruins of the Roman empire; which have converted the finest and most favoured countries in the world into savage wastes and uninhabitable deserts,—which have inflicted depopulation and sterility on lands once smiling with plenty and industry; and beneath which the last remains of the Greek people are struggling for existence in the sight of Christian Europe.—*(Modern Traveller—Turkey.)* As the democratic constitution alone is the only one founded on the great principles of justice, mercy, and humility, and therefore the only one that assigns to all the greatest plenitude of rights, i. e., an exact equality;—all other constitutions necessarily cause abstraction and misapplication of the means Heaven places at men's disposal. In other words, as the gifts of Heaven can in themselves be neither diminished nor increased, any other application than the one of divine appointment lessens their efficiency.

137. Unlawful governments, in inducing the pauperism and other moral degradation of the many, and the self-conceit, pride, and presumption of the few, cause a universal avarice to seize men's minds, as has elsewhere been remarked. (v. 155.) And the rich, in proportion to their means, may, we fear, be considered more a prey to this vice than the poor. The admiration of riches, says Tacitus, leads to despotism. And Adam Smith justly considers it the great and most universal cause of the corruption of our moral sentiments. Such governments also, by the unvarying operation of their measures, originate and perpetuate contention about the wealth that is produced. The courts of civil law, of what are miscalled civilized countries, are almost always occupied in settling disputes that arise among the rich; though the wealth in question, being acquired by a system founded only on the ruins of all righteous law, neither plaintiffs nor defendants have a lawful claim to it, conformably with such law; the wealth being truly the pro-

perty of the many, to whom alone, under very possible combination of circumstances, it must belong; (v. 126, 143.) unless a part is more efficient than a whole—or a few than many—a doctrine, which though tolerated by the unrighteous in politics, is assuredly inadmissible in the mathematics. In one European nation, a single stamp for the probate of a will may be had, the cost of which is upwards of £20,000. This alone evinces, beyond the remotest possibility of question, that the law of God in such nation is, utterly despised by the makers and executors of the laws, and the holders of the property who require such a stamp. (v. 139,)—that it may be truly asked, What need we any further witness? And one of the obvious consequences of the many being unlawfully deprived of the means Heaven furnishes, is the great number of prisoners convicted in criminal courts of law.

138. The most obvious division of society, says Burke, is into rich and poor; and it is no less obvious that the number of the former bear a great disproportion to those of the latter. The whole business of the poor is to administer to the idleness, folly, and luxury of the rich; and that of the rich, in return, is to find the best methods of confirming the slavery and increasing the burthens of the poor. In a state of nature it is an invariable law, that a man's acquisitions are in proportion to his labours. In a state of artificial society, it is a law as constant and as invariable, that those who labour most, enjoy the fewest things; and that those who labour not at all, have the greatest number of enjoyments. A constitution of things this, strange beyond expression. We scarce believe a thing when we are told it, which we actually see before our eyes every day without being the least surprised. I suppose that there are in Great Britain upwards of an hundred thousand people employed in lead, tin, iron, copper, and coal mines; these unhappy wretches scarce ever see the light of the sun; they are buried in the bowels of the earth; there they work at a severe and dismal task, without the least prospect of being delivered from it; they subsist on the coarsest and worst sort of fare; they have their health miserably impaired, and their lives cut short, by being perpetually confined in the close vapour of these malignant minerals. An hundred thousand more, at least, are tortured without remission by the suffocating smoke, intense fires, and constant drudgery necessary in refining and managing the products of those mines. If any man informed us that two hundred thousand innocent persons were condemned to so intolerable slavery, how should we pity the unhappy sufferers, and how great would be our just indignation against those who inflicted so cruel and ignominious a punishment? This is an instance—I could not wish a stronger, of the numberless things which we pass by in their common dress, yet which shock us when they are nakedly

represented. But this number, considerable as it is, and the slavery, with all its baseness and horror, which we have at home, is nothing to what the rest of the world affords of the same nature. Millions daily bathed in the poisonous damps and destructive effluvia of lead, silver, copper, and arsenic; to say nothing of those other employments, those stations of wretchedness and contempt in which civil society has placed the numerous *enfans perdus* of her army. Would any rational man submit to one of the most tolerable of the drudgeries, for all the artificial enjoyments which policy has made to result from them? By no means. And yet need I suggest, that those who find the means, and those who arrive at the end, are not at all the same persons. On considering the strange and unaccountable fancies and contrivances of artificial reason, I have somewhere called this earth the Bedlam of our system. Looking now upon the effects of some of those fancies, may we not with equal reason call it likewise the Newgate and the Bridewell of the Universe? Indeed, *the blindness of one part* of mankind co-operating with *the frenzy and villany of the other*, has been the real builder of this respectable fabric of political society. And as the blindness of mankind has caused their slavery, in return, their state of slavery is made a pretence for continuing them in a state of blindness; for the politician will tell you gravely, that their life of servitude disqualifies the greater part of the race of man for the search of truth, and supplies them with no other than mean and insufficient ideas. This is but too true; and this is one of the reasons for which I blame such institutions. In a misery of this sort, admitting some few lenities, and those too but a few, nine parts in ten of the whole race of mankind drudge through life.—*(Vindication of Natural Society.)*

139. Another effect of the system we are deprecating, is, to augment the numbers of the disaffected;—or if this does not happen, it is because *men are too ignorant to be aware that they ought to be disaffected.* It is, says Mr. M'Culloch, in fact, quite visionary to suppose, that security and tranquillity should ever exist in any considerable degree, in countries where wages are very much depressed, and the mass of the people sunk in poverty and destitution. Those who have no property of their own to protect, and no prospect of acquiring any, will never entertain any real respect for that of others; nor can any country be so ripe for revolution, as that where the mass of the people may hope to gain something, at the same time that they feel they can lose nothing, by subverting the existing institutions. Nothing, therefore, can be so signally disastrous as a permanent depression in the rate of wages. It is destructive alike of the industry of the people, and of that security which is the most indispensable requisite to the advancement of society.—(*Princip. Pol. Econ.*) The tranquillity of kingdoms, says the Duke of Ot-

ranto, does not depend upon the manner in which persons of rank think and act, nor upon the spirit that governs them. Their ambition has no influence, if it be not united to some popular interest. Their intrigues and their conspiracies are impotent in their consequences, if not supported by the active interference of the multitude. If the monarch has the attachment and the force of the people on his side, he has nothing to fear from opposition in public debates, nor from secret faction. Public quiet depends on the moral direction of the labouring classes, who compose the body of the people, and constitute the base of the social edifice. It is these, therefore, that should be the principal objects of the care and vigilance of a good police.—(*Letter to the Duke of Wellington, Jan.* 1*st*, 1816.)

140. When the great body of the people is disaffected, the chiefs of the oppressors do not escape. The Grand Signior himself, says Mr. R. Wilson, who can order the head of his vizier to be cut off with as little ceremony as he can slice an apple, dares not omit going in state to the mosque every Friday; and trembles even for his own head, should the old women and rabble of Constantinople look coldly on him; and his Sublime Highness is doubtless perfectly aware, that the signal for discontent once given, there is very little to afford him protection. Charles I. and Mary [of England] were both beheaded.—Elizabeth died of a broken heart.—Charles V. died a hermit.—Louis, his sister, and queen, were guillotined.—Cromwell fell a prey to anxiety.—Gustavus was deposed.—Murat was shot.—Napoleon died on a rock.—And Charles X. of France has been obliged to fly from France, in consequence of a revolution occasioned by his own folly.—(*W. R. Wilson's Travels.*) The power of the Russian czars, says the biographer of Catherine, though absolute and uncontrollable in its exercise, is extremely weak in its foundation. There is not, perhaps, in Europe, a government which depends so much on the good-will and affection of those that are governed, and which requires a greater degree of vigilance and a steadier hand. The regular succession, which has been so often broken, and the great change of manners, which in less than a century has been introduced, have left in Russia a weakness amidst all the appearance of strength, and a greater facility to sudden and dangerous revolutions.—(*Life of Catherine II.*)

141. Under any unrighteous constitution, besides the actual spoliation inflicted on some, and the danger of violence to the possessions of every one, on the part of the government; a nation is liable to civil wars, from the people being so besotted as to divide themselves into parties about the miscalled rights of wretches that want to misrule a country. It requires but a very superficial acquaintance with history, to be sensible of the miseries brought on nations by the disputes as to whom the

right of making and executing the laws belong. A nation is also liable to revolutions from the oppressed being desirous of totally superseding the misrule of their unlawful governors. And none can calculate, when a country is so immoral as to have an unrighteous government, that it will not be subjugated by foreign powers. The actual occurrence of this would sometimes be a less evil to a nation than being oppressed by its native governors.

142. Persia, according to Bell, furnishes an example. Persia, says he, is an absolute monarchy in the strictest sense of that term, and what enhances the evil still more, is the strange and absurd political dogma peculiar to her, and which has prevailed there from the remotest period of her history; that a royal edict can admit of no repeal, and that the word of the king, however hastily uttered, and however contrary to common sense or justice, or humanity, is irrevocable even by the king himself. The evil of this practice is well illustrated in the history of Darius and his favourite, Daniel, and in that of Ahasuerus and his Jewish queen Esther. In such an absolute despotism, the sovereign is every thing and the people nothing. He does what he pleases without check or control. The only right which has been retained by the people is that of insurrection, which has been more frequently exercised in Persia than in any other abode of despotism. The very excess of absolute power prevents the permanence of a dynasty, for unless the successors of the founders of one can wield the sword with ability equal to that of him who crushed the preceding dynasty, they cannot retain the royal power for any length of time. In fact, the history of Persia, especially that of modern times, is just an incessant round of valour, greatness, discord, degeneracy, and decay. A young Persian met Morier on the road from Cauzeroon to Sheerauz, and entering into conversation, lamented the miseries of the peasantry of his district, who were oppressed beyond the power of endurance. "Do you pay your taxes yearly," said Morier? "Yearly!" said he, "why we pay them monthly, and frequently twice a month" "Upon what are the taxes levied?" "Upon every thing we possess, and when they can find nothing else to tax, they tax our very children. Would to Heaven that you Europeans would come and take this country from us, and then I would be your servant." This language conveyed more of the feeling of oppression than whole volumes. Persia may now be considered as at the feet of Russia, another war or two would terminate the reign of the present dynasty, and render Persia a province of the Russian empire, already by far too extensive. It is clear, that at the death of the present imbecile and avaricious despot, there will be another scramble for the throne among his numerous sons and the native chieftains; and this miserable country again, as

usual, be convulsed with civil war. To the miserable inhabitants of Persia, the Russian government would be a comparative blessing, as it would prevent a constant recurrence of those internal revolutions infinitely worse than foreign warfare, which have desolated this country, and demoralized its population for upwards of a century.—(*Bell's Geography, Glasgow*, 1831.)

143. The following are examples of the total subjugation of nations from their being unlawfully ruled. The Britons, says Tacitus, were formerly governed by a race of kings; at present they are divided into factions under various chieftains; and this disunion, which prevents their acting in concert for a public interest, is a circumstance highly favourable to the Roman arms against a warlike people, independent, fierce, and obstinate. A confederation of two or more states to repel the common danger is seldom known: they fight in parties, and the nation is subdued.—(*Life of Agricola.*) Some Indians, says Dr. Robertson, having approached the camp of Cortes in a mysterious manner, were introduced into his presence. He found that they were sent with a proffer of friendship from the cazique of Zempoalla, a considerable town at no great distance; and from their answers to a variety of questions which he put to them, he gathered that their master, though subject to the Mexican empire, was impatient of the yoke; and filled with such dread and hatred of Montezuma, that nothing could be more acceptable to him than any prospect of deliverance from the oppression under which he groaned. On hearing this, a ray of light and hope broke in upon the mind of Cortes. He saw that the great empire which he intended to attack, was neither perfectly united, nor its sovereign universally beloved. He concluded that the causes of disaffection could not be confined to one province, but that in other corners there must be malecontents, so weary of subjection, or so desirous of change, as to be ready to follow the standard of any protector. Full of those ideas, he began to form a scheme, that time and more perfect information concerning the state of the country enabled him to mature.—(*Hist. Amer.*) (1—38.)

144. Connected with our subject, it is worth while remarking the conduct of men, in regard to the native or foreign usurpers of their supposed or real rights. When the French armies, by the command of Napoleon Buonaparte, invaded Spain; in resisting them, more than 30,000 men, the flower of the Spanish armies, were buried beneath the ruins of a single town,—Saragossa; besides 600 women and children, who fell in that memorable defence. A similar feeling seems to have pervaded the Russians. It is, says a recent writer, an admitted fact, that when the French, in order to induce their refractory prisoners to labour in their service at the burning of Moscow, branded some of them in the hand with the letter N, as a sign

that they were the serfs of Napoleon, one peasant laid his hand upon a block of wood, and struck it off with the axe which he held in the other.—(*Scott.*) On the other hand, the French not only very quietly sat down under the domestic usurpation of Buonaparte, but actually, as we have remarked, allowed him to immolate, in the Russian campaign alone, 250,000 men, and, besides these, nearly 200,000 were taken prisoners. Thus, we find, as to two countries, divided, we believe, by a little stream only; the men on one side the stream sacrificed their lives by tens of thousands, to preserve themselves from the domination of a man; whilst on the other side of the stream, men sacrificed themselves by hundreds of thousands, to perpetuate such domination over themselves; and this, because the usurper was a citizen of the country situated on one side the stream, whilst he was not a citizen of that situated on the other side. We also find a certain nameless country, when it had happily got rid of a family that had misruled it on the hereditary system for centuries, by such family becoming extinct; sending for a foreign branch of the family, to perpetuate the wretched system under which it had so long groaned,—which system it continues to this hour. Thus much, then, for the consistency of mankind.

145. All the wars which have arisen between nations since the creation, have obviously been caused by the ignorance of rulers as to the rights of nations, or a determination not to respect those rights, or both; and primarily, therefore, by the governed suffering themselves to be unrighteously ruled.

146. And not the least appalling part of the sad story of guilt the conduct of oppressors developes, is, that they perpetuate the miserable ignorance, and other demoralization, of those they misrule. This has been their conduct in countries and ages the most remote, and whether national constitutions have made the closest approximation to despotism or democracy. The latter part of these remarks is exemplified at the present day in Russia and North America. The democratic North American is not surpassed by the despotic Russian. *Oppression is oppression, under whatever constitution it may exist!* A pure democracy,—a democracy in accordance with the law of nature and the law of revelation, is therefore, the only real security for the rights of men. Nothing can be more easy, than for the government of any nation to place within the reach of every one of the governed, whether the young or adults, without a single exception, all the necessary means of complete instruction; all that can be done for persons but what each must do for himself or herself, i.e. apply the powers of his or her own mind. A calculation has been made, that in Scotland, the total expense of education does not amount to one-half the expense of a frigate,—the whole expense of univer-

sities, one-half,—and that of clergymen, not more than the expense of two ships of the line. We suppose that, by this, is intended the annual expense. But the whole history of mankind, as far as we are acquainted with it, affords no instance of a government doing all that it might to enlighten and otherwise improve the moral condition of the governed.

147. How many nations are there, says Dr. Brown, on the earth, in which nothing is so much feared by those who have the miserable charge of the general servitude, as that man should become a little nobler than it is possible for him to be, when he has to bow his head at the feet of the oppressor; and in which the diffusion of knowledge is dreaded, as the diffusion of that which the slave cannot feel long, and continue to be a slave. To withhold for purposes of selfish gain, the means by which the moral condition of a state might be ameliorated, is to be guilty of an injury to virtue, compared to the atrocity of which, the guilt of seducing to vice a single individual, is as insignificant as would be the crime of a single assassination, compared with the butchery of millions in the massacre of a whole nation; of which none were to survive but the murderers themselves, and those by whom the murder was sanctioned and applauded. To be free,—to have the mind of a freeman,—is not to consider liberty as a privilege which a few only are to enjoy, and which, like some narrow and limited good, would become less by distribution; it is to wish, and to wish ardently, that all partook the blessing. What should we think of any one, who enjoying the pleasure of vision, and the inestimable instruction which that delightful sense has yielded to him, and continues every moment to yield; could hear, without pity, of a whole nation of the blind?—(*Lectures* 85 *and* 68.)

148. The great majority of mankind necessarily belong to the productive class. The state of pauperism and slavery, to which the far greater part of this class is reduced in most nations, has the most powerful tendency to prevent the right application of their mental powers. Where, by the constitution of a country, men act as freemen in appointing their legislative and executive; it can scarcely fail to teach them, at least to a certain extent, how much depends on rightly associating; though, whilst deprived of the political right, they, of course, cannot practically acquire such a lesson. Thus, they come into the world, continue in it, and die miserably debased, from their intellectual and moral faculties never having had that exercise which is indispensable to their proper development (iii. 13). According to the last returns under the Population Act, says Mr. Owen, the poor and working classes of Great Britain and Ireland have been found to exceed 12,000,000 of persons, or nearly three-fourths of the population of the British Isles. The characters of these persons are now per-

mitted to be very generally formed, without proper guidance or direction, and, in many cases, under circumstances which directly impel them to a course of extreme vice and misery, thus rendering them the worst and most dangerous subjects in the empire.—(*New View of Society*)—(v. 261.) Thus much for the state of the people at home; let us now hear something of those in one of our foreign possessions. A writer on the state of the Hindoos says, not only are the people in general destitute of every just idea of God, but they can scarcely be said to be fully impressed with the importance of a single principle of morality. They have no just idea of the objects of nature so constantly before them;—of the sun, moon, and stars;—of the clouds, the winds, the rains;—of the earth on which they dwell;—of the groves, trees, and plants, which surround them;—of the domestic animals which they nourish; nor, in a word, of the flowing stream, the buzzing insect, or of the plant which creeps over their lowly shed. To them, the sun retires behind a mountain; the rain from Heaven is given by a god whom they are in the habit of despising and vilifying; the rainbow is the bow of Rama; the river is a deity; the birds, the beasts, and even the reptiles around them, are animated by the souls of their deceased relatives. Falsehood and uncleanness are nothing; perjury a trifle; and a failure in fidelity and probity often a subject of praise; while ablution in the waters of a river is deemed a due atonement for almost every breach of morality. The wretched schools, which they have in their towns and villages are so few, that on the average, scarcely one man in a hundred will be found who can read a common letter. Printed books they have none, unless a copy of some book of the scriptures should have found its way among them; and as for manuscripts they have scarcely one in prose, but if they possessed a multitude, their ignorance of their own language would render the perusal of an inaccurate and ill-written manuscript too formidable a task to be too often attempted.—(*As quoted in Bell's Geography, Glasgow*, 1831.)

149. Slavery, say the Messrs. Chambers, as it exists in South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, &c., presents features of atrocity more dreadful than could be pointed out in any part of the earth. The brutality of the Dutch, and cruelty of the Spaniards, seem to have been nothing to the callous overbearing tyranny of the whites in the Southern part of the Union. Laws of the utmost severity are framed, to prevent slaves receiving instruction in any possible way. Any one who teaches, or permits a slave to be taught, to read or write, is liable to imprisonment for twelve months; and any one who in public or private, in the pulpit, on the stage, or any where else, shall do or say anything to excite discontent among the slaves, or advert to their unhappy condition; is liable to heavy fines or imprison-

ment for years. The consequence is, the newspapers in these states never dare utter a syllable, touching the slaves or the usage they receive. The liberty of the press and the liberty of speech in these horrid countries are totally unknown. It is only by means of the visits of intelligent travellers, that the world has been made aware of the character of slavery in the Southern States of America, and it is remarkable that all concur in one unvarying account of its abominations.—(*Edin. Journ. No.* 115.) We must hope, the writer of the preceding, in his virtuous indignation against slavery, has too highly coloured the picture. But if the original has only a remote resemblance, it is a very sad account of men professing to live in a free country.

150. Under the old Spanish government in South America, upon the petition, says Bell, of the city of Merida de Maracaybo, in Venezuela, to found an university; the opinion of the fiscal was, that "the petition was to be refused, because it was unsuitable to promote learning in Spanish America, where the inhabitants appeared destined by nature to work in the mines." After a pretended solemn deliberation of the Consulada, or board of trade in Mexico, the members informed the Cortes that "the Indians were a race of monkeys filled with vice and ignorance, automatons unworthy of representing or being represented."—(*Bell's Geography, Glasgow,* 1832.)

151. With regard to the Austrians, the police of Vienna, remarks a contemporary writer, has long been celebrated as one of the most perfect in existence. But its functions are very different from those assigned to the body which bears the same name in our own metropolis. They are far more extensive, for they comprise not only the ordinary duties of repressing crime and watching over the public health and convenience; but also others of a political kind, such as taking care that no one presumes to discuss too freely affairs of state, or to canvass the measures of the government in a spirit at all opposed to the wishes of it. Foreigners, and especially those who come from countries where liberal opinions are in any degree prevalent, are therefore kept under a vigilant inspection; and any offensive conduct on their part is instantly followed by an order to quit the city. Our countrymen, from the licence of speech which they enjoy in England, are especially apt to indulge in the imprudence of expressing themselves on what they see and hear, in a manner not at all pleasant to the ruling authorities; and thus they frequently are compelled to pay the penalty which rightly attaches to so unwise an act. But there is one abominable part of this police system, and that the one contributing most to its efficiency, which all honourable minds must execrate. We mean the employment of spies, whose scope of office is not confined to coffee-houses and other places of public resort, but extends even to the retirement of domestic life.

The Viennese themselves assert that not only men, but women too, and men and women of rank, are in the pay of the secret police. These informers are quick to denounce, and the consequences of a denunciation to a native, are, says Mr. Russell, secret arrest, secret imprisonment, and an unknown punishment. Many are the stories told in illustration of the working of this system, and of the mysterious power which it gives the police.—(*Saturday Magazine, No.* 112.) De Lolme furnishes the following anecdote:—Being, says he, in the year 1768, at Bergamo, the first town of the Venetian state, as you come into it from the state of Milan, about a hundred and twenty miles distant from Venice; I took a walk in the evening in the neighbourhood of the town, and wanting to know the names of several places which I saw at a distance, I stopped a young countryman. He warned me, when I was at Venice, not to speak of the prince; an appellation assumed by the Venetian government, in order, as I suppose, to convey to the people a greater idea of their union among themselves. As I wanted to hear him talk further on the subject, I pretended to be entirely ignorant in that respect, and asked for what reason I must not speak of the prince. But he, after the manner of the common people in Italy, who when strongly affected by any thing, rather choose to express themselves by some vehement gesture than by words; ran the edge of his hand with great quickness along his neck, meaning thereby to express, that being strangled or having one's throat cut, was the instant consequence of taking such a liberty.—(*Constitution of England.*)

152. As to the Russians,—In conversation with a nobleman at Moscow, says Mr. Wilson, he observed that it was only through the medium of the writings of British travellers, who could speak their sentiments unreservedly, that Russians could obtain a knowledge of their own land, and what was going on in it,—and that English works on this subject were most eagerly sought after, but can only be imported clandestinely. (*Travels in Russia.*) If this is so with the noble part of the Russians, what must be the state of those whom the world calls ignoble?

153. Under the Dutch government at the Cape of Good Hope, it was considered, says Phillip, as a severe crime to mention the subject of religion to a native. They were not admitted within the walls of the churches. By a notice stuck above the doors of one,—"Hottentots and dogs were forbidden to enter!"—(*Bell's Geography, Glasgow,* 1831.)

154. Chinese oppressors, in one respect, go beyond their brethren in other nations, in perpetuating the ignorance, and other immorality, of the oppressed. In the extensive empire of China, though there are many verbal languages, the written language adopted by the government and literary men, is a

distinct one. This will be illustrated by supposing that each of our English counties had a provincial dialect, little understood beyond the border of such county; and that all the proceedings of the government, and literary works of the nation, were composed in Greek. In such a case, it is obvious that only so many of the people as know Greek, would attain information, beyond what they gleaned among the people of their own county, which would necessarily be very confined. This mode of keeping men in ignorance, a celebrated geographer calls —"the great secret of Chinese policy." This institution, says he, not singular in the end at which it aims, but altogether unique in its method of proceeding, perpetuates that eternal infantine imbecility of intellect, by which the Chinese are degraded. The spoken language, in the first place, is left in a deficient state. The ideas of the people receive no enlargement, because the higher classes cannot express their thoughts, except in a language totally distinct, and understood only by the select few.—(*Malte Brun.*) We thus see that the North Americans, South Americans, Austrians, Russians, Dutch, and Chinese, all pursue the same system; as do all other oppressors of all nations and ages in some form or other.

155. Heaven, it has been said, distinguishes men by peculiar qualities. (3—11.) But that the mental powers necessary to discern the nature and functions of government, must be in a less or greater degree common to *all;* is obvious from considering, that every man, every moment of his life, is called on to distinguish between right or wrong: i. e., whether he is obeying or infringing the divine law. What, then, is requisite for all, Heaven grants to all,—if they make a right use of their faculties in its attainment. Blessed with divine assistance and rightly associating with their fellows, the gifts of all would germinate, and bring forth abundantly. As any man may, but from his own wickedness, become a denizen of heaven hereafter,—surely he must be competent to perform the duties of a citizen in the nation to which he belongs on earth. And the ability to perform one's duty aright in any situation, unquestionably depends much less on human learning than some may suppose;—'for' the 'wisdom of this world is foolishness with God.' It is, therefore, one of the great truths 'written with the finger of God,' for the instruction of all who make a right use of their capacities, that the ignorance or other immorality of the excluded can never be grounds for their exclusion from the political right. If ignorance or other immorality is to be the ground for men's being oppressed, their emancipation will never take place.

156. *The ignorance and other demoralization of the oppressed is the only tenure by which oppressors misrule.*

157. The degraded state of the former, is that alone which

prevents their politically associating in a sufficiently powerful manner, utterly to supersede such misrule; of exercising their power to regain the rights assigned to them by the Most High.

158. Our first concern, Dr. Price says, as lovers of our country, must be to enlighten it. Why are the nations of the world so patient under despotism? Why do they crouch to tyrants and submit to be treated as if they were a herd of cattle? Is it not because they are kept in darkness and want knowledge? Enlighten them, and you will elevate them. *Show them they are men, and they will act like men.* Give them just ideas of civil government, and let them know that it is an expedient for gaining protection against injury, and defending their rights; and it will be impossible for them to submit to governments, which, like most of those in the world, are usurpations of the rights of men, and little better than contrivances for enabling the *few* to oppress the *many*. You cannot be too attentive to this observation. The improvement of the world depends on the attention to it, nor will mankind be ever so virtuous and happy as they are capable of being, till the attention to it becomes universal and efficacious. In Turkey, millions of human beings adore a silly mortal, and are ready to throw themselves at his feet, and submit their lives to his discretion. In Russia the common people are only a stock on the lands of grandees, or appendages to their estates, which, like the fixtures in a house, are bought and sold with the estates. In Spain, in Germany, and under most of the governments of the world, mankind are in a similar state of humiliation. Who that has a just sense of the dignity of his nature can avoid execrating such a debasement of it.

159. *Oppressors of the world know that light is hostile to them, and therefore they labour to keep men in the dark.*

160. With this intention they have appointed licensers of the press, and in Popish countries prohibited the reading of the Bible. Remove the darkness in which they envelope the world, and their usurpations will be exposed: their power will be subverted, and the world emancipated!—(*Discourse on the Love of our Country*, 1789.) To oppressors, therefore, the words of our Lord will too truly apply: 'This is the condemnation, that light is come into the world, and men' love 'darkness rather than light, because their deeds' are 'evil. For every one that doeth evil hateth the light, neither cometh to the light, lest his deeds should be reproved. But he that doeth truth, cometh to the light, that his deeds may be made manifest that they are wrought in God.'

161. Excluding men from their share of the political right, so far from remedying an evil, is precisely that which superinduces it: i. e. supposing men to be enlightened and otherwise moral, a compendious means to make them degenerate, is to

bring them under the iron rule of oppression. And if their demoralization is not effected in one generation, it will scarcely fail of being so in that or those which follow. On the contrary, supposing men of any particular country to be ignorant, and otherwise immoral, the way to get them to emancipate themselves, is to evince to them the many and great blessings attendant on the universal diffusion of the knowledge of God, and a practice comformable thereto,—in the establishment of a righteous constitution and laws; and the conduct of men, as to those matters, of which human laws cannot take cognizance, being also righteous. Precisely as these glorious objects are effected, the temporal and eternal well-being of men are augmented, so true it is, that "THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE IS THE SUPREME LAW." (v. 36.)

162. A constitution established and maintained in a nation in accordance with the divine will, may of course deprive a citizen of some or all his temporal rights, even to the infliction of the punishment of death, if to be so dealt with he deserves. But either in the establishment or maintenance of a constitution, no person or persons, in any country or age, has or have the right to abstract from any one or more, the political right, on the ground either that they are ignorant or wicked, with two exceptions only, which we shall in its proper place notice. Those charged with ignorance or wickedness may retort the charge upon their accusers, and no person or persons having the right to determine the dispute, it may be interminable; and thus a nation be altogether without a government. And if this may be affirmed of one country, it may of another, and consequently of all others, and in all ages;—the absurdity of which is obvious. Assuredly, therefore, no men, in any country or age, can have the smallest conceivable right to say to others,—We thank God, that we are not as other men are;—you are too ignorant,—or, you are otherwise too immoral, to be able rightly to perform the duty of legislating, or determining who are competent to do so;—therefore, you must be excluded from all share of the political right. Where are the men in any country or age, who will dare to constitute themselves, or appoint others, to be judges in such a matter? Who will be bold enough to declare the exact quantity and kind of knowledge, or standard of morality, at which an elector must arrive, to enable him to perform his office aright?

163. To evince the immorality of men in abstracting the political right; let it be imagined that a nation was as populous as China; that one man only in the whole nation had, during his life, his share of the political right taken from him; and, in consequence of this, all the mischief he ever sustained was the undue abstraction of a farthing. What, then, must have been the quantity of human guilt accumulated in the abstraction

of this farthing? A generation of the nation consisting of some hundred millions, must have spent their whole lives in a state of unceasing rebellion to Heaven, seeing it was the duty of every one of such generation, to have done all that lay in him that the government should be lawful. (i.—56.)

164. The entire constitution and course of things, should according to the divine will, have an unvarying tendency to promote *unspotted and universal holiness, without a single exception of the whole human race.* What is predicted of the future state of the chosen people of God—'Thy people also shall be all righteous,' (iii. 3—36) would unquestionably apply to all nations throughout all their ages; if the lives of men conformed to the Lord's prayer,—'Thy will be done in earth as it is in heaven.' In such a state of things the wisdom of men would necessarily be equally prevalent as their righteousness,—and all pretence to a few being appointed to govern on account of their superior knowledge, be at an end.

165. The whole and unvarying operation of unlawful governments, as they operate politically, and thence commercially, is, however, necessarily to uphold the system of sacrificing the *many* to the *few;*—but what more gross attack can be made on the divine power, wisdom, and goodness, than to imagine that their system is sanctioned by Heaven:—namely, that if at any time and place, a given number of persons exist,—the many are adapted for little else than to make a less or greater approximation to the nature of the brutes,—and a few only are to possess and exercise the attributes of men!! Assuredly, it would have been much more consistent with the divine power, that the few had been great and happy *of themselves;* without the necessity of the littleness and misery of the many, being parts of the same whole. How can it be supposed, that Heaven designs of any given number of any country or age—for example, Dutch, or Hindoos, or Spaniards, or Turks; that ninety parts are to approximate to the state of the brutes, and the hundredth only to live like men! If this is not blasphemy it is very much like it. But not only do unlawful governments so operate as to bring about such a state of things, but the generality of men acquiesce in it as though it was perfectly lawful.

166. A few, wiser, better, more prosperous, and more happy than the many, can never exist in any country or age; because the unceasing operation of all good men, must be to promote that universal holiness to which allusion has just been made. A few wiser and better may exist among many demoralized. But when the few endeavour, by making the immorality of the many subservient to their exclusive political or commercial prosperity, they cease to be better and happier. If they are wiser, it is that kind of wisdom mentioned by Paul,—simple concerning that which is good, and wise as to

that which is evil. The miserable state to which the many are actually reduced, is abundantly offensive to the sight;—but men are insensible that the few have been the prime instruments of superinducing such a state of things. And a notion seems to have prevailed in all countries and ages, that *the many must be to a less or greater degree debased and a few only superior!*

167. The notion of a few oppressors being wiser than the oppressed, is however all ideal. The short and full answer to this, is a reference to the codes of different European nations, as those of Austria, Russia, Prussia, Spain, Portugal, &c., comparing them with the divine law. Assuredly, each of these codes evinces that its framers were utterly unfit to make such enactments as conduce to a nation's well-being. Can it be supposed, that rulers who attain power on the ruins only of all righteous law, are wiser men than those they misrule? Did such a state of things exist, Heaven would make those that are the most wicked,—the most wise; for the great object of lessening the numbers of mankind, and demoralizing those that do arise in the world! The usual character of the immorality of the many, from the ignorance, poverty, and filth, with which they are ordinarily enveloped, is more obvious to the material eye; but the usual character of the immorality of the few is of a far deeper and more malignant character, to the mental eye of him who rightly discerns. This may be affirmed as to all nations and ages, human nature being unchanging. (iii. 23.) The doctrine we are reprobating is a very convenient one for oppressors to preach. They present the strange anomaly of men infringing the prerogative of God, in determining what the rights of men are;—and simultaneously insisting, that the generality of their countrymen are incompetent rightly to comprehend what are the real nature and functions of government. It seems difficult to determine whether oppressors most outrageously insult their fellows or Heaven.

168. However much at variance their deeds may be with the divine will, the adorable name of the Most High is ever brought forward as sanctioning all their unspeakable iniquities. In a catechism promulgated by Napoleon Buonaparte, for the instruction of the young on the duties of religion, we find the following questions and answers:—Q. What are their duties to Napoleon I? A. Christians owe to the princes who govern them, and we owe in particular to our emperor Napoleon I., love, respect, obedience, fidelity, military service, and the contributions required for the preservation and defence of the emperor and his throne. Q. Why are we bound to fulfil all these duties towards our emperor? A. In the first place, because God, who creates empires and dispenses them according to his will, has, by endowing our emperor with a profusion of gifts, as well in peace as in war, appointed him our sovereign, and made

him the minister of his power and his image upon earth. To honour and serve our emperor, is therefore, the same thing as to honour and serve God himself. Q. What are we to think respecting those who violate their duty towards our emperor? A. According to the Apostle Paul, they would resist the ordinance of God himself, and render themselves worthy of eternal damnation. Q. Are the duties by which we are bound to our emperor equally binding towards his legitimate successors? A. Yes, undoubtedly. For we read in sacred scripture, that God, the Lord of heaven and earth, by a disposition of his supreme will, gives empire not only to a person in particular but also to his family.—(*Bell's Geography, Glasgow*, 1831.)

169. We all know that Buonaparte attained the chief magistracy of France by usurpation; but, instead of this, let it be supposed it was done by foreign invasion, that he lived a thousand years ago, and that his descendants preserved the throne in their hands, and had the following form of prayer adopted until our times.—"Almighty and everlasting God, we are taught by thy holy word, that the hearts of kings are in thy rule and governance, and that thou dost dispose and turn them as it seemeth best to thy godly wisdom. We humbly beseech thee so to dispose and govern the heart of" William the Fourth, "thy servant, our" emperor "and governor; that in all his thoughts, words, and works, he may ever seek thy honour and glory; and study to preserve thy people committed to his charge, in wealth, peace, and godliness. Grant this, O merciful Father, for thy dear Son's sake, Jesus Christ our Lord. Amen." In the catechism it is affirmed of Napoleon the First, by the nation, that God "appointed him our sovereign." In the prayer, the Divine Being is implored with regard to William the Fourth, "preserve thy people committed to his charge;"—though, as to one emperor, God never did appoint him the sovereign; nor, as to the other, the Divine Being never committed the people he misruled, to his charge; each attaining the chief magistracy by contravening the divine law, and thus setting the Most High at defiance. Every one not utterly lost to all good feeling, must see the awful blasphemy of the catechism, though many may probably be insensible, that the adoption of the prayer by the French nation, under the circumstances we have supposed, would be equally blasphemous. We shall in its proper place evince, that nothing in the writings of Paul, or any other sacred writer, can be adduced in support of unlawful governments.

170. As the oppressing system has prevailed in some shape or other through the immorality of mankind from the earliest ages, and in the most powerful nations; can it be doubted, that if it was at all defensible, every syllable that could be urged in its behalf would have been placed before mankind in

the most powerful light? In opposition, however, to this, in all the works of the learned, in all nations, and of all ages, *there is not a single word that truly supports it.* There is, undoubtedly, abundance of assertion, that it is in accordance with the divine will. Could all the learned together, in all nations and ages, have produced *a single argument;*—all the thrones and all the pulpits of the churches of all nations would have reiterated it, until mankind was tired of hearing.

171. Unlawful rulers not only commit every possible unrighteousness, and then blaspheme the ever adorable name of the Lord God Almighty; in affirming that the constitution of things by which they hold their power, and the general course of their administration, is in accordance with his most holy will:—but, in addition, they insult both their fellows and the Most High, in declaring that any opposition shewn to their misrule is *rebellion.* Assuredly, no term can be more fitting; but the rebellion is not against them, but *against Heaven;* in the oppressed permitting the rise and maintenance of the unlawful constitution. Shaking off a power, says Locke, which force and not right has set over any one, though it hath the name of rebellion, yet is no offence before God; but is that which he allows and countenances, though even promises and covenants, when obtained by force, have intervened.—(*On Govt.*)

172. If a stronger man than the reader robs him on the high road, he does it because he has the power, but it is evident he cannot have the right. In every government the legislative and executive must be armed with power, or their ruling would be at an end. When the government is appointed conformably with the divine law, that is, *in a pure democracy, the rulers have both the power and the right.* When it is not so appointed, the rulers have *power, but not the right,* to make and execute the laws. The *right* to make and execute the laws—i. e., appoint those who shall perform these offices, we have seen, *is invested in a whole nation by God,* without the liberty of alienation. The *power,* by which governments not appointed by whole nations, misrule, *is acquired from the unlawful political association* to which they belong.

173. All power and authority must be inherent or derived. The power and authority which is derived, must emanate from some being or beings in whom it was originally inherent. To quote again the words of Paul,—'there is no power but of God!' All human power, then, being derived from him, can be exercised only according to his most holy will. The same rule or law—i. e., 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself,' being binding on every individual of the whole human race, as to the exercise of this power; none in any nation or age can arrogate to themselves any exclusive authority over their fellows. For this to have been

lawful, they must have had *an exclusive appointment from Heaven;* one separate and distinct from the universal law. What greater authority, for example, in accordance with any righteous law, i. e. that which conforms to the divine law, has the unlawful French government over any of the people of France, than it has over any of the people of Spain, or China, or England?

174. An unlawful government cannot be established without the application of *force. All force is unlawful until a wrong has been committed.* Where this is not the case, force can only be applied on the ruins of all righteous law. It is used not for the purpose of administering righteous laws according to the will of God, but unrighteous laws according to the will of those by whom it is applied. The great electoral assembly is the only source of right. Assuredly, no legal position will bear a more rigorous examination, than that no obligation or rights can arise between any parties, as to any relation of life, without a voluntary compact, whenever one can be made. (i. 39, 40.) In all states and conditions, says Locke, the true remedy of force without authority, is to oppose force to it. The use of force without authority, always *puts him that uses it into a state of war* as the aggressor; and renders him liable to be treated accordingly.—*(On Govt.)*

175. To possess power is the necessary constitution of our nature; to exercise that power in strict accordance with the will of Heaven has never been, or now is, the lot of any human being. 'All have sinned and come short of the glory of God.' His moral government is, therefore, thus carried on. He allows men to contravene his laws, and as to individuals and associations, when he sees fit, thus decrees;—'Hitherto shalt thou come, but no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.' This will be apparent, by asking if God was extreme to mark every contravention of his will,—Who could stand before his indignation, and who could abide in the fierceness of his anger? Men, then, having power, and the permission to use it, may do so either lawfully or unlawfully; but whatever their election is, they must answer for it before the high tribunal of Heaven. And though, from the foundation of the world, the wrath of God has been revealed against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men,—if the reader wishes to see the will of the Most High set at nought in the most awfully flagitious manner, he has only to compare the constitutions of most ancient or modern nations with the divine law. At a very early age of mankind, we are told, that the earth 'was corrupt before God, and the earth was filled with violence. And God looked upon the earth, and behold it was corrupt, for all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth:'—a description, which will unhappily too truly apply to all its ages, down to and including the present.

176. Those who, in any nation or age, hold the legislative and executive offices under an unlawful constitution, may compel submission because they have power. But as their power is acquired from the unlawful political association to which they belong, they have no *right*. As wrong can never become right, so some can never acquire a right to do others a wrong.

177. *A nation without a lawful government, is always necessarily in a state of anarchy, from the nature of its constitution, and conduct of its administration.* The enactments of such a one, so far from being righteous laws, are truly of less value than blank paper. On this might be imprinted laws in accordance with the divine will. The statute books of all unlawful governments are filled with the unspeakable abominations of those, who, as we have elsewhere said, are the most eminent examples of a disregard to all righteous law in their whole nation! Such enactments are not only absolutely null and void to all intents and purposes whatever, as far as the object of righteous government is concerned; but the passing of each one is an act of high-treason to the government of God. 'Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?—Not one.'

178. As to the duration or form of a constitution, it matters not whether it is a thousand years old or only a day; nor whether it is so entirely despotic, as for one only nominally to engross the whole political right, as in Russia; or it so approaches a democracy, as for one only to be deprived of his share of such right. The sole lawful object of government is to prevent the abstraction of rights from any. If any are despoiled, the injury to them,—whether arising out of a constitution of things a thousand years, or only a day old;—or whether arising from a despotic, or nearly democratic form;—is precisely the same. *And the right of redress must necessarily be precisely the same.* The wrong, says Paine, which began a thousand years ago, is as much a wrong as if it began to-day; and the right which originates to-day, is as much a right, as if it had the sanction of a thousand years. Time, with respect to principles, is an eternal *now*. It has no operation upon them. It changes nothing of their nature and qualities. But what have we to do with a thousand years? Our life-time is but a short portion to that period. And if we find the wrong in existence, as soon as we begin to live, this is the point of time at which it begins to us; and our right to resist it is the same as if it had never existed before.—(*Princip. of Govt.*) The execrable Robespierre and his party, the first day they came into power, were, in the sight of Heaven, just as lawful a government over the French, as a hereditary executive, and a hereditary and elected legislative, emanating from a part of the people, of a thousand years' standing, would have been. That Robespierre was guilty of greater excesses than might have been committed by

a long-established government, in no degree affects the matter. The lawfulness or unlawfulness of a constitution is an abstract point of law, referring to all countries and all ages. The conduct of men, under any constitution, is particular and confined to one nation and age.

179. Number of men,—time,—or place,—have nothing whatever to do with right or wrong.

Truth,
Error,
Falshood,
Right,—and
Wrong,

are all unchangeable and eternal, (i. 26, and vi. 22.)—and so not liable to any accident or influence whatever. Some may, in any country or age, deny that others are entitled to the rights the Great Creator awards them, and follow up such denial by withholding the rights of their neighbours; but God will at his appointed time bring to judgment all audacious rebels to his authority: i. e., all workers of iniquity, of what nature or kind soever. 'For we know him that hath said,—Vengeance belongeth unto me, I will recompense, saith the Lord.—And again the Lord shall judge his people. It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God!'

180. *All that those, who in any country or any age, hold power under any unlawful constitution; (i. e., one not purely democratic,—whatever may be the form of the constitution, and for however many ages it may have subsisted,) can lawfully do; is each, as far as lies in him, by all lawful means, utterly to supersede such constitution.*

181. Where an unlawful constitution and code have been maintained for ages, and from this cause multitudes of the oppressed are in such a state of degradation, that a very sudden and great change might be productive of pernicious effects; oppressors may, perhaps, here hold their unlawfully acquired power, but for no longer time than is sufficient to obviate, to a certain extent only, such effects;—and for this purpose alone. Men thus situated, are most affectionately and most solemnly warned, if they hold their power, to do it for the sole purpose that has been mentioned; and not for a single hour with a view to their own private benefit. By them there must obviously be two entirely different modes of conduct pursued: the first when they are actively engaged in establishing or maintaining an unlawful constitution and code; the second, when they are engaged in superseding them. Whatever their acts may be, even as regards this, as they have no lawful authority whatever for making, assisting to make, or executing the laws;—all such acts are utterly and absolutely unlawful, and therefore null and void to all intents and purposes what-

ever, as far as the object of lawfully governing is concerned. Having, however, committed treason against the divine government, they have only one course to pursue, as far as lies in them, by all lawful means to obviate its effects.

182. As to redress from unlawful enactments. If a government is purely democratic, the obvious remedy is for the electors to require their representatives to repeal them; and if they do not, to supersede such representatives for those that will make lawful enactments. (i. 46.) If, under a democratic government, any righteous men suffer from bad laws, and have not sufficient influence to get them repealed,—all they can do, is to commit themselves to their heavenly Father, whose providential care will not fail to take suitable charge of them in this world, making, as we have said, their present sufferings conduce to their ultimate good. As to an unlawful constitution existing in any country or age, all that every man has to do, is all that lawfully lies in him, that it may be utterly superseded. (i. 56.)

183. Though the *right* to supersede rulers appointed under *any* constitution, is always inherent in the governed, (83,) it obviously is not at all times *expedient* to exercise this right; however any of the governed might be justified if they had the power. Hence we may perceive the difference between right and expediency. The question of expediency will hereafter be considered.

184. But it may be asked—if the enactments of unlawful governments are of no authority whatever, are the governed under no human laws? To this the reply is as follows. The sole purpose for which lawful government is maintained, is, we have seen, to prevent all abstraction of right. In other words, it is not the object even of righteous human laws, to make good men do their duty; they want no compulsory measures, but to prevent bad men from transgressing theirs. All men are bound to obey the divine law, both as to all those things which human laws, made in accordance with it, require; as well as to those things of which human laws do not take cognizance. (i. 56, to 58.) And no private understanding between parties to do anything, (even in accordance with the divine law,) of which human laws take cognizance; lawfully allows them at any time to dispense with the sanction of those laws, though the constitution under which they live is an unlawful one. The governments of Russia and France being utterly unlawful, and all their enactments having no lawful authority whatever; are no more binding on the Russians in the one case, or the French in the other, than they are on the Chinese or Americans,—notwithstanding which, it would be most immoral to contract a marriage, even in accordance with the divine law; either in Russia or France, without its being made valid by the laws of

those countries. Even righteous men may have to spend the whole term of their earthly career, under an unlawful constitution and code;—whatever exertions they may make to superinduce a lawful state of things. It may thence also be incumbent on men to do things, not in strict accordance with the divine law. Though the Russian and French governments have no right, as we have said, to do any thing but supersede themselves; if they will not do this, and a sufficient number of the French or Russians have not virtue enough to make them, all good Frenchmen and Russians should support their respective governments; but only because the iniquity of those around them, will not allow them more perfectly to obey the divine will. A good man will therefore allow himself to be taxed, because by so doing he only sustains an injury. But as these governments tolerate the engrossing the land,—a good man cannot avail himself of the licence to appropriate to himself an undue share; neither can he enrich himself by oppressing or competing. To sustain an injury from an unlawful government, and to inflict injury on others, because it tolerates such unrighteonsness, are obviously widely different.

185. How anxious oppressors are to retain that power to which they have attained, on the ruins only of all righteous law, may be seen from what follows:—At Riga, says Mr. Wilson, there are many clubs or societies, where, on being introduced, a stranger may dine or sup, at an abundantly furnished table, for a very trifling expense. These are not, however, designated *clubs*, as such a title is most strictly prohibited by an ukase, for the very sound of the term creates alarm and suspicion in the government.—(*Travels in Russia.*) A government, having the command of the power of one of the mightiest nations of the world, alarmed at the sound of a word! What further evidence is necessary, of its truly utter imbecility in apparently colossal strength! In opposition to this, we shall hereafter see, that, by divine appointment, the whole adult male population of the ancient Hebrew nation was commanded to meet thrice every year. Unrighteous governments also prohibit men from assembling, and besides this, pass enactments to prevent those they misrule from having arms in their houses. Nothing, however, can be more clear, than, that in any nation, men have a right to assemble in any numbers, and whenever and wherever they think fit,—nothing can be more clear than that they have a right to have arms in their houses,—provided they do not contravene any enactment made in accordance with the divine law, by so assembling or so arming:—though, as men having arms, may apply them unlawfully both as to private and public matters, it is much to be wished that the necessity for them should be superseded by the establishment and maintenance of righteous constitutions and codes in nations. If

men have arms, they may all be deposited in some public place—suppose in each town of a nation, under the control of persons appointed by the people. A well-regulated militia, says the constitution of the United States, being necessary to the security of a free state, the right of the people to keep and bear arms shall not be infringed. Hence, we may perceive the atrocious iniquity of some oppressors; their language to the oppressed being truly as follows.—You shall neither associate nor arm yourselves, to attain those rights the beneficent Creator awards you; but we will maintain at your expense, military associations as large as we please, and arm them in any manner we please, to enable us to retain possession of that of which, in opposition to all that is righteous, we despoil you; and if any of you resist the unlawful power we maintain, every man so resisting, as far as we can accomplish it, shall be cut to pieces. Thus, whilst the unlawful government itself, has ever at its command a large military force, to support it in all its aggressions, the oppressed are prevented from taking two of the great measures that can emancipate themselves.

186. The worst effect of popular tumults, says Dr. Paley, consists in this, that they discover to the insurgents the secret of their own strength, teach them to depend upon it against a future occasion, and both produce and diffuse sentiments of confidence in one another, and assurances of mutual support. Leagues thus formed and strengthened, may overawe or overset the power of any state; and the danger is greater in proportion, as, from the propinquity of habitation and intercourse of employment, the passions and counsels of a party can be circulated with ease and rapidity.—(*Mor. Philos.*) Instead of saying, the "worst effect," should it not rather have been, the best effect? Men, says another writer, seldom entertain a just sense of their own importance, or acquire a knowledge of their rights, or are able to defend them with courage or effect, until they have been congregated into masses. An agricultural population, thinly distributed over an extensive country, and without any point of reunion, rarely opposes any vigorous resistance to the most oppressive and arbitrary measures. But such is not the case with the population of towns: their inhabitants are all actuated by the same spirit; they derive courage from their numbers and union; the bold animate the timid; the resolute confirm the wavering; the redress of an injury done to a single citizen becomes, in some degree, the business of the whole body; they take their measures in common, and prosecute them with a vigour and resolution that generally makes the boldest minister pause in an unpopular career.—(*M'Culloch's Princip. Pol. Econ.*)

187. Could we view, says Paley, our own species from a distance, or regard mankind with the same sort of observation

with which we read the natural history, or remark the manners of any other animal, there is nothing in the human character which would more surprise us, than the almost universal subjugation of strength to weakness; than to see millions of robust men, in the complete use and exercise of their personal faculties, and without any defect of courage, waiting upon the will of a child, a woman, a driveller, or a lunatic. And although, when we suppose a vast empire in absolute subjection to one person, and that one depressed beneath the level of his species by infirmities or vice, we suppose perhaps an extreme case, yet in all cases, even the most popular forms of civil government, the physical strength resides in the governed. —(*Mor. Philos.*) *The power of an unrighteous government itself is absolutely nothing, and it could do nothing if it was not actively supported by thousands, or tens of thousands, or hundreds of thousands of men violating their duty. The government is a mere nonentity in the hands of the military officers; these are equally unimportant when compared with the common soldiers, and these again of as little consequence, when compared with the whole power of the nation.* (26).

188. A few righteous men must always have great difficulty to supersede an unlawful government, in consequence of the miserable immorality in which the great body of the oppressed are generally plunged; from the concurring causes of the ordinary proneness of man to be immoral, and the care unrighteous rulers take, that, as far as lies in them, the oppressed shall never be emancipated from their ignorance, misery, and vice. The maintenance of large armies, is one of the means oppressors take to uphold themselves in all their iniquitous deeds. Assuredly, their wickedness in this is unspeakably great, the difficulty of superseding them being thereby so greatly increased.

189. It may, however, as has been before observed (47), be objected that, if pure democracies were established in nations, governments would still educe ills. Of this there can be no doubt—possibly, great ills. To this objection, the reply may be as follows:—

190. The more the inventions of men, unsanctioned by Heaven, are examined, the more obvious it will appear their whole tendency is opposed to the welfare of mankind. It is impossible to suppose that, to their welfare, any contravention of the divine will can in any manner conduce. Whatever is in opposition to justice, mercy, and humility, contravenes the divine will: and unlawful governments are never founded but upon injustice. Though this has enriched very many by the spoliation of others, it never made any one man, in any nation or age, truly wise, virtuous, or happy. In the establishment of unlawful governments, how much the will of God is departed

from, thus appears. The sole object of all government should be *to educe the highest degree of good,* by controlling and directing the various powers of the governed to this happy end (6). But as men will not live so as to make their various powers educe this good, the lawful object of government must be confined to *preventing their injuring one another* (8). Instead of which, all unlawful governments *do nothing but injury.* The devil, by rebelling against the Most High, first introduced disorder into the universe: it has ever since continued. Unlawful governors are ever the prime agents of disorder in a nation: to them and their supporters, therefore, may especially be said,—'*Ye are of your father, the devil, and the lusts of your father ye will do.* He was a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the truth, because there is no truth in him.'

191. The day may perhaps arrive when all will perceive, that what works ill to some, can never truly work good to others. From oppression no real good can come to oppressors, (when the whole duration of their being is taken into the account), and certainly therefore not to the oppressed. 'He,' says our Lord, 'that is not with me, is against me; and he that gathereth not with me, scattereth abroad.' 'Doth,' says James, as elsewhere quoted; 'a fountain send forth, at the same place, sweet water and bitter? Can the fig-tree, my brethren, bear olive-berries? either a vine, figs? so can no fountain both yield salt water and fresh.' (v. 45). Men cannot simultaneously be both 'with' and 'against' Heaven:—they cannot, at the same time, both 'gather' and 'scatter.' A government, emanating from a part of a nation, is altogether '*against*' Heaven; a government, emanating from a whole nation, altogether '*with*' Heaven. There is no neutral ground in morality. Every man that comes into the world, must either be *labouring with God,* in advancing all the best interests of humanity, or *fighting against God* in retarding them (1). All who support any other governments than those which are purely democratic, fight against God,—labouring, as we have just intimated, with their 'father the devil.'

192. Even if some of the acts of unlawful governments are abstractedly in accordance with the divine law; for example, the passing and executing an enactment against perjury: this benefits not a nation. God has appointed a mode by which a lawful government may be established and maintained, and this is far more competent to restrain perjury, and all other crimes, than any unlawful government the world has yet seen. Besides, the very perjury we have supposed as having been punished by the unlawful government, may have been caused by its own unrighteous enactments. A government thus makes men sin, and then punishes them. To say nothing of the unspeakable and

almost boundless wickedness unlawful governments cause men to commit, of that description which is not cognizable by human tribunals:—such, for example, as that committed throughout a nation, by its whole people being in a state of mercantile oppression and competition.

193. In relations existing in accordance with the divine law—those, for example, of husband and wife, brother and sister; though through the misconduct of the parties between whom such relations exist, much ill may be educed, this in no degree arises from the relations themselves: from which, if the parties live conformably with the will of Heaven, nothing but good may be educed. And thus it is with all the relations, of what kind soever, that can lawfully exist; precisely the contrary arising as to those relations which cannot lawfully exist. *It is impossible to draw from any relation whatever both good and ill. If the relation is lawful,* and the conduct of men accords with the divine will, *nothing but good emanates.* If the relation is lawful, but the parties in sustaining it educe ill to one another; this arises not from the relation, but the parties to it not comprehending their mutual obligations and rights: or, if they do understand them, one party or both parties not doing their duty. *If the relation is unlawful,* however it may be sustained by the parties, *nothing but ill emanates* from such relation; the only difference being, either as to unlawful relations of the same kind or various kinds, what are the degrees of evil resulting to the parties that sustain them, and to others not standing in the particular relations. Let us apply these observations to governments. *From those which are purely democratic,* they being the only lawful ones in the sight of God, if the conduct of the governed and governors in sustaining them, accords with the divine will, *nothing but good emanates.* If the governors or governed educe ill, this arises not from the relation, but one or both parties violating their duty. *If a government is any other than democratic, however constituted, and whatsoever the governors and governed may do, nothing but ill emanates; the only difference being as to different forms of government, and different nations and ages, the nature and extent of the ill.*

194. It is the necessary consequence of man's being in a state of probation, that he should be entrusted with a certain degree of power; and it is apparent, that however associated, such is his depravity, that to a less or greater extent, 'it must needs be that offences come,' through the abuse of this power. But as the abstraction of the rights of men places them in a different state of probation from that appointed by the Most High, none can abstract rights from any persons, in any country, or any age, without, as we have said, a usurpation of the divine prerogative. A lawful human government even, will not necessarily

and of itself make any one man virtuous, this not being the object even of the divine government. (iv. 11, 12.) The liability of men to prejudice the happiness of each other, is the necessary consequence of the free agency of man. Destroy this free agency, and human nature is destroyed; and probably that of all created intellectual existence throughout the universe.

195. All power exercised over a nation must, as we have said, be either by its consent or by force. If the latter is used, *the rulers cannot be virtuous men* who authorize it, as they infringe the rights of the governed, and therefore necessarily live in a constant state of rebellion to the Most High.

196. But even could this difficulty be surmounted by Heaven (in addition to having evinced by the divine law to all mankind how a national constitution and laws may be righteously appointed,) itself choosing the best men in all nations, and in all their generations, to act as governors; such a choice would be unavailing, because just laws well executed will not of themselves necessarily make men righteous. This can only be attained by each man becoming so for himself, of course with the assistance of his associates and Heaven. And if the knowledge of all the blessings attainable under a righteous constitution and code, will not make men do all that lies in them, to establish and maintain them; the most compendious mode to teach mankind how important these things are to their well being, is, for Heaven to leave them exposed to all the miseries of an unlawful constitution or code, or both. The more severe these are, the sooner they will be brought to do that which is lawful in the sight of Heaven, if by any means they can be so acted on. If the immorality is very gross, and it is not immediately suppressed, it must continue until the evils it brings on men teaches all righteous persons to redouble their efforts that their numbers may be augmented, until they become sufficiently powerful effectually to repress the licentiousness. The sufferings entailed by the excesses men commit on the happiness of each other, will induce men to be virtuous when all other things fail. If these are insufficient, every thing, both divine and human, is so, and the miserably wicked authors must be left to be suitably dealt with by the Most High, on their removal to another state of being. Machiavel, says Sydney, finds virtue to be so essentially necessary to the establishment and preservation of liberty, that he thinks it impossible for a corrupted people to set up a good government, or for a tyranny to be introduced if they be virtuous; and makes this conclusion, "*that where the body of the people is not corrupted, tumults and disorders do no hurt, and where it is corrupted good laws do no good;*" which being confirmed by reason and experience, I think no wise man has ever contradicted him.—(*Sydney on Gov.*) When, says Dr. Robertson, defects either in the form or in the administration

of government occasion such disorders in society as are excessive and intolerable, it becomes the common interest to discover and to apply such remedies as will effectually remove them. Slight inconveniences may be long overlooked or endured, but when abuses grow to a certain pitch, the society must go to ruin or must attempt to reform them.—(*View of the Progress of Society in Europe.*)

197. The evils men sustain from each other, happen not only between political governors and the governed, and between these of themselves; but between those who sustain every relation of life, as husband and wife,—master and servant, &c. Heaven, that ordained these relations, perfectly knows, as has been intimated, how to deal with all the workers of iniquity, so as to make all things tend to the ultimate benefit of the good. To be desirous to supersede the democratic form of government, for an unlawful one; is not less irrational than as to those who sustain the relation of husband and wife, for one party to complain that the other invades his or her happiness; and to want a new wife in the one case, or a new husband in the other! Heaven that leaves men exposed to the evils which may arise under democracies, exposes them to highway robbery, murder, fraud, or any other ills they can sustain from the wickedness of each other. When the remedy against unlawful governments is so easy and so expeditious, (i. 46,) surely nothing can be more futile than to complain against Heaven.

198. Men in power (unless better disposed than is common), says Dr. Price, are always endeavouring to extend their power. They hate the doctrine that it is a trust derived from the people, and not a right vested in themselves. For this reason, the tendency of every government is to despotism, and in this the best constituted governments must end, if the people are not vigilant, ready to take alarms, and determined to resist abuses as soon as they begin. This vigilance, therefore, it is our duty to maintain. Whenever it is withdrawn, and a people cease to reason about their rights, and to be awake to encroachments, they are in danger of being enslaved; and their servants will soon become their masters.—(*Discourse on the Love of our Country.*) Mankind are naturally disposed to continue in subjection to that kind of government, be it what it will, under which they have been born and educated. Nothing rouses them into resistance but gross abuses, or some particular oppressions out of the road to which they have been used. And he, who will examine the history of the world, will find there has generally been more reason for complaining, that they have been too patient, than that they have been turbulent and rebellious. The quiet which prevails under slavish governments, and which may seem to be a recommendation of them, proceeds from an ignominious tameness and stagnation of the

human faculties. It is the same with the stillness of midnight or the silence and torpor of death.—(*Tracts on Civ. Lib.*)

199. Mankind, says Dr. Hutcheson, have been generally a great deal too tractable, and hence so many wretched forms of power have always enslaved nine-tenths of the nations of the world.—(*Mor. Philos.*) It has been said of the Neapolitans, that nothing animates them to insurrection but some universal cause, as a scarcity of bread. Every other grievance they endure as if it was their charter. We thus see, that great as the evils are that men sustain, it does not arouse them to a sense of their duty: i. e., to superinduce all the evils they labour under.

200. If the endurance of all the evils to which human nature is liable, inflicted by unrighteous governments, will not teach the governed the necessity of superseding them for lawful ones, —it is obvious that every thing must be unavailing for this great object. And this is applying precisely the same discipline to the social body, the divine government does to the corporeal one; for, as to this,—if all the blessings of health will not keep men from excess, they are taught duly to prize exemption from sickness, by the maladies licentious conduct superinduces. And the more severe these maladies are, the more powerfully men are taught to be temperate and industrious, if by any means they can be made to imbibe so salutary a lesson.

201. When righteous men know that they not only cannot participate in the practices of the wicked; such as—engrossing the political right, or the land,—exacting unlawful taxation,— or making gain by commercial oppression and competition;— but that they are also bound to do all that is in their power to obviate the effects of such practices, to all who are thereby unwilling sufferers; and if necessary, employ all their superfluous wealth for the purpose,—it redoubles their earnestness to do all that lies in them, even to the sacrifice of their lives, that justice, mercy, and humility shall universally prevail. (v. 134 and 182,—vi. 127.) That these positions will bear the most rigorous examination, is apparent, from considering that, as man can live only in association, no line can possibly be drawn between all doing their utmost to bring it to the highest state of perfection, (i. 19.) and all being regardless about it, or all injuring each other in every possible way; whereby, not only all that can make men happy, either in time or eternity, might be banished out of the world; but human association entirely annihilated. (i. 7.) And not the least important of the evils superinduced by unlawful governments, perpetuating the ignorance of the oppressed, therefore is that it prevents the latter from perceiving of what unspeakable importance it is to each of them, that the great virtues just mentioned, should be universally prevalent;—and, necessarily, also of using their utmost exertions that they do prevail.

202. *If, therefore, an administration appointed by Heaven, of the most virtuous men, enacting and executing none but righteous laws, would not be the institution best adapted to promote the well-being of a nation;—because it would allow the governed to be, to a certain extent, indifferent to a matter involving both the temporal and eternal happiness of every one of them;—how unfit must governors under an unlawful constitution be, to promote the well-being of a nation, who every where, and always, in a less or greater degree, cause the privation of every earthly good, and the endurance of every earthly ill, to those they oppress!*

203. The evils arising from men living under what are called liberal forms of government, are inveighed against, as though there were no evils attendant on other forms. But let all history be read through, and for evils of whatever kind that have existed, or now exist under liberal governments, more than parallels will be found under oppressive ones. Take, for example, the history of the Jews. However great their excesses were after Joshua's death, they were greater under despotic Rome. And not only Heaven did not propose to change the democratic form of the Jewish government, but when the people themselves asked to have it altered, they were upbraided by the Divine Being.—(1. Sam. 8-9.) Men do not exclaim against democracy from the possible evils that may exist under it, but because it is not a favourable constitution for enabling a few to enslave and pauperize the many, and demoralize all. Those who oppose the establishment of democracies, should enlighten the world, as to the exact quantity of right that may lawfully be abstracted by an institution, whose sole legitimate office is to prevent all abstraction of right.

204. How miserably demoralizing oppression is, thus appears. The more passive the oppressed are, the more compatible it is with the genius of an unlawful constitution, and necessarily the greater is the immorality. In other words, the more ignorant, poor, wretched, and otherwise demoralized men are, the more willingly and quietly do they submit to oppression and slavery. To such an extent does oppression operate, that in a country whose institutions are more liberal than many neighbouring nations; it is quite common for the natives to compliment each other on the liberty they enjoy! For men to congratulate one another that they are not in a high degree enslaved, is as reasonable as to compliment one's friend for his not being a complete swindler, or that his wife is not a common prostitute. To labour under the slightest abridgment of political liberty, other than what accords with the divine law;—to be chargeable with the least want of integrity;—for a woman to be in any degree unchaste; are all obviously immoral. Montesquieu remarks,

that a certain nation for a long time thought liberty consisted in the privilege of wearing a long beard. But whatever may be the measures oppressors pursue, it is obviously totally impossible to extinguish every spark of freedom in men's minds.—*It is an extremely difficult task to make men altogether insensible that they are men!* The following example will evince the extent to which oppressors are sometimes disposed to go, for the preservation of their illegally acquired power.—In the war of 1770 between Russia and Turkey, Hassan Pacha, become eminent as a seaman, preserved the Greeks; when it was deliberated in the grand seignior's council to exterminate them entirely, as a punishment for their defection.

205. How far the human mind may become degraded under the iron rule of the oppressor, the following examples will evince. "The Russians," says Catherine to Panin, "and you yourself are so well acquainted with them, as to know; that provided they are governed, they care but little about the origin of them by whom the government is administered. This nation knows of nothing but obedience, even when the hand that rules it leans heavily on it."—*(Life of Catherine II.)* Kirtee-Ranah, says Fraser, a captive Ghoorkha chief, who was marching to the British head-quarters, on being interrogated concerning the motives which induced him to quit his native land, and enter into the service of the rajah of Nepal, replied in the following very impressive manner:—"My master, the rajah, sent me: he says to his people, to one, go you to Gurwhal; to another, go you to Cashmere, or to any distant part. My Lord, thy slave obeys; it is done. None ever inquires into the reason of an order of the rajah."—(*Notes on the Hills at the Foot of the Himala Mountains.*)

206. The princes in Asiatic countries, says Burder, have ever been absolute and despotic, their subjects paying them the most prompt and blind obedience. The following example may be instanced. Abu Thabher, the chief of the Carmathians, about the year 930, ravaged the territory of Mecca, defiled the temple, and destroyed nearly 40,000 people. With only 500 horse, he went to lay siege to Bagdad. The khaliff"s general, at the head of 30,000 men, marched out to seize him; but before he attacked him, he sent an officer to summon him to surrender. "How many men has the khaliff's general?" said Abu Thabher. "Thirty thousand,' replied the officer. "Among them all," said the Carmathian chief, "has he got three like mine?" Then ordering his followers to approach, he commanded one to stab himself, another to throw himself from a precipice, and a third to plunge into the Tigris. All three instantly obeyed, and perished. Then turning to the officer, he said, "He who has such troops, needs not value the number of his enemies."—*(Orient. Lit.)*

207. Among the Natchez, a powerful tribe now extinct, formerly situated on the banks of the Mississippi, says Dr. Robertson, a difference of rank took place, with which the northern tribes were altogether unacquainted. Some families were reputed noble and enjoyed hereditary dignity. The body of the people was considered as vile, and formed only for subjection. This distinction was marked by appellations which intimated the high elevation of one state, and the ignominious depression of the other. The great chief in whom the supreme authority was vested, is reputed to be a being of superior nature, the brother of the sun, the sole object of their worship. They approach this great chief with religious veneration, and honour him as the representative of their deity. His will is a law to which all submit with implicit obedience. The lives of his subjects are so absolutely at his disposal, that if any one has incurred his displeasure, the offender comes with profound humility and offers him his head. Nor does the dominion of chiefs end with their lives: their principal officers, their favourite wives, together with many domestics, of inferior rank, are sacrificed at their tombs, that they may be attended in the next world by the same persons who served them in this; and such is the reverence in which they are held, that those victims welcome death with exultation, deeming it a recompense of their fidelity, and a mark of distinction, to be selected to accompany their deceased master.—*(Hist. Amer.)*

208. The non-existence, under constitutions not democratic, of the licentiousness to which the purely democratic are more liable, is one of their worst features. All licentiousness, of what nature or kind soever, is utterly to be reprobated. But let it never be forgotten, that democratic licentiousness is a far less evil than the horrible lethargy of slavery.—The former, though wholly unsanctioned by Heaven, is the excess of men living in the only political state it allows.—The latter, is the guilt of men, living in the political state Heaven disallows. If SLAVES, (and by this term is intended all of any nation or age, deprived of their share of the political right,)—do not commit the excesses FREEMEN may, or do; it is frequently because they are so borne down with toil, and penury, and misery, that they have little beyond the "form of their species." (v.—113.) Between a despotism such as the Russian, and a pure democracy where not one slave would exist, no line can be drawn. Exactly, therefore, in the ratio the liability of democratic licentiousness decreases, by the means we are considering;—in the same ratio is despotism approached, or men approximate to the nature of the beasts that perish! This, then, is the very worst state a nation can be in. It is, perhaps, *the whole population of a country lying under the shadow of death.* (*Acts*, 28-27.) The existence of its unlawful government alone evinces its un-

speakable immorality. No other evidence is needed. None more convincing can be furnished.

209. A physician, who proposed as a cure for the head-ache that the patient's head should be cut off, would be thought a very bad doctor. But this is similar to the remedy political doctors prescribe, for the evils of democracy, obviously an unspeakably greater evil than the disease:—they want to place men in that state where the best qualities of human nature are laid prostrate,—and the more complete the prostration, the more effectual the remedy. A still more effectual cure would be to follow the supposed example of the medical doctor,—namely, blot a nation altogether from the face of the earth! *The short, full, and triumphant answer to all political doctors, of whatever nation or age they may be,—is, that the democratic constitution is the one alone, that accords with the will of God! The happiness of the world, says Bishop Butler, is the concern of him who is the Lord and proprietor of it; nor do we know what we are about, when we endeavour to promote the good of mankind in any ways, but those which he has directed.—(Of the Nature of Virtue.)*

210. Can it be imagined for a moment, that the oppressing system has the Most High for its author? A system which is upheld by keeping thousands, and tens of thousands, and millions, and hundreds of millions of human beings; born to a glorious immortality, in a state of gross and intellectual darkness and moral degradation!!! And the more absolute, and the more general the exclusion of light, the greater the degradation men are reduced to; the more unfit they are to act like virtuous men on earth, or become denizens of heaven hereafter;—the more the accursed system is benefitted? No truth, assuredly, can be more evident, than that whatever is connected in any degree with it, in whatever form it may appear, must be utterly opposed to the will of Heaven.

211. 'Charity,' says Paul, 'hopeth all things.' This we must apply to political writers who decry democracy,—and consider that they understand not their subject! The members of unlawful governments who are acquainted with the true principles of politics, and yet employ writers of the class we are considering; must, assuredly, have arrived at the *remotest verge of human depravity*. First, they support unlawful governments, which differ only in the degree of evil they superinduce;—next, affirm that their administration is sanctioned by the Most High;—and, lastly, insinuate that democracy, the only form of government which is in accordance with his holy will, is contrary to it; and that its establishment would be productive of nothing but ill. To them the words of a prophet truly apply: Wo unto you 'that call evil good and good evil, that put darkness for light and light for darkness, that put bitter for sweet and sweet for

bitter.' They want to persuade the world that, for the unspeakable guilt and misery superinduced by unlawful government, there is no remedy; and that all nations, throughout all their ages, must be afflicted with them. And thus, in a less or greater degree, to apply the language elsewhere adopted relative to the prince of darkness; *saying of the Lord God Almighty, 'that he was a murderer from the beginning'!!!*

212. To keep men, or at least multitudes of them, under the iron hand of despotism; to assign them much labour and scanty provision;—in a word, to degrade them to the level of the brutes that perish; might perhaps be a suitable mode of dealing with them, if *in this life only they had hope.* But it is not thus the heirs of a glorious immortality must be treated. Those for whom the Lord Jesus Christ became obedient unto death, must not be degraded to the lowest state in which human nature can exist. Let oppressors never forget, it is written with the finger of God in the Two Great Books of Nature and Revelation, that beings, every one of whom, but for his own guilt, may be *a denizen of Heaven, must be a freeman on earth!* that a state of freedom is the only suitable state of probation, though on the part of some freemen, and in a high degree, 'it must need be that offences come.' The former part of life, says Bishop Butler, is to be considered as an important opportunity which nature puts into our hands, and which, when lost, is not to be recovered. And our being placed in a state of discipline throughout this life for another world, is a providential disposition of things, exactly of the same kind as our being placed in a state of discipline during childhood for mature age. Our condition in both respects is uniform and of a piece, and comprehended under one and the same general law of nature.—(*Of a State of Moral Discipline.*) The light of reason does not, any more than that of revelation, force men to submit to its authority:—both admonish them of what they ought to do and avoid, together with the consequences of each; and after this leave them at full liberty to act just as they please till the appointed time of judgment. Every moment's experience shows that this is God's general rule of government.—(*Of the Importance of Christianity.*)

213. If either the possible or actual abuse of any of the gifts of heaven are to be the ground of their abstraction, as the divine law is no respecter of persons, such abstraction must extend to all. On this principle, the corn, and wine, and oil, Heaven so bountifully sends us, must be limited to the smallest possible quantity, with which life can be supported, that none may be intemperate. Our printing-presses must be destroyed, that they may not diffuse mental poison. The sun must withdraw its light, that men may not through its instrumentality perform wicked acts. If, indeed, the argument we are com-

bating, can be urged with any force, it may be so strongly applied; that Heaven must a second time decree, 'the end of all flesh,'—the only effectual check to human iniquity, as man is at present constituted.

214. Disorder having been introduced into the universe in the manner before alluded to (190), it seems perfectly compatible with the most exalted notions we can entertain of the Deity, that his Omnipotent arm should cause even the wickedness of some of his creatures to minister to the happiness of others who are obedient to his will.—(*Rom.* viii. 28.) Hence, in some part of the mighty universe, the boundaries of which we probably have not the remotest conception of, God may please to appoint there shall be spiritual beings, assailable by various degrees of satanic temptation; that those of them, who by divine grace pass through this probation, with acceptance on the part of Heaven; may form a distinct order to reciprocate felicity with other orders, in a way so greatly to the happiness of all, as to be altogether beyond our comprehension:—and this peculiar order may be man. (i. 5). And the Most High may also make the virtues possessed by some men, educed principally by the wickedness of others, minister to the felicity of the good hereafter. Were there no trials, little opportunity would be afforded for the exercise of patience. To its possessors it is the source of much happiness here, and we may expect will be of a far higher degree in another state of being.

215. The present state, says Bishop Butler, is so far from proving in event a discipline of virtue to the generality of men, that, on the contrary, they seem to make it a discipline of vice. And the viciousness of the world is in different ways the great temptation, which renders it a state of virtuous discipline, in the degree it is to good men. That which appears amidst the general corruption, is, that there are some persons who, having within them the principle of amendment and recovery; attend to and follow the notices of virtue and religion, be they more clear or more obscure, which are afforded them; and that the present world is not only an exercise of virtue in these persons, but an exercise of it in ways and degrees peculiarly apt to improve it;—apt to improve it in some respects, even *beyond what would be, by the exercise of it, required in a perfectly virtuous society; or in a society of equally imperfect virtue with themselves.*—(*Of a State of Moral Discipline.*)

216. When, therefore, a nation's constitution and code are lawfully appointed, whatever disorders arise from some refusing to be illuminated by the knowledge of God; or after having been so enlightened, by not governing their conduct conformably, they are amenable to the law of their country for their misdeeds; and if that will not reach them, good men, after having by all lawful means endeavoured to supersede the

evil, must commit themselves 'to him that judgeth righteously;' who perfectly knows how to deal with those he permits to remain on earth, and whose iniquities are not cognizable by human tribunals. Consequently, though good men see all around them rebelling against Heaven; though they may justly apprehend the wickedness they at present behold, is only the prelude to greater and greater: under every possible combination of circumstances, all they have to do, is to live as nearly as possible in accordance with the holy law, the Eternal has decreed, shall be the sole rule of the whole conduct of every man that comes into the world.

217. The righteous, therefore, will not seek to remedy an evil which may be temporary only, by introducing the oppressing system. It can never be the duty of any human beings to contravene the law of God, that good may be educed. The whole operation of this is wrong. And such a measure may not only be permanent in its consequences, but these may be greatly aggravated by the conduct of those who come after the originators of so unholy a deed. Suppose a few virtuously inclined, but mistaken men, having the power, and availing themselves of it, to seize the whole political right, with the design of educing nothing but good to their countrymen and mankind; they have no security that their successors will not, as far as they can, undo all the good they intended, by introducing a most vicious state of things; an opportunity which such successors might never have had, if their predecessors had not violated the eternal principles of justice. For such consequences, however many ages they may operate, these have made themselves accountable to Heaven: it being never lost sight of, that, though the ill men commit themselves can never operate truly beneficially for them, that committed by others may be made subservient to the well-being of the righteous. Consequently, however these may be situated here, they are in that particular state of probation conducive to their everlasting welfare; i. e., if they are living under a lawful constitution and code, and doing the divine will as to matters of which human laws do not take cognizance; or if this happy state of things does not prevail, they are using all their exertions that it shall;—either state affords ample opportunities for the growth of those virtues, which will tend to their felicity through all eternity: exactly the opposite being the effect, as to those persons that are not doing the will of Heaven.

218. In the establishment and maintenance of a constitution and code, every man that comes into the world, to whatever nation he may belong, and in whatever age he may arise, must obviously be in one of the three following situations;—assistant to the maintenance of a constitution and code, in all things conforming with the divine law;—acting thus as to a

constitution or code, or both not so conforming;—or unconcerned about the maintenance of the government under which he lives. Having seen that the first only does the will of God, and that the second necessarily does not, let us endeavour to make it appear how greatly the third is also condemned in the sight of Heaven.

219. The man who is either unable or unwilling to take proper care of his own pecuniary resources, is justly thought a suitable object for a lunatic asylum. No sane man can doubt that the self-murderer is guilty. He who willingly allows others to make the laws which govern him, without having had a voice in their appointment, acknowledges not only that he is an idiot or lunatic, but he is also a suicide of all his dearest interests; the voice of all history testifying that the rights of men can be preserved inviolate only whilst they are in their own keeping. (75).

220. The man who is regardless about his rights, is indifferent not only about his own temporal and eternal well-being,—but in a less or greater degree of that of his family, his country, the whole of the living generation and all future generations of mankind,—as to how much the will of God is set at naught,—in a word, *to all that is dear to a virtuous man;* and, as far as our world is concerned, to all that is dear to the holy angels in Heaven.

221. Is it to be supposed that a righteous man will connive at the dishonour of his wife? Is it to be imagined that enlightened and virtuous men will connive at their own dishonour, in willingly submitting to have the equal share of the political right abstracted, either from themselves or their neighbours? One of these suppositions is as rational as the other. Surely, scarcely any greater contradiction can be imagined, than that the person who willingly allows himself to be governed by men in the appointment of whom he has not had a voice can be a virtuous man; especially when it is remembered, that under such circumstances his rulers must be some of the *most lawless of men!*

222. There is one yet greater contradiction than we have been supposing: namely, that such rulers, the men who most audaciously trample under foot the law of God, can be virtuous men. The truly wise man, says a pious writer, is he who proposes the things of God, and the everlasting interest of his immortal soul, as his highest end, and pursues them with the utmost care and diligence in the way of God's appointment, through Jesus Christ our only Saviour; and who seeks all things else with less solicitude and concern, and in subordination to these: and the fool, on the other hand, is he who makes something in this world his highest end and aim, and spends his chief time and care, concern, and labour about it; to the neglect of the infinitely higher interests of God's glory, and his own soul's

everlasting happiness.—*(Cruden.)* Among the most foolish of fools, assuredly are oppressing and especially hereditary legislators; who, by being the prime authors of the establishment or maintenance of unrighteous constitutions and codes, thus, as far as it lies in them, and it answers their supposed advantage, prevent perhaps millions from ever seeing the light, and are inimical alike to the temporal and eternal happiness of the great body of those who do arise, not only in their own generation, but it may be through a long line of generations! Such legislators are therefore some of those to whom, if our Lord was on earth, we might expect his severest denunciations would be addressed, to whom he would thus speak:—'*Fill ye up, then, the measure of your fathers; ye serpents, ye generation of vipers, how can ye escape the damnation of hell?*'

223. *It seems impossible to determine which is the more remarkable circumstance in the history of mankind, that oppressors in different nations and ages should have the unutterable audacity and wickedness to want to rob multitudes of their birthright, or that the oppressed should suffer them to succeed.*

224. The Lord Jesus Christ, shortly before the close of his mission, addressed these words to his Father:—'I have glorified thee on the earth, I have finished the work which thou gavest me to do.' That a lawful constitution and code may be maintained in a nation, and in other respects that universal and unspotted holiness may prevail; *is 'the work' committed to every man* that comes into the world, to educe in his nation, as far as in him lies, by all lawful means. In this way only can God be 'glorified.' Thus only can any man, of any country or any age, finish the work given him to do. In other words, all entire nations are the depositories of the great work just mentioned. And nations are but aggregates of individuals. If any one of this aggregate may fail in the performance of his duty, the whole aggregate may. Thus, the sole source of righteous law on earth would be annihilated. Even a whole nation, therefore, cannot release any one of its members from his responsibility without a usurpation of the divine prerogative. (22.)

225. When it is remembered that the rights of every man that comes into the world are a sacred trust committed to him by God, for the benefit of himself, and in a less or greater degree the whole world (18); that if men were rightly to apply the trusts committed to them, all would be wise, virtuous, prosperous, and happy; that the misapplication of their rights generates ignorance, vice, pauperism, and misery; and that, if men suffer the code under which they live to be unlawful, these evils cannot but arise; whatever they may do to prevent it, except of course the superseding their constitution and code; it is obvious that, in the politics of a nation, as we have said, is involved *all that is holy.* (v. 161.)

226. If it can be imagined any one whatever, in any country or in any age, is not condemned in the sight of Heaven, for being unmindful of the momentous matters we are considering, there is not any man who is, in any country or any age. On this supposition, all men, in all nations and all ages, may be in the highest degree immoral,—all careless of their duty here,—all incapable of becoming happy either in time or eternity! For this none will be found to contend, as assuredly no greater absurdity can be imagined, than for any man to be wise and good, whilst he is betraying the trust reposed in him by God; especially when that trust comprises, *all that is holy!*

227. Wherever and whenever an unlawful constitution or code is established, *every man* is obviously bound to call on *every other man*, to do all that is lawful in the sight of Heaven, to supersede either, or both, for that or those which are righteous. Any one refusing to obey this call is guilty of high treason to the government of God; for, if one may refuse, any other, and consequently all others, in all nations and ages, may. The consequence would be, that an unlawful constitution would never be superseded. (i. 56.) If any one, despoiled of any of his rights, has not a right to call on all his countrymen to assist him, in all lawful ways of obtaining redress, he has not a right to call on any of them: and thus, under an unlawful constitution, the despoiled would never obtain redress.

228. Application to their government is useless. It is maintained for the express purpose of despoiling. To one it says, if not in words at least in effect—Talk not to us about the rights, the Great Creator awards you. *What do we care about the Great Creator? 'What is the Almighty that we should serve him! and what profit should we have if we pray unto him?'* The laws *we exclusively make* authorize the whole land to be engrossed. You are not to have an atom. To another,—we have decreed that you are to be one of those that may be exchanged, among any dealers in the bodies and souls of men, that choose to sell and buy you. And so on, as to other oppressions.

229. If, reader, you were going along the highway, and saw one man robbing another,—or one endeavouring to murder another,—or a man committing the most brutal ontrages on a defenceless woman;—can you doubt that you would be condemned in the sight of Heaven, if you did not, as far as lay in you, prevent the consummation of these atrocities? Can you imagine you are not accountable to the same high tribunal, if you do not, as far as lies in you, prevent the perpetration of *millions of robberies, and thousands or millions of murders?* (123.) Those who live under unlawful governments, are accessary to the commission of thousands or millions of robberies, in the abstraction of the political right, the land, men's liberty, and the produce of their labour;—and are never safe for an

hour that they shall not be implicated in the perpetration of millions of murders. What security have any of the enslaved French or Russians, for example, that their lawless masters shall not go to war with one another, and that such war shall not lead to the desolation of all Europe. If the matter before us is not correctly stated,—by what authority, and by what means, are all the damnable iniquities of an unlawful government to be terminated? How can any other doctrine, than the one here maintained, be reconciled with that of the Lord God Almighty, being the wise, powerful, and benevolent Governor of the Universe?

230. Can it be questioned that *every individual*, of those who willingly or passively permit the existence of an unlawful government, is accountable to Heaven for *every one of its iniquitous acts, and all the unutterable wickedness generated by this iniquity.* (v. 161.) Paul tells us, that 'the wrath of God is revealed from Heaven, against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.' But, if what we affirm can be successfully impugned, Heaven would allow all the ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.

231. Can it be questioned, that, were it possible for the oppressed to be in all other respects innocent,—they are not condemned in the sight of Heaven, for allowing oppressors to set the Most High at defiance, by trampling under foot his most holy law,—and possibly, as to many of them, consigning themselves to final perdition?

232. Can it be questioned, that, as far as practicable; for any act of the slightest immorality committed by any one human being,—the whole human race should arise to do all that lawfully lies in them, that it may be supressed; that as in Heaven so on earth, the will of God may be done? (*Mat.* vi. 10.)

233. Any wilful negligence on the part of any man, in any nation or age, as to the lawfulness of the constitution and code under which he lives, assuredly makes him accountable to Heaven, in a less or greater degree, for the iniquity that may arise to the remotest ages, and this not only as to his own nation, but as to all other nations of the earth, and for all their generations. If William the Conqueror and his associates are accountable to Heaven for some of the evils at present existing here,—can it be doubted that all Englishmen who lived at the conquest, with all who have since arisen in this country, and all those that are now living in it; that have not done all that lay, or now lies in them, to remedy these evils, are accessories of the Norman principals?

234. *Let it not be forgotten then, that as each of the members of an unlawful political association* (123.) *is accountable to Heaven, in a less or greater degree, not only for all the acts of his contemporaries and successors, for however many*

generations the unlawful constitution, maintained by the unlawful association, may last;—so, necessarily, every one of those who are not members of it, is likewise accountable for all such acts; if he does not do all that lawfully lies in him, to prevent the establishment or maintenance of the unlawful constitution.—(123, 124.)

235. Let it be considered what the consequences might be, if every individual, in every action of his life, followed the example of governors under unlawful constitutions, and that all men were so to set Heaven at defiance. This would speedily terminate all human association. Let, therefore, what has been said, ever be remembered, *that no line can possibly be drawn between the abstraction by oppressors of the political right from any man, of any country, or any age; or the willing toleration of such a deed, on the part of any one of the oppressed; and the totally superseding the government of the Lord God Almighty over the whole Universe.* Those that actually perpetrate, or passively permit the one, evince, in a less or greater degree, that, if they had the power, they would the other, if it appeared to them it would answer their purpose. In either case, the Most High is set at defiance.—(i. 40.)

236. The operation of laws does not affect, it must be remembered, a few, or many only, but every man. Whether all are to have a property in the land, or a few are to be allowed exclusively to possess it, *influences every man in a nation.* It would obviously associate in an entirely different manner. The man who is regardless as to which state of things prevails, is indifferent about the happiness of millions. From the influence one nation may have on another, he is truly careless about the happiness of the whole human race!

237. On this the reader is solicited to meditate for a moment. How inconceivably great must be the immorality of him who is regardless about the happiness of millions, and millions, and millions;—indeed, of a number very greatly too vast for even the most extended conception of the most powerful mind to grasp;—and what must be the mighty, mighty, mighty sum of human immorality, when of all these inconceivable multitudes, how few, how very few, how exceedingly small are the numbers, (there is too much reason to think have ever been, and now exist;) not guilty of this immorality. Had we not the sure word of sacred writ, that 'there is joy in the presence of the angels of God over *one* sinner that repenteth;'—we should scarcely be able to comprehend its possibility, when of countless myriads of sinners, with some inconsiderable exceptions, each *one* is nearly regardless of *all others.*—(ii. 24.)

238. *Assuredly the immorality of mankind must be mournfully great, when the temporal and eternal happiness of their whole race is one of the things almost every one of*

them most lightly regards; especially when it is remembered, that as to each of them, it is of unspeakable consequence to his own well-being!

239. As a sparrow does not fall to the ground disregarded by the Most High, what a discrepancy there is between him and his sinful children of this world. If such conduct on their part is not atheism, it too much resembles it.

240. All which is more obvious from the consideration, that the operation of the laws is not to remain until men enter into another state of being, before it affects them. It is actually operating *every instant of their lives, and influencing every part of their conduct, and necessarily, therefore, the application of every atom of the whole of the productive and other powers, of every one of them!* Those who had the navigating a ship, would be thought very bad sailors, if they were regardless about the management of the rudder. What a rudder is to a ship, a constitution and code are to a nation. How little the real art of political navigation is comprehended and practised; the present state of *every nation* of the world, and necessarily, therefore, of *every one* of the living generation of mankind, too mournfully testifies.

241. If it is incumbent on men most sincerely to regard their minutest thoughts, words, and actions, as to that which is the least; how much more must it be so, as to that which is the greatest. If 'the thought of foolishness is sin,' and for 'every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment;'—what must be the extent of that man's criminality, who is unmindful of a thing so transcendently important as the one we are considering. If the talent committed to each by God, could never have been intended to lie dormant, as to any thing, however inconsiderable; what accouut can he give of the application of his, when he shall appear before the judgment-seat of Christ,—who has been regardless of *all that is holy!*

242. It is sufficiently to be deprecated when a righteous constitution and code are maintained and some will not obey them. But how miserable must be the immorality when the constitution is unlawful, and thence the laws are unrighteous.

243. *No other evidence of the wretched immorality of the people is here needed, than that which the constitution itself furnishes.* Wherever and whenever a constitution emanating from part of a nation, is maintained, *every member* of the whole nation, who does not do all that lawfully lies in him, to supersede it for a pure democracy, must be a most immoral man; as he must be an oppressor, or one of the oppressed, either of which is unlawful in the sight of Heaven.

244. If the leaders of an unlawful association are few, as in Russia; it evinces the unspeakable guilt of a whole nation allowing

itself to be misruled by a mere handful of oppressors. If an unlawful political association is large, as in North America, it evinces the unspeakable guilt of so many persons associating for the purpose of oppressing their brethren.

245. As the morality of individuals varies, so does that of nations, or aggregates of individuals. National virtue, therefore, can only advance in the ratio that individual virtue does. 'Righteousness exalteth a nation, but sin is a reproach to any people.'

246. *The advance or decline of the morality of all the nations of the world, throughout all their ages, may be read in their constitutions and codes.* From the flourishing state of ancient Greece, we might infer that her political institutions were favourable to the cause of freedom. On examination, we find this to have been truly the case. From the demoralization of the ancient Hebrews, we might expect that they would be willing, even though free, to be in a less or greater degree of servitude. Accordingly, we find this infatuated people, when dissuaded by Heaven from enslaving themselves; 'refused to obey the voice of Samuel, and they said, Nay, but we will have a king over us!' We need not go through their history to evince their immorality, under the form of government they had thus madly chosen.

247. Precisely as the number of those in any nation that are regardless as to what constitution and laws they live under, augments, is its immorality more gross. And the oppressing class is the parent of the regardless class.

248. If the great body of a nation, (from whom alone the government can lawfully emanate, and on whose will the maintenance of whatever form may be set up, must ever depend,) is immoral; the constitution or code, or both, may be expected to be in a less or greater degree unrighteous; permitting the political right and the land to be engrossed, and thence the mercantile oppression and competition they generate. It is not, therefore, so accurate to say, that a government should pass none but righteous enactments; as that a nation should have virtue enough to appoint only such a government as will do these things. The certainty that the constitution and code of any nation, in any age, will be righteous, consequently must be in the exact ratio that the number of good men augments. *Real liberty and all the other blessings which flow from a righteous constitution and code can therefore be preserved inviolate only among a virtuous people.*

249. A nation may be sufficiently enlightened and disposed to do the will of Heaven, so far as to establish and maintain the democratic form of government, yet it may not be so far illuminated as to make all its laws accord with the divine law.

250. But wherever an unlawful constitution is maintained,

an unlawful code necessarily must: that it shall be so, being the great object of the supporters of the constitution.

251. The morality of a nation may be elevated enough to have its constitution according with the law of God. Such morality will advance higher in having both its constitution and code agreeing with this holy rule. A nation's righteousness will still further advance by penal enactments falling almost, or altogether, into desuetude. And the highest point of morality will be attained, when the people, besides conforming to human laws all agreeing with the divine law; also rigorously obey this holy rule, as to those parts of their conduct of which human laws cannot take cognizance; i. e., when a land 'shall be full of the knowledge of the Lord, as the waters cover the sea.'—(iii. 35, 36.)

252. If an unlawful association is so extensive as to contain the majority of a nation, and all the efforts of the minority are insufficient to prevent the lawless proceedings of such majority, it must of course submit; and the members should, as we have said, commit themselves to him who judgeth righteously. But this is a thing of very rare occurrence in the history of the world; possibly no instance is afforded;—the ordinary course of things being, for a few lawless wretches to be allowed to seize the whole political right; from the miserable ignorance and other immorality of the many tolerating such an abomination.

253. How lukewarm even the better part of mankind are, in the cause of every thing that comports to the temporal and eternal happiness of men, thus appears. We find extensive unlawful political associations, which we have seen never work any thing but what is *wholly evil*, enduring for ages. But where or when do we read, or do we now find, extensive political associations for doing the will of God. Shall, then, righteous men suffer unlawful associations so extensive and of such duration to be maintained, without doing all that lies in them to oppose them with counter associations, the objects of which are all lawful in the sight of Heaven! In this view of things, how truly may we adopt the language of the Psalmist:—'*O God, how long shall the adversary reproach? Shall the enemy blaspheme thy name for ever?*'

254. If, among the oppressed, a few only were actuated by the same feelings as our Lord, who said, 'My meat it is to do the will of him that sent me, and to finish his work,' they could not fail to discover in what their obligations and rights truly consisted. If only this small number of persons, conducting themselves conformably with the divine law, were to unite in any nation or age, for the purpose of preventing the establishment or maintenance of an unrighteous constitution and code; it cannot be doubted that this little sacred association would be assisted by the arm of the Omnipotent, and be thereby enabled in

a less or greater degree to regenerate their country. Of such associates *'five shall chase an hundred, and an hundred put ten thousand to flight;'* as all who unite for unrighteous purposes have ever the face of Heaven set entirely against them. *It is only because the number of righteous men in the world have been and are so extremely limited, that unrighteous constitutions and codes, and all the iniquity and suffering they generate, attain such fearful heights in different nations and successive ages.*

255. The political leaders in Sweden were formerly divided into two factions, distinguished under the name of caps and hats. The question for the consideration of a good man of any country or age, is not whether he belongs to one of two or more factions, in an obscure corner of the world; the objects sought by both or all the factions being probably wholly unworthy the concern of such a man; but, as we see, whether he is or is not promoting—*all that is holy.*

256. In reference, then, to political matters, the questions that every righteous man should put to himself are these :—

> Am I, as far as lieth in me, supporting or tolerating the accursed system of political oppression, the great tendency of which is to lessen the numbers of mankind, make shipwreck of the temporal and greatly endanger the eternal well-being of the diminished numbers that come into the world?
>
> Or am I supporting a righteous constitution and laws, and thus doing all that lies in me, that mankind may be enabled to obey the divine command, 'Be fruitful and multiply and replenish the earth;' and what is of yet more importance, that those who arise may be righteous persons; prosperous and happy in time, and still more happy in eternity; as thus I labour together with God in advancing all the best interests of the human race? (18.)

257. Among the republics of ancient Greece, says Dr. Gillies, the fate of a nation often depended on the event of a battle. The contention was not between mercenary troops who regarded war as a trade, which they carried on merely from interest without emulation or resentment. The citizens of free communities fought for their liberties and fortunes, their wives and children, and for every object held dear or valuable among men.—(*Hist. of Greece.*)

258. It was a law of Solon, that any person who in the civil commotions of his republic remained neuter, or an indifferent spectator, should be condemned to perpetual banishment.

259. The Athenian mechanic was obliged under a penalty to appear in the public market-place, and to hear debates on the subject of war and peace. "We see in the same persons," said Pericles, "an equal attention to private and public affairs, and in men who have turned to separate professions, a competent knowledge of what relates to the community; for we alone consider those who are inattentive to the state as perfectly insignificant."

260. To the ancient Greek or Roman, says Ferguson, the individual was nothing and the public every thing. To the modern, in too many nations of Europe, *the individual is every thing, and the public nothing.*—(*Hist. Civ. Soc.*) (v. 34.)

261. By a law of the Lombards, the freeman who was summoned to defend his country against a foreign invasion, and refused to carry arms in that pressing exigence, was adjudged guilty of a capital crime.—(*Notes to Tacitus.*)

262. Let us, says the British chief Galgacus, seek the enemy, and as we rush upon him, remember the glory delivered down to us by our ancestors; and let *each man* think, that upon his sword depends the fate of all posterity.—(*Tacitus, Life of Agricola.*)

263. We all remember the words of the heroic Nelson, "England expects *every man* to do his duty."—If every man should do his duty in war, he ought also in peace. And is it not an especial part of such duty, to do all that lies in him, that a government and laws in accordance with the divine law shall be established and maintained? (v. 224.)

264. To an Indian, says Hunter, when his country is to be benefitted by it, death has no terror; self is never taken into the account. And he submits to his fate under the impression that he has done his duty, with a magnanimity not to be appreciated by worldly minds.—(*Captivity among the Indians.*)

265. Those, says a writer quoted by Tooke, who have well considered that kingdoms rise or fall, and that their inhabitants are happy or miserable, not so much from any local or accidental advantages or disadvantages, but accordingly as they are well or ill governed, may best determine how far a virtuous mind can be neutral in politics.—(*Diversions of Purley.*)

266. Some, says Gordon, have said, it is not the business of private men to meddle with government; a bold, false, and dishonest saying; which is fit to come from no mouth but that of a tyrant or a slave. To say that private men have nothing to do with government, is to say that private men have nothing to do with their own happiness or misery; that people ought not to concern themselves whether they be naked or clothed, fed or rstarved, deceived or instructed, protected or destroyed.—(*Cato's Letters.*)

267. To pursue our private interests, says another writer, in subordination to the good of our country, to be examples in it of virtue, and obedient to the laws; to choose such representatives as we apprehend to be the best friends to its institutions and liberties; to promote, as far as we have the power, such laws as may improve and perfect it; to be ready to embrace every opportunity of advancing its real welfare;—these are among the duties which *every man* owes to his country. Wherever the love of it prevails in its genuine vigour and extent, it swallows

up all sordid and selfish regards, it conquers the love of ease, power, pleasure, and wealth; and will teach us to sacrifice all in order to maintain its rights, and promote and defend its honour and happiness.—*(Stretch.)*

268. It is, says Erskine, for the good of nations, and not for the emolument or aggrandizement of particular individuals, that government ought to be established, and that mankind are at the expense of supporting it. The defects of every government and constitution, both as to principle and form, must, on a parity of reasoning, be as open to discussion as the defects of a law; and it is a duty which *every man* owes to society, to point them out. When those defects, and the means of remedying them, are generally seen by a nation, that nation will reform its government or its constitution in the one case, as the government repealed or reformed the law in the other.—(*Speeches.*)

269. He who does not feel in his whole heart, says Dr. Brown, the excellence of a wise and virtuous system of polity, is indeed unworthy of living under its protection. But he who feels its excellence, will be the swiftest to discern every improvement that can be added to it. It is the same in the humbler concerns of private life. It is not the indifferent stranger, who, on seeing any one suffer from inconvenience of any kind, perceives most quickly the first involuntary intimation of uneasiness, and discovers, too, most quickly, what may be the best remedy: it is he who loves best the sufferer, and who sees best every noble endowment possessed by him:—it is the mother watching her child;—the friend visiting his friend;—the son, the lover, the husband. The very nature of affection is to render us quick to imagine something which may make still better what is good; and thus, he who admires least a system, may innovate most extensively; and there can be no question that the most continued tendency to innovate, in some slight degree, is in him who admires most, upon the whole, what he therefore wishes most ardently to improve.—(*Lect.* 91.)

270. That the present state of the world, with regard to the question of the political right, is condemnatory of *every individual,* in every nation and age, deriving a greater share of it, than any of the meanest of his fellows, is thus obvious. If any such man, whoever he was or is, in any nation or age, had not stifled the still small voice within him; that voice would have told him, or will now tell him, he was, or is, rebelling against Heaven, in doing that to others he would not have done unto himself; and so treating the law of God as an idle tale. Had he listened, or did he now listen, to this voice, and have followed, or did he now follow, whither it would, through divine assistance, have led, or would now lead him; he could not have failed, nor can now fail, of discovering the utter illegality of

the political constitution of things he was, or is, upholding;—and beyond this, what that constitution is, which alone is lawful and right in the sight of Heaven. We mention this, to bring home the guilt to every individual so acting. *In any other political constitution than that in accordance with the divine law, there are things utterly irreconcileable with the wisdom, power, and goodness of God.* (20). Had any man, so far instructed only as to be able to read and write, in any country or age, with an honest and good heart, sought the cause of the anomalies existing under any unlawful constitution, he could not have failed of discovering it; and having so done, it was his duty to do all that lay in him, to supersede such anomalies.

271. From men not rightly seeking divine illumination, the scheme of things, as designed by Heaven, namely, *millions and hundreds of millions, all working together for the benefit of each individual,* is undoubtedly far too magnificent for the comprehension of multitudes. Yet more so, therefore, for their reducing it to practice;—still more so for them to conduct themselves aright, when surrounded by the unspeakable afflux of prosperity it would afford. But that the Great Creator has made too bountiful a provision for his undutiful children, can never be ground of complaint. (v. 95).

272. The privation of divine illumination causes men to be ignorant that they can lawfully attain prosperity, only by causing their associates to be equally prosperous with themselves;—in other words, as we have just said, for millions to work for the benefit of one another. Hence, as has been seen, the almost universal desire is, for each to enrich himself at the expense of his neighbours, both as to men's commercial and political operations. (v. 161 to 169; vi. 129). And from the almost universal prevalence of the feeling that men have separate interests instead of a common one, emanates incalculable evil.

273. The servile situation, the operation of unrighteous laws, places by very far the greater part of mankind; assisted by the ever prevalent tendency of fallen men, in a less or greater degree, to prefer what is vicious; prevents them, almost universally, from accurately comprehending their obligation to Heaven or to each other, or the rights accruing to them by divine appointment, to enable them to perform such obligation. *Did men entertain the same kind feelings* (i. 4 and 38) *towards one another Heaven designs they shall, the power they would derive from closely associating, would, under the divine blessing, prevent the existence of unlawful governments.* But how can it be expected, that men should have virtue enough to maintain over themselves a righteous government, when, instead of that close union necessary for the purpose; frequently

children of the same earthly parent are less mindful of the welfare of one another, than good men must be of that of the beasts that perish.

274. We mentioned the North Americans (v. 172). To know, says one of their own writers, how to make money, is the grand object: if a man knows that, he knows every thing that needs to be learned here; all else is deemed superfluous; and were the arts and sciences to appear in the streets in the persons of Phidias or Aristole, Canova or Newton, clothed in the garb of poverty, they would be jostled into the kennel.—(*Dr. M'Murtrie of Louisville*). The language of a prophet will, we fear, too generally apply to the Americans: 'From the least of them even unto the greatest of them, every one is given to covetousness; and from the prophet even unto the priest, every one dealeth falsely.' What can be greater evidence of the immorality of the merchants of a certain European nation trading with them, than that they are wholly regardless how much of the produce of the labour of their own countrymen they return for a certain amount of American produce, provided only the merchants themselves are enriched by the exchange, (v. 84). Generally speaking, the men of both countries are wholly engrossed with one consideration, namely, how they shall most rapidly enrich themselves, without violating the laws of their respective countries. To any remonstrance to them, as to their conduct, in reference to the law of their Great Creator, their reply would be the same as that of unlawful legislators (228), if not in words, at least in effect:—*What do we care about the Great Creator? 'What is the Almighty, that we should serve him? and what profit should we have if we pray unto him?'* Full of their own aggrandizement, the laws of their country, so long as they do not appear to them to interfere with any scheme of their own, are unheeded as idle tales. So far from seeing the outrage committed on those of their countrymen, from whom the political right, and through that, the land is abstracted, the objects dearest to their hearts are to accumulate wealth by one or both the kinds of slavery, into which the land-engrossing system drives men.

275. The congress of the United States, says a recent writer, is an assembly of brokers, sent by their respective states, not to promote the welfare of the Union, but of their own mean and sordid interests. One is expected to bring the turnpike through his country, another a canal; a third is to procure a light-house; a fourth an academy, or a deaf and dumb asylum. These are the important affairs committed to the representatives; if they succeed, messenger like, in the execution of their errands, they are called "excellent fellows." The administration, of course, avails itself of these opportunities, does all in its power to meet the wishes of its "honourables," in

matters of such vital interest; and is rewarded by corresponding good offices in return. The congress has precisely the appearance of an exchange, where every one manages his own business to the best of his understanding, without troubling himself much about the affairs of his neighbonrs until his own are terminated.—(*United States as they are.*) The French ministry, says a journalist, is again without a nominal premier. The character of some of the most influential of the ministers even for common honesty, is so extremely low, that it is essential to have a premier who is not suspected of stock-jobbing or falsification of despatches; and whose reputation for probity may offer some gurantee to the country, against the notorious knavery of his colleagues. But men of this stamp are naturally unwilling to risk the loss of character, which must be almost inseparable from a connexion with some of the most prominent members of Louis Phillip's cabinet: and hence arises the difficulty of finding a successor to Marshal Gerard.—(*The Patriot, London, Nov.* 5, 1834.)

276. Hence it is, that men take not the comprehensive views of their situation the constitution of things demands; as, so far from considering,—how they are influencing those with whom they are more immediately concerned,—the destinies of their country,—of the rest of mankind,—and of that mighty scheme of things which comprehends the whole Universe with the Omnipotent at its head:—in all countries and ages, all classes, from the lowest to the highest, are generally little attentive to anything but what presses upon them so immediately, that not to be affected by it they must literally go out of themselves. Every thing beyond this is chaos. They come into the world. —They live in it.—They die out of it.—And know little more of the remoter effects they have been educing, or that they *ought to have been educing,* than though they had never been born.—(v. 177, *Acts* xxviii. 27.) The death of one generation serves only to make room for another, to tread so closely in the footsteps of generations that preceded, that the most cogent reason it can give for much of its conduct, is, that it has a precedent,—no matter how revolting such precedent may be to every principle of common sense! Once in a course of ages a few in a nation perhaps think things are not as they should be exactly. These cry out for reform, and the national institutions receive some slight modification. To the eye of him who looks aright, they, however, make no sensible approach to the state at which they ought to arrive.

277. How can righteous constitutions and codes, and men's lives conforming to the divine will, as to those things of which human laws do not take cognizance, be expected; whilst of the two classes into which nations are divided, the oppressed are too ignorant, and otherwise too immoral, to know in what

righteous laws truly consist; and oppressors or wretched political tinkers the infatuation of the great bodies of nations permits to make and execute the laws, are necessarily yet more immoral, and therefore altogether incompetent to the task; from the mental blindness ever the concomitant of vicious conduct? In proof of this, we have adverted to several nations on the European continent. Whilst the actual state of those countries evinces the gross and universal demoralization of the people, their constitutions and codes evince the yet more gross immorality of the traitors to all the best interests of humanity; who were, and are, the prime instruments of the miseries of their countries, in the establishment and maintenance of such constitutions and codes. It is, says Volney, the folly of man that works his destruction. It is his wisdom that must save him. The people are ignorant, let them get understanding. Their chiefs are depraved, let them correct their vices and amend their lives, for such is the decree of nature. Since the evils of society flow from *ignorance and inordinate desire,* men will never cease to be tormented till they shall become intelligent and wise; till they shall practise the art of justice, founded on a knowledge of the various relations in which they stand.—(*Revolutions of Empires.*)

278. As to many nations of the earth, one among them pluming itself on being wiser and better than its neighbours, is much as though of several unhappy wretches, justly condemned to die; one should insist that he least deserved to be so distinguished.

279. All who support a constitution without knowing that it is a lawful one, are condemned before God; precisely as those are, who tolerate the most execrable despotism. The constitution under which the former live, may, for anything they know, be opposed to the divine will. If, then, reader, it was practicable to call into your presence, any of the following classes:—

The members of the House of Lords.
The members of the House of Commons.
The barristers of the British Isles.
Our learned men, including the members of the Universities.
The ministers of the Established Church, as well as those among the Dissenters.
The officers of the Army and Navy.
The principal Merchants, Manufacturers, Bankers, &c.

And you were to examine the members of these classes, we are persuaded that not one in a hundred of them could evince to you the legality of our constitution, any more than he could the day he was born! The situations of these persons will be illustrated, by what a French traveller tells us of some women he saw at Timbuctoo. A few days after my arrival, says Caillé, I fell in with a negro who was parading about the streets

two women. They were not young, but their master, to give them the appearance of an age better suited to the market, had dressed them well. They wore fine white pagnes, large gold ear-rings, and each had two or three necklaces of the same metal. They did not appear in the least mortified at being exhibited in the streets for sale, but manifested an indifference, which I could easily enough account for by the state of degradation to which they had been reduced; and their total ignorance of the natural rights of mankind. They thought that things should be so, and that they had come into this world to be bought and sold.—(*As quoted in Bell's Geography, Glasgow*, 1831.) As to the classes of persons we are considering, we fear their "ignorance of the natural rights of mankind," approximates much closer than it ought, to that of the two women of Timbuctoo.

280. Let it not, however, be imagined that we are ascribing either a want of parts, or a want of cultivation of them, to such classes. What we charge them with, is, an application of their powers to almost every object than the one thing needful. A man may pass through life with acceptance on the part of Heaven, though he is not a profound mathematician, or though he is not linguist enough to read all the divisions of a polyglot bible. But no man whatever can do is duty, who is not a deep student of natural and revealed religion! To the knowledge of these, all other knowledge must be of entirely secondary importance. The ministers of religion may for ever exhort men, *one day in seven*, to flee from that which is unlawful if,—from the vicious appointment of things under which they live, allowing the land to be engrossed, and other causes, *their hearers necessarily spend the other six in the contravention of the divine will.* How much they truly do this, we have seen in our inquiries as to Vicious Association. To make a most accurate inquiry, whether the constitution and code under which men live, are in accordance with the will of Heaven; seeing what great things are dependent on them, is the duty of every man, precisely by the rule; i. e., the divine law,—that it is the duty of any man. If, then, ninety-nine out of a hundred of the principal among men, those who, as society is appointed among us, may fairly be expected to know better than the generality of their bretheren; are so unconcerned about the all-engrossing matters we are considering, as to be unable to evince that the constitution under which they live, is a lawful one; how unspeakably gross must be the ignorance, and other immorality, of all that part of the population of the nation, not comprehended in the classes we have mentioned.

281. Though oppressors exerted their utmost powers, all that they could do, would be insufficient to keep the great bodies of nations in bondage, if the oppressed were not almost as immoral as their oppressors.

282. From men's ignorance of the unspeakable consequence of loving God, and each other, aright; and consequent disobedience of the divine law, all the ills they sustain from the hands of one another arise.

Hence it is that the political right is engrossed.
Hence it is that the land is engrossed.
Hence it is that men are placed in that state of slavery, where they are sold and bought like bales of goods.
Hence it is that men are placed in that other state of slavery, where they are often obliged to sell their labour at so reduced a rate, as to place them in a worse situation, than that wherein they may be sold and bought.
Hence it is that the masters of the secondary associations enrich themselves by dealing in one or both these kinds of slave labour.
Hence it is that among the non-productive classes, some live on taxation and rents levied by virtue of unrighteous laws.
Hence it is that others of the non-productive classes live by gains accruing from the profits of the mercantile classes, arising out of dealing in one or both the kinds of slave labour.
Hence it is that the most oppressed and impoverished among men fail to unite in a manner sufficiently powerful to emancipate themselves.
Hence it is that all the loss of present and future good is sustained.
Hence it is that all present and future evil is endured.
Hence, it may be feared, will arise to not a few, final perdition.
All, all, all these unspeakable evils arise, it must never be forgotten, from men's practically conducting themselves as though there was no such Being as the Great Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the Universe!
All, all, all these unspeakable evils arise from men's ordinarily having less regard for one another, than the wise and good must have for the beasts that perish!

283. Having, it is hoped, made out to the satisfaction of all unprejudiced readers what the rights of men truly are; and that all the loss of good and infliction of evil which they sustain, arise from the unlawful assignment or misapplication of such rights, we may proceed to observe as to the duties of a nation and its legislative and executive; that, at the foundation of a nation,—whatever land there is unappropriated in any part of the world, is open to all mankind. The Chinese, the French, the English, the Dutch, or any other, cannot assert any exclusive right. The first cannot say to the second:—We Chinese have greater rights than you Frenchmen—nor can some Chinese say this to other Chinese. Men, of whatever nation, who first possess themselves have an undoubted title. (i. 53.)

284. On the establishment of a new nation, one of its first duties is to appoint a purely democratic government, and this should be maintained throughout all its ages. (i. 48.)

285. When a nation is divided into parties about the formation or maintenance of its government, one can determine against the rest by summoning them to unite with it, as by this means the great electoral assembly may be formed. (i. 48.)

286. Any neglect on the part of one or more than one person to attend such assembly, cannot delay its proceedings. After summoning all, it may lawfully proceed to the discharge of its

great duties; as, hereby, no wrong will be done to any one who does not attend. The remedy is to be more attentive at the next convening of the assembly.

287. Whatever the will of the whole nation is with regard to the constitution, that is lawful in the sight of Heaven. Thus, suppose it is determined by its majority, that the whole right of making and executing the laws shall be vested in a single individual. This would, no doubt, be acting most unwisely, and, therefore, highly displeasing to Heaven. It is, however, the will of the nation, and therefore, strictly speaking, lawful before God.

288. The nation can only allow the compact between itself and the makers and executors of the laws to be made for a limited time. To act otherwise, infringes the rights of those who have not attained their majority. To have a right and be debarred from exercising it, is to all practical purposes, equivalent to not having the right. (i. 45.)

289. Simplicity being desirable, there appears to be no objection in the legislative assembly being authorized by the nation to elect from its own body, the person or persons who is or are to be at the head of the executive. The all-important consideration being that *the divine law is not infringed;* that is, that no man has greater, nor any other man less weight than the rest of the native adult males, in appointing who shall make and execute the laws. It may possibly, also, be more convenient for the chief magistrate to be charged simply with the execution of the laws. In other words, that he be excluded from the power of determining by his sole will, whether any enactment that has passed the legislative, shall or shall not become law. Perhaps, in some peculiar and defined cases, a discretionary power may be vested in him. It is absurd that the chief of the executive should have the power of dissolving a legislative assembly. That this, emanating from a whole nation, should have the power of utterly superseding the chief magistrate, charged simply with the execution of the laws, seems perfectly rational; if the nation thinks fit to confide such a power to it. But that such officer should have the power of dismissing all the members of the legislative, who are collectively superior to him; and thereby usurp the rights of the whole nation, the masters both of himself and the members of the legislative, is a monstrous anomaly. The executive department, says Paine, is official and is subordinate to the legislative. It is impossible to conceive the idea of two sovereignties, a sovereignty to will and a sovereignty to act. The executive is not invested with the power of deliberating whether it shall act or not. It has no discretionary authority in the case,—for it can act no other thing than what the laws decree, and it is obliged to act conformably thereto.—(*Princip. of Gov.*)

290. Though this chapter is headed Lawful Constitutions, perhaps it would be more accurate to consider that there are only two Constitutions: one the lawful or purely democratic, the other unlawful; whether it is hereditary, as in Russia, or elective from a portion of the people, as in America, or partly elective and partly hereditary, as in France. These are only modifications of illegality. In speaking of Lawful Constitutions, then, we must be understood to signify different modifications of the democratic.

291. A nation has power, in reference to such modifications, to determine at what age the youth shall be admissible to the electoral assembly. The nation may in its different ages vary the number of its representatives. It may also determine whether it will appoint more than one principal magistrate, and the extent of the power and patronage that shall be lodged in the executive. In a word, it has the sole determination of every thing relating to the legislative and executive.

292. These have simply to *execute the trust* invested in them by the whole nation. The former to make—the latter to execute the laws;—*this is the utmost extent of their duty*. As from illness, inattention, and other causes, it is scarcely to be expected that all the members of a nation will attend the great electoral assembly,—the government therefrom emanating is bound to protect the rights of all those who do not attend it, as much as of those that do. (i. 45.)

293. If during the time the legislative and executive were empowered to act, they passed an improper enactment; for example, that a man who forged a one-pound note should be put to death for it; though such a law would be opposed to the will of Heaven, still it would be the enactment of a lawful body;—the objection being, not that the legislative had not the right to enact, but that the law was an improper one, the punishment awarded being wholly disproportionate to the offence.

294. The time for which the legislative and executive were delegated to exercise their functions being terminated,—their exclusive power is entirely at an end, and the members immediately become private citizens. Neither the whole collectively, nor any one individually, has any right whatever to repeal, alter, make, or execute any law or laws.

295. After what has been said, it can be hardly necessary to advance anything further in support of the doctrines laid down as to the rights of a nation; but, conformably with the mode elsewhere adopted, the following may be adduced. No usage, law, or authority whatever, says Paley, is so binding that it need or ought to be continued, when it may be changed with advantage to the community. The family of the prince, the order of succession, the prerogative of the crown, the form and parts of the legislature; together with the respective powers, office, dura-

tion, and mutual dependency of the several parts; are only so many laws mutable, like other laws, whenever expediency requires, either by the ordinary act of the legislature, or if the occasion deserves it, by the interposition of the people.—(*Mor. Philosophy.*)

296 The power of the legislative, says Locke, being derived from the people by a positive voluntary grant and institution, can be no other than what that positive grant conveyed; which being only to make laws and not to make legislators, the legislative can have no power to transfer their authority of making laws, and place it in other hands. (i. 47.) All power given with trust for the attaining an end, being limited by that end, whenever that end is manifestly neglected or opposed, the trust must necessarily be forfeited, and the power devolve into the hands of those that gave it; who may place it anew where they shall think best for their safety and security. And thus the community perpetually retains a supreme power of saving themselves from the attempts and designs of any body, even of their legislators.—(*On Gov.*) (83.)

297. Government, says Paine, is not a trade which any man or body of men has a right to set up and exercise for his or their own emolument; but is altogether a trust in right of those by whom that trust is delegated, and by whom it is always resumable. The operation of government is restricted to the making and the administering laws. But it is to a nation that the right of forming or reforming, generating or regenerating constitutions and governments belong; and, consequently, these subjects as matter of investigation, are always before a country as matters of right, and cannot without invading the general rights of the country, be made subjects for prosecution.—(*Rights of Man.*)

298. The people have a right to reform or change their government when they conceive that their prosperity and happiness require it. They have a right, when they please, to call their public officers to private life, and to fill up vacant places at their own discretion.—(*Constitution of Massachusetts.*)

299. It is manifest, says Vattel, that a nation has an indisputable right to form, maintain, and perfect its constitution; to regulate at pleasure every thing relating to the government; and that no person can have a just right to hinder it. Government is established only for the sake of the nation, with a view to its safety and happiness. If any nation is dissatisfied with the public administration, it may apply the necessary remedies to reform the government.—(*Law of Nations.*)

300. In whatever way, says Dr. Brown, power may have begun among mankind, it has usually, at least for many ages, in countries that suffer under despotism, been perpetuated by the submission on the part of the slave, to the mere might of its heredi-

tary or casual possessors. The history of power is therefore the history of that to which men have generally or individually considered it as expedient to submit; but it is not, on that account, necessarily the history of that, to which it was the duty of man to submit. It leaves to the race of men in every age, and in all the varying circumstances of their external and internal condition; to consider the duties of mankind in the same manner as they would have considered them in any former age. The citizen is to obey the laws and to defend them. These two duties relate to the political system that exists. He has still one other great duty, which relates not to things as they are, but to things as they may be. He is not to preserve the present system only; he is to endeavour, if it require or admit of amelioration of any sort, to render it still more extensively beneficial to those who live under it; and still more worthy of the admiration of the world, than with all its excellencies it may yet be.—*(Lecture* 91.*)*

301. If a government emanating from part of a nation empowered to make and execute the laws for four years, were to enact that the appointment should extend to five years, here we should have an unlawful government altering the constitution. But even a lawful government cannot do this, it being a usurpation of the rights of the nation.

302. Suppose, again, a government emanating from part of a nation, to authorize the abstraction of the land or the unrestricted personal liberty of some;—here we should have an unlawful government doing, that which not only a lawful government cannot, but a whole nation cannot lawfully; to do these things being the prerogative of God alone.

303. Whenever, therefore, we find a legislative and executive altering a nation's constitution in any manner whatever, such legislative and executive cannot but be acting illegally. If the government is lawfully appointed, though, as we have observed, the whole right of making and executing the laws is in one man;—by making any change whatever, he alters the constitution from a legal to an illegal one. Hence we see the absurdity of the French government abolishing hereditary peerages. The constitution, as originally established under Louis Phillip, was either lawful or unlawful. If lawful, the abolition made it unlawful; as any alteration whatever must have had this effect. If unlawful, the only legal act it could do, was wholly to supersede itself. That it was and is unlawful is unquestionable. A government, says Paine, on the principles on which constitutional governments arising out of society are established, cannot have the right of altering itself. If it had, it would be arbitrary. It might make itself what it pleased.—The act by which the English parliament empowered itself to sit for seven years, it might by the self-same authority have

sat for any greater number of years, or for life. The bill which the present Mr. Pitt brought into parliament some years ago, *to reform parliament*, was on the same erroneous principle. The right of reform is in the nation, in its original character, and the constitutional method would be by a general convention elected for the purpose. There is, moreover, a paradox in the idea of vitiated bodies reforming themselves.—(*Rights of Man.*)

304. A lawful constitution emanating from an unlawful one, is therefore, in political science, of all absurdities the greatest,—it being the right of the nation alone to establish, alter, or supersede the constitution;—and, as has been said, of the legislative and executive to execute the trust delegated to them by the nation. This is all that even a lawful government can do. And all that an unlawful government can do, is wholly to supersede itself in the most expeditious manner, that comports with the good of the nation.

305. The code of laws must in every thing strictly conform with the divine law, (1—23,) because the nation whence the legislative and executive derive all their authority, have no licence from the Most High to delegate such authority for any other object.

306. As to the duration of laws,—some must be as lasting as the existence of the nation itself: as, for example, the Hebrew enactment—'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.' That the character of immutability is applicable to a particular description of enactments, is evident from considering that the whole Hebrew code was directed by God to remain unaltered. And it did so continue during the whole period of the existence of the Hebrews as a separate nation, for about fifteen centuries. Some enactments are susceptible of alteration. Thus, suppose a great agricultural country ordinarily growing more corn than it requires, were to prohibit importation;—if a scarcity were to arise, a temporary enactment might allow the ports to be opened. A collection of the former class of enactments being made, it might not inaptly be styled THE BOOK OF THE LAW.

307. This class, when once made in accordance with the divine law, can scarcely require alteration, and should be of everlasting obligation. For as the evils members of a nation can bring on themselves by offences against religion, so far as they are remediable by law, are easily definable, as will be hereafter noticed; and as all other evils are injuries sustainable by one or more from their countrymen or foreigners; and as the relations between men are unchangeable, so ought also the laws which are remedial of such injuries. (36.) To the first or unchangeable description of enactments, the name Laws should be confined; the second being called by some other title, as Na-

tional Regulations; that two things so materially differing should not be confounded under a common name.

308. All statutes remain in force only until repealed by the existing or any subsequently elected legislative body. Consequently, the acts of those legislative bodies which precede, retain their authority only by virtue of those bodies which follow allowing them to remain unrepealed. Nothing can be clearer, then, than that a legislature is absolute, uncontrollable, and accountable to its constituents and the Divine Being for the execution of the trust with which it is invested. However, therefore, generations which precede, may interfere with the concerns of those that succeed; no acts of the former are binding on the latter, until ratified by them: that is, by being allowed to remain unrepealed. Although, says Paine, laws made in one generation often continue in force through succeeding generations, yet they continue to derive their force from the consent of the living. A law not repealed, continues in force, not because it cannot be repealed, but because it is not repealed. And the non-repealing passes for consent.—(*Rights of Man.*)

309. It is, therefore, one of the earliest duties of a newly appointed legislative body, to examine the statute-book left by its predecessors, and repeal all enactments that do not accord with the divine law. That the legislatures of different nations, in succeeding ages, suffer unrighteous enactments to remain unrepealed, arises from the lawmakers being unlawfully appointed, and holding their power for the great purpose of making unrighteous enactments! (177.)

310. If it were possible to collect all the constitutions and codes that ever existed in the world, whatever was found in them contravening the divine law, so far from being righteous law; would be only a mournful monument of the iniquity of those who suffered, or who now suffer, this holy law to be set at nought.

311. All, therefore, who, in any country or age, directly or indirectly uphold unrighteous constitutions or codes, may be thus addressed.—Whatever is of God ye cannot overthrow, lest haply ye be found even to fight against him; in so doing, you shall not prosper:—a truth which has been verified in the history of all the nations that have ever existed in the world, and the state of those that now exist in it. As, however, they may have differed, or do now differ, as to the degrees of their prosperity; it is too obvious to need insisting on, that no one has ever yet arisen in the world, whose state of prosperity and happiness has ever at all approached to what it would, if the divine law had fully governed the formation of its constitution and code; and men had lived in conformity with this holy rule as to those parts of their conduct of which human laws do not take cognizance.

312. Consequently, whatever miscalled rights, any men, in any nation or age, may pretend to—of making, assisting to make, or executing the laws, by virtue of a constitution not formed in rigorous accordance with the divine law, i. e., emanating from a great electoral assembly of all the adult males of a nation, such miscalled rights are utterly invalid to all intents and purposes whatever, (as far as the object of righteous governing is concerned); the form of the constitution, and its age, being utterly unimportant,—the purely democratic being that which alone is lawful in all nations and throughout all their ages.

313. *Whatever miscalled right some may pretend to, of holding land under an illegal constitution, though such land may have been possessed by the holders' ancestors for a hundred generations, such miscalled right is utterly invalid, to all intents and purposes whatever.* For, if men could set up enactments that could make wrong right, however many ages, prior to such enactments being passed, the illegal titles to land accrued; they could do so though the illegal titles were but a day old.

314. *Those, therefore, who hold land under an unlawful constitution, having no right to it themselves, cannot transfer a right to their heirs or others; as a man cannot assign to another what he has not himself.*

315. A man may assign the *possession,* but he cannot assign the *right.*

316. *The possession of land conformably with unrighteous human laws, and the right to it in accordance with human laws agreeing with the law of God, are obviously essentially different.* (1—49.)

317. When men hold land *under a constitution and code conforming with the divine law,* they have both *the possession and the right.*

318. When men hold land under *a constitution and code not conforming* with the divine law, they have *the possession but not the right.*

319. Those, consequently, who, by a constitution and code not conforming with the divine law, have the land abstracted from them, have *the right but not the possession.*

320. *Power without right may take from men the possession, but it can in no manner affect their right.* This accrues to every man by virtue of his political right, emanating to him immediately from God, and necessarily, therefore, irrespective of all human influence.

321. *Whatever, therefore, there is in the constitution or code of laws of any nation now existing, in contravention of the divine law, whether having been continued through many ages, or only recently enacted, should be immediately superseded by a constitution or code, or both, rigorously according*

with the divine law. This holy law, making it imperative on all nations of the world, and in every age, originally to establish righteous constitutions and codes; obviously obliges them to supersede every thing unrighteous, either in their constitutions or codes. To affirm the contrary, being equivalent to asserting that, though men are obliged, by the law of God, to abstain from drunkenness, lying, thieving, or any other vice; yet, after they have begun the practice of them, they are not bound to relinquish them. The wrath of God is, however, revealed from Heaven, against all ungodliness and unrighteousness of men.

322. Nothing, therefore, can be more clear than, that in the sight of Heaven, the *maintenance* of an illegal constitution and code, or any illegality of the latter, is equally criminal with the original establishment.

323. As to foreign conquest,—one nation cannot declare war, and much less invade another, but on just grounds. Without such grounds, therefore, one nation invading or interfering at all with the rights of another, is manifestly a contravention of the divine law. What are just grounds of invasion, will be considered in the proper place. Even after lawful invasion, the rights of men cannot be permanently affected. This will appear from considering, that if a nation has the right to subjugate another, and altogether supersede its existing government, its authority can only be maintained for a limited period; as the utmost punishment that can lawfully be inflicted on any nation, however it may have violated international law, is to keep its living generation in a certain degree of subjection, until such generation becomes extinct. After that period, the constitution must be appointed in strict accordance with the divine law: that is, by the conquerors evacuating the subjugated country, or taking their places in the great electoral assembly with all the rest of the adult males, thereby sharing, in the ratio of their numbers, the whole political right with such males. We do not say that conquerors can do as here mentioned:—all we affirm is, that this is the utmost limit of punishment that can be inflicted on a subjugated nation.

324. How iniquitously the rights of a conquered people have been dealt with, history furnishes abundance of sad examples; one may here suffice. The Spaniards having invaded South America, upon no justifiable grounds whatever, we learn from Dr. Robertson, that after taking Guatimozin, the sovereign of Mexico, and becoming masters of the capital; they supposed that the king of Castile entered on possession of all the rights of the captive monarch, and affected to consider every effort of the Mexicans to assert their own independence, as the rebellion of vassals against their sovereign, or the mutiny of slaves against their master. Under the sanction of those ill-founded maxims, they violated every right that should be held sacred

between hostile nations. After each insurrection, they reduced the common people in the provinces which they subdued, to the most humiliating of all conditions, that of personal servitude. Their chiefs, supposed to be more criminal, were punished with greater severity, and put to death in the most ignominious, or the most excruciating mode, that the insolence or cruelty of their conquerors could devise. In almost every district of the Mexican empire, the progress of the Spanish arms is marked with blood. In the country of Panuco, sixty caziques, or leaders, and four hundred nobles, were burned at one time. Nor was this shocking barbarity perpetrated in any sudden sally of rage, or by a commander of inferior note. It seems hardly possible to exceed in horror this dreadful example of severity, but it was followed by another which affected the Mexicans still more sensibly; as it gave them a most feeling proof of their own degradation, and of the small regard which their haughty masters retained for the ancient dignity and splendour of their state. On a slight suspicion, confirmed by very imperfect evidence, that Guatimozin had formed a scheme to shake off the yoke, and to excite his former subjects to take arms; Cortes, without the formality of a trial, ordered the unhappy monarch, together with the caziques of Tezeuco and Tacuba, the two persons of greatest eminence in the empire, to be hanged; and the Mexicans, with astonishment and horror, beheld this disgraceful punishment inflicted upon persons, to whom they were accustomed to look up with reverence hardly inferior to that which they paid to the gods themselves.—(*Hist. Amer.*)

325. In the ancient world, says a historian, those who made conquests treated the conquered people in different manners, according to their various tempers and interests: some looking, on themselves as absolute masters of the vanquished, and thinking it was enough to grant them life, stripped them of every thing else, and reduced them to the state of slavery; condemning them to the meanest offices and the most laborious employments, which introduced the distinction between freemen and slaves ever since kept up in the world. Others introduced the custom of transporting the conquered nations entirely into new countries, where they assigned them settlements, and lands to cultivate. Others, yet more moderate, contented themselves with obliging the conquered to purchase their liberty by a ransom; and allowed them the enjoyment of their own laws and privileges, on payment of an annual tribute; sometimes even leaving their kings on the throne, and only obliging them to acknowledge the superiority of their conqueror, by certain marks of homage and submission. The wisest and most politic gained the affections of their new subjects, by admitting them to an equality with their old ones, and granting them the same

liberties and privileges; so that, by an union of interests, they quickly became one people. Thus large empires were formed, which, however, did not happen till several centuries after the dispersion, when the eastern parts of the world became very populous. (*Gen.* xi. 9).—(*Guthrie*).

326. The noblest treaty of peace ever mentioned in history, is, in my opinion, says Montesquieu, that which Gelon made with the Carthaginians. He insisted upon their abolishing the custom of sacrificing their children. Glorious indeed! After having defeated 300,000 Carthaginians, he required a condition that was advantageous only to themselves, or rather he stipulated in favour of human nature.—(*Spirit of Laws.*)

327. Over those, says Locke, that joined a conqueror, and over those of the subdued country that opposed him not, and the posterity even of those that did; the conqueror, even in a just war, hath by his conquest no right of dominion. They are free from any subjection to him, and if their former government be dissolved, they are at liberty to begin and erect another to themselves. Let us suppose that all the men of the community, being all members of the same body politic, may be taken to have joined in that unjust war, wherein they are subdued, and so their lives are at the mercy of the conqueror. This concerns not their children who are in their minority, for since a father hath not in himself a power over the life and liberty of his child, no act of his can possibly forfeit it. So that the children, whatever may have happened to the fathers, are freemen; and the absolute power of the conqueror reaches no farther than the persons of the men that were subdued by him, and dies with them; and should he govern them as slaves, he has no right or dominion over their children. He can have no power over them but by their own consent, whatever he may drive them to say or do, and he has no lawful authority whilst force, and not choice, compels them to submission.—(*On Govt.*)

328. As to the difference between usurpation and foreign subjugation, it may be observed, that on the supposition of a pure democracy being established—in America, for example; it surely can never be contended for by any but madmen, that if the Americans, in such a case, were to conduct themselves like virtuous men, committing no breach of international law; any other nation, suppose the Chinese, have a right to subjugate them, and set up such a form of government over them, as abstracts the political right from a less or greater number; as, if the Chinese have such a right, the Americans have an equal right to go to China and do the same thing;—hence we see its absurdity. If, then, the right of a single American to an equal share of the political right, cannot be abstracted from him by foreign invasion, neither can it be done by domestic usurpation. Precisely the same wrong is done to him by one mode as the

other. If two Americans were travelling along different roads of America, and one was to be robbed of his watch by a Chinese, and the other by an American, both, it is obvious, would be prejudiced exactly in the same degree. Would, then, the one who was robbed by his own countryman, be at all consoled by being told that the spoliation was thus inflicted? Is there the least imaginable difference as to the loss each sustains? The very word usurpation, is quite enough to carry its own condemnation. Can any intellect, however acute, see any difference between it and robbery? (36.)

329. As to the combination of usurpation and unlawful foreign subjugation permanently affecting the rights of men; either, separately, being a contravention of the divine law, when united, they must be still more unlawful, if any gradations can be imagined in that which is unlawful. In any country or age, therefore, natives that join foreign conquerors for the purpose of abstracting from the rights of any of their countrymen, are the most wretched of traitors. History, however, affords us instances of natives, in the generation in which their country was subjugated, uniting with their conquerors; and the descendants of both the conquerors and conquered also joining, for the unhallowed purpose of abstracting from a part of the natives of a country, their share of the political right.

330. Those who impugn what we affirm on the subject of human governments, must insist that any persons, whether native or foreign, or a combination of these, have a right at any time to take the government of a nation into their hands. If, then, this can be done by any persons to their own nation or a foreign one, it can by any others, and necessarily therefore by all others, to all nations, at all times; there being no line to be drawn between this and pure democracies, for all nations throughout all their ages. Whence we further see that a democracy is the only constitution lawful in the sight of Heaven.

331. Whether men willingly suffer their rights to be abstracted from them by domestic usurpation or foreign invasion, they are condemned in the sight of Heaven; because one equally with the other, takes away the means entrusted to them by God, for the benefit of themselves, and in a less or greater degree the whole world, throughout its generations.—(16, and 18.)

332. *As all men, then, in any country or age, are bound to do all that lawfully lies in them to resist foreign invaders, so they are equally bound to resist the domestic usurpers of any of their three great rights.*

CHAP. VII.

UNLAWFUL CONSTITUTIONS.

1. In the last Chapter we saw that a pure democracy is the only lawful government in the sight of Heaven for any country, throughout all its ages.

2. *Let, then, the following be held in everlasting remembrance, by all by whom this book may be seen, in whatever part of the world they may dwell, and in whatever age those yet to come may arise, until another dispensation arrives from Heaven;—as some of the great truths enduring to all generations, and of unspeakable importance to the temporal and eternal welfare of every individual of the present and all future generations of the whole human race:—that any number of persons, in any nation or age, distinct from a great electoral assembly of all the adult males, uniting for the purpose of forcibly establishing or maintaining a government; is only an unlawful association, all the members of which violate the divine law to all their countrymen not thereto belonging. A government emanating from such association has, therefore, no authority either from God, or those only who can, in accordance with the divine law, constitute one. Consequently, such government is appointed of* POWER WHOLLY WITHOUT RIGHT. *And however it may be formed, and for however many ages it may be maintained, all its acts are not only utterly null and void, to all intents and purposes whatever (as far as the object of righteously governing is concerned;) but each distinct act is a treasonable one, committed against the government of the Creator, Preserver, and Governor of the Universe, the Lord God Omnipotent! And not only are those who make and execute the laws in their several generations, condemned in the sight of Heaven,—but, necessarily all the civil functionaries, naval and military persons, and all others belonging to, or actively supporting the association. As it prevents as far as in it lies, every man in the nation from establishing a government lawful before God;—and as it exists in most or all cases through the neglect of those excluded from it, to unite for the purpose of dissolving it;—both its members and all who are not its members, (except any individuals that do all that lawfully lies in them utterly to dissolve it;)—are to a less or greater extent con-*

demned before God, each one not only for his own acts, but all the acts of his contemporaries. And not only is each man thus answerable for all the acts of such contemporaries, but also for the acts of all those that arise in the nation, throughout all the generations during which the unlawful government is maintained. And necessarily, therefore, to a less or greater extent, for the iniquity and suffering arising from the want of a lawful constitution and code. We call men and angels to witness that this declaration has been made, in the face of the whole world, the holy angels in Heaven, and necessarily the Most High himself. And we solemnly warn every man by whom it shall be read, of his accountability in the sight of Heaven, for any violation of duty on his part, as to anything herein written. To God be 'the kingdom, and the power, and the glory for ever, Amen.'

3. By the second Canon, (i. 38.) 'there should be no schism in the body' of a nation; but a political association, composed of part of the nation, obviously cannot exist without an opposition of interests. Hence its unlawfulness.

4. By the ninth Canon, (i. 45.) all associations, whether political, commercial, or of what kind soever, the object of entering into or maintaining which is to prejudice in any manner whatever those who are not members of such associations; are absolutely and utterly unlawful in the sight of Heaven. A political association, composed of part only of a nation, necessarily, always abstracts one of the rights of men, sometimes two and sometimes all three. Hence also, its utter illegality.

5. And it can scarcely be too often repeated, that whether a constitution so approaches a democracy, as for one man only to be excluded from his share of the political right, or for a pure despotism to be established, where one only engrosses it all; the divine law in either case is set at nought. *Between these extremes no line can be drawn.* "Where," again to adopt the language of Paine, "are we to stop, or by what principles are we to find out the point to stop at that shall discriminate between men of the same country, part of whom shall be free, and the rest not?"—(vi. 114.) Unless what is here affirmed, is admitted, the whole human race, throughout its generations, is thrown into inextricable confusion about its rights. All righteous law is laid prostrate. In other words, the distinctions of right and wrong are confounded; the government of God over our world is at an end. Men may set up their own accursed abominations, varying in different countries and ages, as the wickedness of oppressors and the supineness of the oppressed differs. And thence all the unutterable evil and misery arising from unlawful governments. 'vi. 44, to 46, and 75.)

6. On a memorable occasion of our Lord's life, he thus ad-

dressed his Father, ' Not as I will, but as thou wilt.' This is quite reversed in reference to all the members of any unlawful political association, who are either regardless of their Heavenly Father, or if they do think of him, practically say—*Not 'as thou wilt,' but as we will!*

7. That every reader may be fully satisfied of the utter illegality of all governments not purely democratic.—He should note his ideas of the divine nature. Then, how he considers the Most High governs our world, and especially what the divine will is in reference to human governments and laws. Next, what the conduct of men ought to be, in accordance with his most holy will. After this, in reference to any nation having an unlawful constitution, if any records are preserved of its establishment, the reader should compare what he has written, with—

The conduct of the men who established the constitution. (vi.—130.)

The constitution itself.

The code of laws. (vi.—75, 177.)

The history of the people.

Their present state. (vi.—1.)

asking himself at each step, *Has the will of God, as declared in the constitution of human nature* (i. 19,) *and divine revelation,* (i. 20) *been attempted to be done.*—(*Matt.* vi, 10.)

8. At the establishment of a constitution, whether in colonizing lands before unpeopled, or when a revolution happens in an old country; if such establishment was not effected by a set of miserable atheists, at least of men that were practically so; it might be expected that they would cause a written document to be deposited among the national archives, evincing what are the rights of men, and what the objects of human governments in accordance with the will of God, and how a lawful constitution should be formed; next, that such a one had been appointed; and, lastly, that certain persons had, conformably with it, been delegated by the nation to form the legislative and executive. The whole history of mankind, as far as we are acquainted with it, affords no instance of these things having been done in accordance with the divine law, either on or subsequent to the establishment of a government.

9. What a deplorable view does this present of mankind.—The whole human race affords no instance of a government, (whose sole office it is to preserve men's rights inviolate,) ever taking suitable measures to determine what these rights are, conformably with the will of God! And how still more apparent is this depravity, when it is remembered that this has never been done by any individual of the whole human race, as far as any thing is extant, to the extent of our researches.

10. Can it be questioned by any man, who is not sunk to the level of the brutes, that it is to the unspeakable and eternal

infamy of the past and present generations of mankind, that the slightest imaginable doubt exists as to this great matter? That, at this age of the world, there should be any more necessity for making a question about what are truly the rights of men; than as to whether the sun shines at noon-day, or whether a horse is a tree, or a man a house, or any other position equally preposterous? Assuredly, reader, the unspeakable and universal depravity of mankind cannot be described, if even imagined!

11. Assuming it to be proved, that the purely democratic is the only constitution that accords with the divine law, every man actually concerned in supporting any other, must be in one of the following situations:—he must be fully sensible that he is upholding that which contravenes this holy law, or be in a state of brutal ignorance as to whether it is or is not therewith in accordance. Whichever way it is taken, how great, how very great, how exceedingly great, must be the guilt of such a man; and how many, how very many, how very very many, are in this sad condemnation! (1—33, vi.—18.)

12. Let us suppose an intelligent English lad taken from school, to be educated for the law; having, it may be considered, been accustomed to repeat the petition to the Most High, 'Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven:'—it is not too much to expect even from a youth possessing any sense of religion, that he should be inquisitive as to how the lawfulness of the English constitution in the sight of Heaven, is made out; and that, if sought after, the elucidation was ready to his hands. In other words, that some luminary of the law, during all the past ages in which our constitution has existed, has evinced this legality with a perspicuity that even 'way [faring men, though fools, shall not err therein.' But so far from this being truly so, a man may as well look into Johnson's Dictionary or the London Directory, as into all the law books in England, for a single sentence, that evinces the lawfulness, in the sight of Heaven, of the titles of the king, the members of the house of lords, or the constituents of the commons. Their titles are, of course, good enough by the law of the land, (vi.—177) just as the emperor of Russia's title is good by the law of Russia, which law consists solely in what he determines. But of what sort is this Russian law? Is it in accordance with or opposed to the will of God? How can it be made to appear that pursuant to this holy law, one man in Russia, and many men in England, are entitled to greater rights than his countrymen in the former case, or their countrymen in the latter? (vi.—77.)

13. In reference to what are miscalled hereditary rights in nations,—that a man may have an hereditary right to property is indisputable; but that there is not any man, of any nation, or any age, who can have an hereditary right to make or

execute laws, or appoint any person or persons to do so; is equally indisputable. Those which are commonly called hereditary rights as to persons, should be called what they truly are, *hereditary wrongs.* (1—47, vi.—105.) All hereditary government, says Paine, is in its nature tyranny. An heritable crown, or an heritable throne, or by what other fanciful name such things may be called, have no other significant explanation, than that mankind are heritable property. *To inherit a government is to inherit the people as if they were flocks and herds.*—(*Princip. of Gov.*)

14. Those who *lawfully* hold the legislative and executive offices in nations, doing it by virtue of a compact (1—40) between themselves and those they rule; the right of making, assisting to make, or executing the laws, can never be assigned without the consent of both parties to the compact; this is the same as making a new compact. Suppose the whole adult male population of America, by their majority, chose a man called Franklin as their president for four years. If he is appointed for a second time, it is in virtue of a new compact. If, instead of this second appointment, it is determined to have Franklin's cousin for a new president; Franklin himself, except as one of the electors, has no more to do in the matter than the emperor of China. The affair is altogether between the cousin and the nation. *The duties of making, assisting to make, or executing laws, can under no conceivable circumstances, be lawfully assigned, in any country or any age.* A nation simply delegates certain persons, for a certain time, to perform these offices; and when the time is expired, a new compact, as we have said, must be entered into; even though one or more retain his office or their offices. This is evident from considering, that the electoral assembly would be changed, by some dying, and others being admitted, from attaining adult age.

15. Let it be supposed that the laws of any nation permitted men to transfer their widows by marriage, to any one whom the first husband thought fit. Every one must see that this is absurd, and it is not less so, that some should assign to others the office of politically governing, without the consent of the governed.

16. It is justly remarked by Paine, that if a thing "had not a right to begin, it has not a right to continue." (vi.—106.) If there is any validity in what are called hereditary rights, there must be a certain family or families, that at the foundation of a nation has or have these rights. They obviously cannot belong to all families. If, then, they do belong to one or more exclusively in accordance with the divine will, it is rebelling against Heaven for them to be lodged with any other or others. But how, in accordance with the divine law, as to every nation

of the world,—is the family, or are the families—to be distinguished? Every enlightened and good man must see, from this question, that no such miscalled rights exist in any nation or age whatever. If any say, that though hereditary rights do not exist at the foundation of a nation, they may arise in some of its ages; they must say, that the constitution, which in the early ages was lawful in the sight of Heaven, ceases to be so in some of its latter ages. Sacred writ, however, tells us, that the Divine Being is 'the same yesterday, and to-day, and for ever.' (1—26, vi.—36.) Those who maintain the doctrine we have supposed, are bound to evince in what age of a nation its constitution may be changed, and what nations may be thus acted on;—how the persons assuming hereditary rights are to be distinguished from all others, and as these rights vary in different nations, what those are which accord with the laws of nature and revelation, and how the accordance appears. The right, says Paine, which any man or any family had to set itself up at first to govern a nation, and to establish itself hereditarily, was no other than the right which Robespierre had to do the same thing in France. If he had none, they had none. If they had any, he had as much; for it is impossible to discover superiority of right in any family, by virtue of which hereditary governments could begin. The Capets, the Robespierres, the Marats, are all on the same standing as to the question of right.—*(Princip. of Gov.)*

17. If hereditary rights are maintainable, one, or more than one generation of some particular nation or nations, or of all nations, must have greater rights than its or their successors. But this is a manifest absurdity, as it has, or they have, no *power* either human or divine to defend such rights. This is, therefore, equivalent to their not having them. (vi.—27.) A generation which grants hereditary rights necessarily passes to the silent tomb before most of them can come into operation.

18. If a part or the whole of a preceding generation can in any degree lawfully curtail the rights of any individual of a succeeding one, it can in a greater degree, so as to leave him no rights whatever. And if it can do this to one individual, it can to another, and consequently to all others; whereby the whole of the next generation (if the right we are supposing is fully acted on) would have all their rights abstracted. Again, to quote the words of Paine, "Where are we to stop, or by what principles are we to find out the point to stop at, that shall discriminate between men," "part of whom shall be free, and the rest not." (vi.—114.)

19. As such generation would have no rights itself; it could transmit none to the generations which succeeded.

20. This, therefore, would be equivalent to abstracting altogether the rights of all future generations.

21. And if this can be done in one nation, it can in another; whereby the rights of all future generations of the whole human race may be altogether taken away.

22. So far, therefore, from a part, or the whole, of one generation of any nation having the right of abstracting, in any degree, the rights of any individual of a succeeding one, a whole generation of all the nations of the earth has not this right; for if it can abstract the rights of any individual, in any degree, the consequences just mentioned follow.

23. And if one generation of all nations cannot abstract the rights of any individual of any nation, in any degree whatever, neither can two or more generations, even though all preceding generations concur; because, if all the preceding generations that have ever lived of all the nations of the earth, uniting for this purpose, can in any degree abstract the rights of any individual, the consequences just mentioned, follow.

24. If, therefore, the whole human race, in all its generations, can in no degree affect the rights of any individual of any nation,—still less can the whole generation of any nation do this,—still less can a part of such generation do this,—still less can a part of such generation affect the rights of the whole of a future generation,—and, least of all, of the whole of all future generations during a nation's existence;—though this would be the case as to every nation on earth, if a part of a generation in any nation, has the right of appointing any person or persons to make, to assist to make, or to execute, the laws for its future generations. (vi.—90.)

25. Again, if the whole or a part of one generation, in any nation, can grant to the heirs of any person or persons the right to make or execute the laws, or to assist to do these things for future generations;—the part or the whole of such generation may grant this right to as many or to as few of such heirs as it pleases, even to centering the whole right of making and executing the laws in one person, and his heirs in all future generations.

26. And if a part of any generation can thus act on future generations; any part, however small, even a single individual, can do the same;—a right very modestly assumed by a chief-magistrate of Russia. Thus, Peter the First made a law which authorized the sovereign to designate for his successor whom he would; the whole right, or rather miscalled right, of making and executing the laws, being, as has been remarked, in the Russian chief magistrate. The emperor of China also is said to have the right of choosing his successor, which he may elect not only from the royal family, but from among his other subjects. There have been emperors, who have chosen for their successors, persons of mean birth and fortune; examples of this kind are not, however, very common, but it

frequently happens that the choice does not fall according to seniority.

27. If any man can lawfully abstract, in any way, the rights of a part or the whole of the present or a future generation, all men can do it in all generations, to the existing and all future generations. If this can be done in one nation, it can be done in all nations, and throughout all their ages. Between these extremes no lines can be drawn.

28. For if one human being of the whole human race can lawfully set up any exclusive or hereditary right, any other, and consequently all others, can. But nothing can be more obvious, than that such rights have no existence. The whole human race being under the divine law, which awards no exclusive or hereditary rights to any persons whatever, of any country or any age. (vi.—111 & 173.)

29. Suppose the members of the French chamber of peers and head of the executive, are (as far as men who allowed themselves to be so appointed, could be;) good men:—their successors may be the greatest fools and villains all France can produce. Whatever advantage any member of the chamber or chief of the executive, may be to his country, in his individual capacity, the appointment itself of a chamber of peers; emanating as to each of the members from an hereditary executive, and the appointment itself of the hereditary executive, can, under no possible combination of circumstances, be beneficial.—(vi.—190.) The French nation can never require a chamber of peers, nor an hereditary executive; though it does a principal magistrate, or principal magistrates. If, then, a descendant of the present royal family happens to be the fittest man in France to be its chief magistrate, the French people should choose him. But neither they, nor the man himself, will be in any degree benefitted by his being hereditarily appointed; though, if he happens to be one of the most unfit men to fill the chief magistracy France can produce,—which is much more likely,—the nation will be obliged to allow him to do so, or get rid of him, perhaps with great confusion and bloodshed: unless they are wise enough to alter their constitution before such a man attains the miscalled hereditary right.

30. The object of those who exclusively appropriate to themselves what truly belongs to all, would be most fully attained by the reduction of the numbers of the oppressors. Thus, suppose that in China two legislative bodies were to be appointed, one hereditary, the other elected, and a hereditary executive. If the hereditary legislative could by any means get rid of the elected one, the former and the head of the executive would have all the political influence in their own hands. The same thing would happen if the chief of the executive could also dispose of the hereditary legislative: in such case, the whole title

for making and executing the laws would, as far as possible, centre in him. We thus perceive the two extremes, the whole political influence centering in all or only in one. If in China there exist an hereditary legislative body of five hundred, as well as one elected by part or all the rest of the nation; and the members of the hereditary legislative are conscious, as they ought to be, that they have no greater right to legislate than any other five hundred adult males in the nation, and consequently assent to all the acts which emanate from the elected legislative; the hereditary legislative is of course an utter nonentity, and it is a disgrace alike to the members and the nation, to permit such a body to exist. If in the nation there exists only one legislative body, consisting of five hundred members, deriving their miscalled right hereditarily, this body having a large armed association to enforce obedience to its enactments, the difference between such a government and a despotic one, is, that in the former case, the nation is cursed with five hundred tyrants; in the latter, with one and the few satellites that surround him only. If an elected legislative exists, and a hereditary legislative and executive are allowed to exist with it; the powers allowed such hereditary legislative and executive, to the exact extent that they exist, is precisely equivalent to abstracting from the rest of the nation so much of the influence which by divine appointment thereto belongs.

31. A virtuous Chinese must ever consider it one of the most honourable distinctions that can be conferred on him, to be appointed by his fellow citizens one of the members of a *lawfully constituted* elected legislative: but no virtuous Chinese can allow himself to become a member of an hereditary legislative, for any other purpose than to do all in his power wholly to supersede it; because this body can by no possibility arise or exist in China, in any way whatever, but for the purpose of doing violence to the rights of the rest of the nation, and becoming one of its greatest curses. And as an hereditary legislative can never exist in China but upon the ruins of all righteous law, an elected legislative can evidently be co-existent with it for one purpose only: namely, to participate in its unrighteousness, and, therefore, be assistant to it in making the degradation of China complete, in other words, *supporting the oppression.* As to the degradation of China, we mean of course when compared with what it might be, if its constitution and code accorded with the divine law, and its population lived as righteous men should, as to those matters of which human laws do not take cognizance. No virtuous Chinese can ever accept a seat in the elected legislative, but for the great purpose of endeavouring utterly to supersede the hereditary legislative and executive, and whatever else there is in the constitution not according with the divine law. The rise and maintenance of an hereditary legislative body

in China, would therefore be one of the most outrageous impositions the wickedness of men could devise, an imposition which assuredly could be tolerated only by the Chinese being A NATION OF SLAVES. That they truly are so now, none in this part of the world will, we believe, dispute. The proceeding, therefore, as we have supposed, would be simply changing one kind of slavery for another.

32. Let any man by the utmost stretch of his imagination, endeavour to conceive a more unspeakable anomaly in legislation, than that an hereditary chief magistrate, *without the slightest conceivable right himself,* shall confer the rights of legislators on as many Chinese and their heirs as he pleases; and simultaneously, that multitudes of the living are utterly excluded from having any voice in the appointment of their rulers, and that such a state of things shall go on for ages. One would imagine, as to the matter of government, that men were sent into the world for the great purpose of trying, how extensively, and for how long a time, they might practise on the forbearance of Heaven. When the final consummation of every thing relating to this earth shall arrive, assuredly not the least remarkable circumstance of its history will be the rise and maintenance of those anomalous constitutions, an hereditary and elected legislative, and an hereditary executive. Should they ere long cease, by men becoming more enlightened and virtuous,—from the period they do to the end of time, matter of astonishment will be afforded for every succeeding generation of mankind, that any part of its ancestors should ever have been so infatuated as to tolerate these constitutions. And this astonishment will not be a little increased, at finding they misruled so large a portion of the human race for so many of its generations.

33. Catherine the Second, having ascended the Russian throne, by causing her husband to be murdered (it is generally believed that she was privy to the deed), to amuse her subjects, she proposed that a convention of deputies should assemble. They at last met in the capital. The empress's instructions came forth, and great things were expected. The most consequential of the deputies were privately instructed to be very cautious, and informed that carriages and guards were ready for Siberia. There was a grand procession at their presentation. Each had the honor of kissing her majesty's hand and receiving a gold medal. They met in form to recognize one another, then parted, and have never met since. In thus acting, this audaciously wicked woman did in some sense greater service to her country, than if she had allowed a permanent body of representatives to be maintained.

34. Suppose the existence in China of a constitution composed of an hereditary legislative and executive, and elected legislative emanating from a part of the nation. Such a government

would enrich a *few* at the expense of the *many*, by the iniquitous laws that would assuredly be made and executed, and the many would probably be thus farther injured. A miserable set of hireling scribblers would endeavour, and beyond this, through the wretched blindness of mankind, succeed in persuading the oppressed; not only that they were not insulted and robbed of their birthright, but that they lived under a "glorious constitution." The difference in the glory, however, is, that under a despotism a few rob and insult their country,—under the other constitution, a great many do these things to the Chinese; namely, the hereditary executive, and members of the hereditary and elected legislatives; and the constituents of the latter, rob and insult all those that are not members of the lawless association to which they belong.

35. In the appointment of the hereditary legislative and executive that we have supposed, it is obvious that, were the elected legislative chosen by the whole adult male population, instead of a part, the whole nation would be enslaved, inasmuch as it would allow some of the political right to be abstracted by the hereditary legislative and executive. We have seen that the man who consents to be in any degree enslaved, cannot be a virtuous man; and every man is enslaved who does not live under a pure democracy (vi. 73). This is obvious even as to oppressors themselves, among whom it is only a scramble for that of which they rob the rest of the nation. The more humble oppressors are as much enslaved and robbed by the greater oppressors, as the oppressed are by the aggregate of oppressors! (vi. 128).

36. If there is any greater glory in being robbed and insulted by many than by few, it is a kind of glory far too dim for us to perceive.

37. The time will perhaps arrive in the duration of our world, when men will discover that, if they are robbed of one, two, or all their rights, there is little difference to them as to the degree of glory attending the spoliation;—in other words, what kind of unlawful constitution they live under, or how short, or how long a time, it has been maintained. The notion of the elected legislative being a defence to the Chinese against the oppressions of a hereditary executive and legislative, or a legislative, the members of which are appointed by the sovereign for life; *is some of the most miserable quackery with which mankind has ever been insulted.*

38. Take, for example, the French Chamber of Peers. If the members are like their fraternity in a nation not a thousand miles from France, we apprehend it is impossible to find *an equal number of men, in the whole nation, who do so much injury to their country, as the members of such chamber do,* by the land and wealth they engross, through laws, however con-

forming to their will, are wholly opposed to the will of the Most High. We have no means of determining the question, but we think it probable, that if an account was taken of the wealth the French peers illegally engross in the shape of rent and taxation, and another account of that abstracted by all the persons convicted of robbery before the French courts of law;—the former would greatly exceed the latter. It must be remembered, as to the engrossing the land, that it does not apply only to what the peers exclusively appropriate. This portion is not attainable but by laws which allow *all* the land to be engrossed by a comparatively small number.—(v. 162.) We thus see how incalculably the peers injure their country, in comparison with the utterly inconsiderable benefit they derive.—(v. 126.)

39. It is one of the astounding truths in the history of nations, that the usurpation of the rights of some, on the part of others, through a long line of many generations, arises not on the part of those who were the original cause of it, mainly designing to invade the rights of future generations, for about these, domestic usurpers or foreign invaders care little. Their great object is to inflict a spoliation on the rights of their contemporaries, and the work of iniquity having commenced, is permitted to continue for ages, from the gross and universal ignorance, and other immorality, both of the spoilers and the despoiled.—(vi. 123, 124.)

40. Had the superseding the miscalled hereditary rights been a more profitable business than their maintenance, mankind would, ages since, have been disabused of the miserable error under which they now labour, in reference to them.

41. Hereditary makers and executors of laws never scruple for a moment to repeal any act or acts of their predecessors. If, then, they can do this as to one act, they can as to another, and consequently all others. Whence we see the absurdity of their assumptions. They tell mankind that they derive the right of governing from their ancestors, and by their acts, acknowledge they can abrogate all the acts of such ancestors, including, of course, the appointment to this miscalled right, whenever they please. In other words,—that the source whence their rights emanate, had neither power nor right to appoint them the makers or executors of the laws for the generation in which they live. If, then, these gentlemen and ladies, who rule by what they call an hereditary right, acknowledge that the source whence this right emanated, is not worth a straw, and no living person has had anything more to do with their appointment than the Antediluvians had;—as they derive no right from the *dead*,—nor from the *living*,—nor from *Heaven*,—their actual rights can in no degree differ from those of all others of their countrymen, as we have all along seen is truly the case.

42. The exercise of the miscalled hereditary right of making or executing laws, or assisting to do either of these things, or appointing any person or persons to do either of them, is, beyond all contradiction, *a violation of the rights of every man in a nation, throughout all the ages such miscalled hereditary rights may be maintained!* (vi. 89).

43. Had Providence, says Dr. Hutcheson, intended that some men should have had a perfect right to govern the rest without their consent, we should have had *visible undisputed marks distinguishing these rulers from others,* as clearly as the human shape distinguishes men from beasts. — (*Moral Philosophy.*)

44. But Heaven having so constituted things, that there are not any persons, in any nation or age, from whom the right to hereditary offices can be derived, persons hereditarily appointed to make, assist to make, or execute the laws, therefore, cannot be required in any country whatever. To assert the contrary, is to affirm that, though something is necessary for the well-being of a nation, Heaven has placed it out of human power lawfully to attain it; which cannot for a moment be supposed, without impugning the wisdom and goodness of God. Were the whole human race, in the present and all future ages, to employ their whole talents in endeavouring to discover any reason whatever for the existence of hereditary makers or executors of laws by human appointment, the task would be fruitless.

45. *And we hesitate not to affirm, in the most unqualified manner, and challenge not only the whole of the living generation of men of all the nations of the earth, but of all that shall hereafter arise upon it, successfully to impugn our assertion:—that a hereditary right, or a right for life, to make or execute, or to assist to make or execute, the laws of any nation, in any age,* MUST EMANATE IMMEDIATELY FROM GOD HIMSELF! *The Most High declaring as to any nation, in every generation, the particular person or persons, who is, or are, to govern, or assist to govern, (as David was appointed to the chief magistracy of the Hebrews,* 1 *Sam.* xvi. 12). *Or that a particular person or persons, and his or their heirs, are to make or execute the laws, or assist to do either or both these things.*

46. Any person or persons whatever, in any nation or age, assuming the miscalled hereditary right of making, assisting to make, or executing laws,—or of appointing any person or persons to do either of these things; or such person or persons accepting the appointment; or any person or persons transmitting such miscalled rights to his, her, or their posterity; or such posterity exercising such miscalled right, by virtue of a supposed right in his, her, or their ancestor or ancestors, to

transmit it,—are all guilty of a contravention of the divine law, and thus, of high treason to the government of Heaven; and can only innocently hold such miscalled right, for the sole purpose, as far as lies in him, her, or them, of putting the speediest possible termination to a state of things, established and maintained in opposition to the will of God.

47. The miserable blindness of mankind as to the nature of their rights, is, beyond contradiction, one of the most wonderful circumstances the whole history of the world presents! They suffer their rights, in different nations, to be taken from them by every kind of illegal constitution: i. e., the wholly hereditary, wholly elective from a part of the nation, compounded of both; and, also, whether an unlawful constitution has been established a day, or for ages! Each individual ordinarily wants to enrich himself at the expense of his neighbours, as opportunities offer, either politically or commercially. Hence the almost universal, and never to be sufficiently deplored, darkness of men.

48. Human laws, as to their duration, we have seen, are divisible into two classes,—one almost, or altogether, immutable; the other liable to alteration: this referring, in great measure, to a nation's commercial transactions, &c. The ordinary duties of legislation, therefore, relate to this class only. If, then, we look at the whole lives of hereditary legislators of our own times, we shall see, that however, from natural capacity and study, any of them may be qualified for their offices, in that alone which can render them truly eligible, *practice*, they are deficient. Suppose a man to want a pair of boots, a coat, or a hat; he ordinarily goes to those who, from long habit, best know how to manufacture such articles. Suppose, again, a man is attacked with a dangerous disease,—or, as to a nation, that an invading army is at its shores;—can it be supposed the individual would be willing to employ as the physician, or the nation as the leader of its armies, men whose only title is, that each has read every thing that has been written in ancient or modern times, on his respective art? No one can question that either the individual or the nation who thus acted, would be mad. Yet nations, for ages, are guilty of equal insanity, in allowing men to make, or to assist in making, their laws; when practice, which alone, under the divine blessing, can qualify them properly to perform so important an office, is wanting. Men concerned in production and distribution, with practical men from the non-productive classes, are the proper persons to form a legislative body; but assuredly not one of those who can pretend to no practice whatever. It may, indeed, be said, that men, who derive all their information in the closet, may be assisted by practical men: but as the latter can acquire both the information only accessible to themselves, as well as that

obtainable in the closet, the former are clearly altogether unnecessary. If suitable preparation is requisite in affairs of less importance, how much more so is it in that which is of the greatest. If the very idea of having forced on one, any persons to perform the most inconsiderable functions, is revolting to every man who is not an abject slave;—how much more is it, as to that which is so transcendently great, as less or more to affect all other things.

49. It has been elsewhere observed, that the great majority of mankind belong to the productive class; and the state of pauperism and slavery to which the far greater part of this class is reduced in most nations, has the most powerful tendency to prevent the right application of their mental powers, (vi. 148). We now see that the miserable system we deprecate has the same effect on what is very improperly called the higher class. Nothing can be more evident than that the only suitable state for any and all men to be in, is that in which their abilities are properly cultivated for the common benefit. (iii. 13 and 21.)

50. By the hereditary system, sometimes from the loss of parents, youths are brought from school to the senate. Among the presents carried from a certain European nation to an Eastern potentate, was a volume of portraits of the nobility of such nation. In order that the inspection of them should be more satisfactory to his majesty, a mandarin attended, to mark in characters upon the margins the names and rank of the persons represented. When the mandarin came to the print of a duke, taken when extremely young, he was told that the original was a great man of very high rank. The mandarin had so little conception of a child's being qualified by hereditary right to be possessed of such a dignity; that he gave a look of surprise, and exclaimed, he could not venture to describe him in that manner, for the emperor very well knew how to distinguish a great man from a little boy.

51. A man of rank, says Adam Smith, may be willing to expose himself to some little danger, and to make a campaign when it happens to be the fashion; but he shudders with horror at the thought of any situation which demands the continued and long exertion of patience, industry, fortitude, and application of thought. These virtues are hardly ever to be met with in men who are born to these high stations. In all governments, accordingly,—even in monarchies,—the highest offices are generally possessed, and the whole detail of the administration conducted, by men who were educated in the middle and inferior ranks of life; who have been carried forward by their own industry and abilities, though loaded with the jealousy and opposed by the resentment of all those who were born their superiors; and to whom the great, after having

regarded first with contempt, and afterwards with envy, are at last contented to truckle with the same abject meanness, they desire that the rest of mankind should behave to themselves. (*Moral Sentiments.*)

52. The renowned missionary orator, M. Bridaine, preached in the church of St. Sulpice, at Paris, in 1751. His fame had preceded him, and the temple was filled with the highest dignitaries of the church and state, decorated with the various insignia of their ranks and orders. The venerable man ascended the pulpit, cast a look of indignation and pity on his audience, remained in silence for some moments, and then began his sermon in these words. "In the presence of an audience of a kind so new to me, it might, my brethren, be thought that I should not open my mouth, without entreating your indulgence to a poor missionary; who does not possess any one of the talents which you are pleased to require, from those who address you on the salvation of your souls. My feelings are very different:—may God forbid! that any minister of the gospel shall ever think he owes an apology for preaching to you gospel truths; for, whoever you are, you, like myself, are sinners, in the judgment of God. Till this day, I have published the judgments of the Most High in straw-roofed temples;—I have preached the rigours of penance to an audience, most of whom wanted bread!—I have proclaimed to the simple inhabitants of the villages, the most terrible truths of religion. Unhappy man!—what have I done! I have afflicted the poor, the best friends of my God;—I have carried consternation and woe into simple and honest bosoms, which I ought rather to have soothed and comforted. But here!—where my eyes fall *on the great, on the rich, on the oppressors of suffering humanity,* or on bold and hardened sinners,—it is here,—in the midst of these scandals, that I ought to make the holy word resound in all its thunders; and place on one side of me, death that threatens you, and the great God who is to judge us all. Tremble before me, ye proud disdainful men, who listen to me! Tremble! for the abuse of favours of every kind! Think on the certainty of death,—the uncertainty of its hour,—how terrible it will be to you! Think on final impenitence,—on the last judgment,—on the small number of the elect,—and, above all—think on eternity."—(*Cardinal Maury.*)

53. The following, respecting the English aristocracy, has been attributed to one of their own body, an aristocrat of recent manufacture. The want of sense and reason which prevails in these [aristocratic] circles, is, says the writer, wholly inconceivable. An ignorance of all that the more refined of the middle, or even of the lower classes, well know, is accompanied by an insulting contempt for any one who does not know any of the silly and worthless trifles, which form the staple of their

only knowledge. An entire incapacity of reasoning is twin-sister to a ready, and flippant, and authoritative denial of all that reason has taught others. An utter impossibility of understanding what men of learning and experience have become familiar with, stalks hand-in-hand, insolent and exulting, with a stupid denial of truths which are all but self-evident, and are of extreme importance.—(*As quoted in the Morning Chronicle, April* 16, 1835).

54. Dr. Neale observes that, during a late war, the dearth of intellect and energy of mind amongst the nobility of Austria, had nearly proved fatal to their country; and its proofs may be collected on glancing over their military history for the last century. Amongst their generals of talent, few are to be found who were natives of Austria, and as no persons of plebeian rank were then admitted to command, the imbecility of the noblesse was the more felt.—(*Dr. Neale's Travels.*)

55. The gross immorality of the nobility in France, accelerated the Revolution under Louis XVI. Ever since the accession of Louis XV., the most unbounded profligacy of manners had pervaded the household, first of the Regent, and then of the King himself, and had thence rapidly spread among the higher ranks throughout the nation; till, among this class of society, the most sacred obligations of morality had become little better than a theme of fashionable ridicule. Paine, speaking of it, says, the more it appeared the more it was despised. There was a visible imbecility and want of intellect in the majority,—a sort of *je ne sais quoi*, that, while it affected to be more than citizen, was less than man. It lost ground from contempt more than from hatred, and was rather jeered at as an ass, than dreaded as a lion. This is the general character of aristocracy, or what are called nobles, or nobility, or rather no-ability, in all countries.—(*Rights of Man.*)

56. Ambition in idleness, says Montesquieu, meanness mixed with pride, a desire of riches without industry, aversion to truth, flattery, perfidy, violation of engagements, contempt of civil duties, fear of the prince's virtue, hope from his weakness, but, above all, a perpetual ridicule cast upon virtue; are, I think, the characteristics by which most courtiers, in all ages and countries, have been constantly distinguished; now it is exceeding difficult for the leading men of the nation to be knaves, and the inferior sort to be honest,—for the former to be cheats, and the latter to rest satisfied with being only dupes. (*Spirit of Laws.*)

57. Righteous men are considered in scripture as a peculiar people,—the light of the world;—as having their affection on things above, not on things on the earth,—as persons entirely changed, their former habits and views being designated as the

old man, their present state as that of a new creature, to whom old things are passed away, all things are become new; the great object of their lives being, by patient continuance in well-doing, to seek for glory, and honour and immortality! Those of an opposite character, are, from their great numbers, emphatically styled 'the world;' of which our Lord says, 'me it hateth, because I testify of it, that the works thereof are evil.' James thus speaks;—'Adulterers and adultresses, know ye not that the friendship of the world is enmity with God?' If, then, there is one class of men to whom the appellation 'men of the world' more especially belongs than another, in this assuredly must be placed oppressors, and especially hereditary ones. 'Love not,' says John, 'the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him; for all that is in the world, the lust of the flesh, and the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world; and the world passeth away, and the lust thereof; but he that doeth the will of God abideth for ever.' The lawless ambition of oppressors is here designated 'the pride of life.' Such men are not ambitious only, but they are so, because they are anxious for the 'lust of the eyes;' and they love money because they are sensual, or desire the 'lust of the flesh.' Can it then be supposed that Heaven has so constituted things, as for many in different nations and ages to be so placed, as eagerly to desire not one, or two, but all the obnoxious things that are in the world? On the contrary, God has so ordered the constitution of society, that if men did his will; there would not be the slightest necessity for any man, in any country or age, to become the victim of any one of the worldly evils, much less many men, in every country and age, of all that are in the world. How truly apparent, then, is the force of Paul's words, 'that not many wise men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many noble are called!'

58. We find, in sacred writ, the assistance of the Holy Spirit many times promised to those who humbly endeavour to do the will of Heaven; but it is no where offered to those who disregard this holy will. If any men in a nation are guilty of such disregard, it must be those who are the chief instruments of establishing or maintaining a national constitution and code, on the ruins only of all righteous law: oppressors, besides the ordinary immorality of mankind, being extraordinarily unrighteous in seizing the rights of others; thus avowing to the whole world, that they fear not God, nor regard man. How wholly unfit must men, without the love of the Father, be, to legislate for human societies, as that alone,—i. e., the assistance of the Holy Spirit, which can enable any persons to fill any relation aright, is most wanting in them. In addition, therefore, to the

incapacity arising on the part of oppressors from the neglect of human means, the privation of divine light is a yet more fatal objection.

59. Hence, there is no truth that will bear a more rigorous investigation, than that oppressors, of all countries and ages, are among the most immoral and the most incompetent of men. What more direct contradiction is imaginable, than that an oppressor can be a virtuous man? The incapacity is not less apparent, from considering that in all ages and countries, the far greater part of oppressors are, as to their public acts, intellectually, little beyond automatons. And it would be strange, indeed, among so many, when their great opportunities are considered, if a few had not some talent. In the history of the world, the instances have been extremely rare of those among them who well understood their duty, and were determined to do it at whatever hazard. (5 to 12.) Assuredly, nothing can more strikingly evince the miserable immorality of unlawful legislators, than that, for the sake of enriching themselves, they willingly sacrifice the best interests of mankind for ages. (vi. 1.) Objects so unhallowed, must obviously wholly unfit hereditary and exclusively delegated oppressors for the right performance of the offices they assume,—we cannot say of their duty; because, what is not required of men, either by those of their fellows that can lawfully appoint them, or the Divine Being, surely cannot be their duty. How can Heaven have designed it to be the duty of some, to abstract from others their political rights, and thus bring on them, in some country or other, all the evils to which human nature is liable; when the divine law renders it imperative on all to educe nothing but the greatest plenitude of good to each other?

60. What possible business can the utmost stretch of the most fertile imagination suppose, those of one generation can have to concern themselves with appointing particular persons to certain offices, in generations living ages after those who have appointed them have passed into eternity? Is not the trust (vi. 34) delegated by Heaven to any generation sufficiently onerous; but it must busy itself with the concerns of those, from which it will be as much separated as if a million ages had intervened? Is the Divine Being less sparing of his gifts to some generations than to others? and that the concerns of human life cannot go on without preceding generations superseding succeeding ones, as to a most essential part of their duties? Can it be imagined the Divine Being alters the nature of the obligation, under which he has placed placed all men by the divine law, as to any, without affording the least intimation that such is his will? Is it less incumbent on one generation, —i. e., every individual of it,—to see that he is well governed,

than it is on another generation? As to a generation, or generations, that interfere with the duties of those that succeed them,—what are the latter to do? On inquiring what should be the constitution of things, as designed by God, they find their ancestors have put it out of their power to perform their obligation aright; and that they will not be in a condition to do this, until they have utterly superseded the unlawful appointments. If a generation cannot do without hereditary legislators, how happens it that it can manage without having such offices of social life performed for it—as those of the minister of religion, the physician, the lawyer, the tailor, the builder, &c.? As men's ancestors take from some of posterity the duty of appointing who shall govern them, how happens it that the constitution of things does not allow such ancestors to eat, drink, and sleep, for their successors? The manner the latter shall perform these offices, being very greatly dependent on the way their masters, that misrule them, will allow. That succeeding generations may be profited by the experience of the past, communicated by the writings of good men, is unquestionable; but that future ages can be benefited by those of former ones choosing who shall make, assist to make, or execute the laws, is one of the most preposterous things imaginable; as, however excellent men may be in their own times, they must be utterly incompetent to form any judgment of the capacity or character of those who are not to come into the world until ages after they have quitted it!

61. If any thing is wanting to prove that all miscalled hereditary rights are held in opposition to the will of Heaven, what is here urged seems conclusive; as that, surely, cannot be of divine appointment, which takes one of the most important of human duties out of the hands of those only that can perform it aright; and places it with those, who, to do so, must necessarily be utterly unfit. It would be just as rational for the antediluvians to have had the choosing who should make, assist to make, or execute the laws of certain European nations, as the mode by which these things are at present appointed. It is equally as rational as if a number of names were put into a bag, and a man, blind-folded, drew some of them out; the persons whose names were so drawn, being appointed makers or executors of of the laws. Or if men were posted on the highways, to stop all that passed of a certain height, weight, complexion, or wearing a coat of a particular colour, or any other fantastical distinction:—or to take indiscriminately the first persons who passed, until they had as many makers and executors of the law as a nation required. Or if the reader can imagine any ways more absurd even than these, he never can find any thing that will go beyond the absurdity of having men for the most

important offices in the whole nation, for no other reason than that they are the sons of particular men, as the sons of any other men would obviously be equally capable.

62. If the hereditary principle is good for any thing, it must be good in its fullest extent. On which supposition, all the right of choosing who shall make or execute the laws, would be taken out of the hands of living generations, by those that preceded them. Let us suppose a nation to exist for a hundred generations; the only rational mode would be for each to attend to its own concerns; but that no living generation shall be enabled to do this, as to things that are of incalculable importance, seems utterly incredible. It would be a prodigious absurdity for this only occasionally to occur, as, for example, in a hundred generations, for the sixtieth generation to perform its own duties and those of the sixty-first;—or the seventy-ninth its own, and those of the eightieth:—but as we have said, instead of two generations being thus circumstanced, that ninety-nine out of the hundred shall, would be an amazing infatuation of mankind. If, therefore, it is absurd in living generations, to allow those that have preceded them altogether to deprive them of the right of determining who shall make and execute the laws; it is obviously an infatuation, differing only in degree, to permit any hereditary interference whatever as to these matters.

63. By the hereditary system one of the greatest anomalies in legislation exists; i. e. *legislators without constituents!—A head without a body!* Law makers, whose laws can only be obeyed at the point of the bayonet, or from the dread of a gibbet! Attention to the constitution of society as designed by God, teaches that in addition to every member being accountable to the tribunal of Heaven; legislators in common with all other persons are intended to be so to an earthly one: no relation being lawfully able to be entered into without a compact; each of the contracting parties deriving his appointment from the good opinion of the other. (i.—47,) What conceivable benefit can accrue to righteous men from being released from so salutary a check? *What sort of legislators must they be who desire a release?* Can any man imagine too much care can be taken to keep men in the path of duty, whatever relations they may have to fill? (6—124.) If, says Dr. Hutcheson, upon trial the people find that the plan of power they constituted avowedly for their own good, is really dangerous to them, they have a right to alter it. It must be strange effrontery, in any governor, from any views of his own interest or that of his family, to hinder them to change it; or to hold them to a contract which he knows they entered into upon this expectation and express design, that it should tend to the general good for which also he expressly undertook;—when it is found to have a contrary tendency.—*(Moral Philosophy.)* The idea of here-

ditary legislators, says Paine, is as inconsistent as that of hereditary judges or hereditary juries, and as absurd as an hereditary mathematician or an hereditary wise man. A body of men holding themselves accountable to no body, ought not to be trusted by any body.—It is continuing the uncivilized principle of governments founded in conquest, and the base idea of man having a property in man, and governing him by personal right.—(*Rights of Man.*)

64. That hereditary makers and executors of the law, can never exist among a moral people, is obvious; whilst it is so, it will always insist on having the most complete supervision of the conduct of its rulers,—which it obviously never can have on the hereditary mode. To evince the absurdity of such a system, it may be remarked, that if the Chinese nation follows the example of others, it will say, in reference to the passing a bill; an act was passed by the king, lords, and commons; here the executive is placed before the legislative. The contrary to this is, however, obviously the correct mode; or perhaps, as we have intimated, it would be still more accurate to say, that an act was passed by the legislative, and put in force by the executive: thus, not allowing the latter to have any voice in making the laws.

65. Government, says Paine, ought to be a thing always in full maturity. It ought to be so constructed as to be superior to all the accidents to which individual man is subject, and therefore hereditary succession, by being subject to them all, is the most irregular and imperfect of all the systems of government. We have heard the rights of man called a levelling system. But the only system to which the word levelling is truly applicable, is the hereditary monarchical system. It is a system of mental levelling. It indiscriminately admits every species of character to the same authority. Vice and virtue, ignorance and wisdom—in short, every quality, good or bad, is put on the same level. Kings succeed each other, not as rationals, but as animals. It signifies not what their mental or moral characters are. Can we then be surprised at the abject state of the human mind in monarchical countries, when the government itself is formed on such an abject levelling system? It has no fixed character. To-day it is one thing. To-morrow it is something else. It changes with the temper of every succeeding individual, and is subject to all the varieties of each. It is government through the medium of passions and accidents. It appears under all the various characters of childhood, decrepitude, dotage, a thing at nurse, in leading strings, or in crutches! It reverses the wholesome order of nature. It occasionally puts children over men, and the conceits of non-age over wisdom and experience. In short, we cannot conceive a

more ridiculous figure of government than hereditary succession in all its cases presents.—*(Rights of Man.)*

66. The following account of the state of things at one period of the history of Portugal, evinces in what state an hereditary government may be placed. The king, Don Alonzo Enriques, a child not more than thirteen years of age, reputed of no very sound constitution either in body or mind,—the regency in a Castilian woman,—the nation involved in a war respecting the title to the crown,—the nobility some of them secretly disaffected to the reigning family, and almost all of them embarked in feuds and contentions with each other;—that the queen scarcely knew who to trust or how she should be obeyed.

67. It would be altogether wasting the time of the reader, to evince the unspeakable absurdity of a woman being permitted to fill the office of chief magistrate of a great nation, especially after what Tacitus has said on the subject, which we shall quote, when speaking of the rights of women. Such is the baneful nature of the hereditary system, that in countries where it is tolerated as far as regards males only, we find females too often truly the sovereigns.—Though the throne of France has never been filled by a female, the government of that country has perhaps been as frequently and as thoroughly, for a time, carried on by a female as that of any other nation in Europe. Queens, queen-mothers, and royal mistresses, have repeatedly proved too strong for the Salic law. A remarkable instance of a woman governing France is furnished in the celebrated Catherine de Medicis. As examples of flagitious wickedness in women who have attained sovereign power; we may mention this woman, Elizabeth of England, and Catherine II. of Russia,—all atrocious murderers.

68. A great iniquity of unlawful governments has been noticed: namely, that according to their own accounts their appointments, and every thing they do, is by the providence or grace of God! One little difficulty, however, attends this—they draw so very largely on the credulity of the governed. Oppressors very modestly require those they oppress, *to take their words* that they are appointed according to the divine will, without the slightest attempt whatever being made to evince it. (6—170.) We fear it is not too severe to say, that looking at the conduct of unlawful governments, it might be supposed that there was no such Being as the Most High in the Universe; with two exceptions, their blasphemy in asserting that the constitution by which they hold their appointments and all their iniquitous acts are lawful in his sight, and the maintenance of a national church as a source of patronage to assist them in the prosecution of their iniquity.

69. The preamble of every new law published in Portugal,

runs, or ran thus,—"I, the king, in virtue of my own certain knowledge, of my royal will and pleasure, and of my full supreme and arbitrary power, which *I hold only of God*, and for which *I am accountable to no man* on earth; I do, in consequence, order and command," &c., &c. On the elevation of Gustavus the Third to the throne of Sweden, he solemnly engaged to maintain the constitution as then established. But scarcely had he accepted the crown, than he formed a plan to govern as he thought proper, regarding his oaths as mere matters of ceremony. Having taken measures for bringing a considerable number of the military into his interest, and on the 19th of August, 1772, made himself master of all the military force of Stockholm; he planted grenadiers, with their bayonets fixed, at the door of the council chamber; in which the members of the senate were assembled, and made them all prisoners. He then totally overturned the Swedish constitution, establishing a government "little removed from one of the most despotic kind."—After this he addressed the public,—"I renounce now," said he, "as I have already done, all idea of the abhorred absolute power, or what is called sovereignty, esteeming it now, as before, my greatest glory to be the first citizen among a truly free people." Heralds then went through the town to proclaim an assembly of the states the following day. This proclamation contained a threat that if any member of the diet should absent himself, he should be considered and treated as a traitor. The several orders of the states being thus compelled to assemble on the 21st of August,—and being surrounded by an armed force, thought proper to comply with what was required of them. The marshal of the diet and the speakers of the other orders signed the form of government, and the states took the oath to the king which he dictated to them himself. This extraordinary transaction was concluded in a manner equally extraordinary. The king drew a book of psalms from his pocket, and, taking off his crown, began to sing *Te Deum*, in which he was joined by the assembly.

70. As to the words used by the Portuguese sovereign, "I hold only of God,"—excepting some of the chief magistrates mentioned in the Bible, no one in any country or age, ever held or now holds of God, in any other way than every thing is held of him. The man who obtains a situation as footman, or the woman as cook, may say, "I hold only of God." The application of the sentence by the sovereigns of Portugal is uttering an untruth, as they truly "hold, only" in contravention of the law of God. With respect to the words "I am accountable to no man,"—nothing can be more clear than that no one of the whole human race, whatever relation he may stand in, is released from his accountability to his fellows. (1—39.) As to the Swedish sovereign,—it was a tolerable piece of presumption, after having

superseded a somewhat liberal constitution, for another "little removed from one of the most despotic kind;" to tell those he had enslaved *by the assistance of the military*, that it was his "greatest glory to be the first citizen among a truly free people!"—and the audacity attains its climax when he sings the Te Deum!—Whether any thing in hell can parallel the impudence of these chief magistrates, claiming and exercising the right of ruling their respective countries, without the slightest conceivable pretence to a lawful title; we, of course, know not, as we are not cognizant of what passes in the regions of the damned; but sure we are this impudence surpasses every thing on earth!

71. Members of governments asserting as they do, that their holding their power is sanctioned by Heaven, will, we suppose, when called upon, do something more than assert, i. e. make out that their assertions are the *truth;* scarcely venture to reply, that they hold their power irrespective of the Most High, and his law!—because this will avail them nothing. For if they do even this, they can then evince no greater right to govern their respective countries, than all other men. We verily believe that from the creation to the end of the world; there never has been, nor there never will be perpetrated, anything so damnably iniquitous, as the unlawful assumption of the government of nations—especially hereditarily; looking as far as human eye can scan at the consequences thence arising. And not the least surprising part of the unutterable infatuation of mankind, is, that lawless governors maintain their power with all the confidence that might be expected in angels from heaven perfectly doing the will of God. Such lawless governors, as has been remarked, branding and treating, as far a possible, those who impugn their authority as rebels and traitors; whilst the gaping multitude look on with the utmost composure, as if all this was lawful in the sight of the Most High!

72. Let us say a little more as to those gentlemen below the situation of chief magistrates, who help to misrule countries. On the succession of Tiberius, says Tacitus, at Rome all things tended to a state of abject servitude. Consuls, senators, and Roman knights, contended with emulation who should be the most willing slaves. The higher each person's rank, the more he struggled for the foremost place in bondage. —*(Tacit. Ann.)*

73. Europe, says Dr. Paley, exhibits more than one modern example, where the people aggrieved by the exactions, or provoked by the enormities of their immediate superiors, have joined with the reigning prince in the overthrow of the aristocracy; *deliberately exchanging their condition for the miseries of despotism.* About the middle of the last century, the commons of Denmark, weary of the oppressions which they

had long suffered from the nobles, and exasperated by some recent insults; presented themselves at the foot of the throne, with a formal offer of their consent, to establish unlimited dominion in the king. The revolution in Sweden, still more lately brought about with the acquiescence, not to say the assistance of the people, owed its success to the same cause: namely, to the prospect of deliverance that it afforded, from the tyranny which their nobles exercised under the old constitution.—*(Mor. and Pol. Philos.)* What can present a more miserable state of things than that men, to get rid of many unlawful rulers, should be willing to exchange "their condition for the miseries of despotism?" It seems difficult to determine which choice is the worse, this or that of the Persians. (6—142.)

74. Russia, Prussia, and Austria, having determined on the dismemberment of Poland, caused the diet of the latter kingdom to be convoked, to ratify those arrangements which they had already decreed.—By repeated allurements and stratagems its consent was at length obtained. As soon as the accession to the treaty of partition was voted, several of the principal members of the diet repaired to the king and reproached him sharply with the ruin of their country. The monarch at first answered them with gentleness; but soon perceiving that his moderation only served to embolden them and to provoke fresh insults, he rose up, threw his hat upon the floor, and said to them haughtily.—"Gentlemen, I am weary of hearkening to you. The partition of our unhappy country is a consequence of your ambition, of your dissensions, and your eternal disputes. It is to yourselves alone that you ought to attribute your misfortunes."—The original misfortune of Poland, says the biographer of Catherine the Second, was the pride and tyranny of the nobles; which prevented them for several ages, while it was in their power, from establishing a happy form of government. If this had been done, they might have been one of the greatest nations in Europe. They are now the most miserable, and little less than a miracle can ever afford them another opportunity of making trial of their virtue.—*(Life of Catherine the Second.)* With regard to the partition of Poland, says Dr. Neales, Every person has gained, excepting a few vain, selfish, pampered magnates, who abused their overgrown power, and were a perpetual source of misery to the unfortunate serfs. If ever there was a country where "might constituted right," that country was Poland; the most dreadful oppression, the most execrable tyranny, the most wanton cruelties, were daily exercised by the nobles upon their unfortunate peasants. Let us quote a few facts; they will speak volumes. A Polish peasant's life was held of the same value with one of his horned cattle; if his lord slew him, he was only fined one hundred Polish florins, or two pounds sixteen shillings sterling. If, on

the other hand, a man of ignoble birth dared to raise his hand against a nobleman, death was the inevitable punishment. If any one presumed to question the nobility of a magnate, he was forced to prove his assertion or suffer death; nay, if a powerful man chose to take a fancy to the field of his humbler neighbour, and to erect a landmark upon it, and if that landmark remained for three days, the poor man lost his possession. The atrocious cruelties which were habitually exercised, are hardly credible. A Masalki caused his hounds to devour a peasant who happened to frighten his horse; a Radzivil had the belly of one of his subjects ripped open to thrust his feet into it, hoping thereby to be cured of a malady which tormented him. —*(Dr. Neale's Travels.)*

75. According to Guthrie, some of these aristocratical gentlemen chose that their country should be in subjection to a foreign power, rather than one of their body should gain an ascendancy over the others. The government of Egypt, says he, is an aristocracy partly civil and partly military. The mutual jealousies of the chiefs seem to be the only causes which still preserve to the Porte the shadow of authority over Egypt. The members of the aristocracy are all afraid of losing their influence under a resident sovereign; and therefore they agree in opposing the elevation of any of their own body to the supreme dignity —*(Geog. and Univ. Hist.)*

THE NORTH AMERICAN CONSTITUTION.

76. A writer, speaking of this, says, it is a genuine democracy, admirable for the simplicity and harmony of its principles, and supposed by many to produce a greater amount of public good and private happiness, than any political institution that ever existed. Its establishment was an experiment which was deemed doubtful and hazardous, even by the enlightened men who were its founders; but to use the words of Mr. Monroe, "it has succeeded beyond any calculation, that could have been formed of any human institution." And it now exhibits a model in the science of government, which approaches more nearly to ideal perfection than statesmen or sages had dreamed of.—*(Sup. Ency. Brit. Art. U. S.)*

77. The United States of America, says Bell, are a Union of twenty-seven; each state has its own legislative and executive; besides these, there is a chief government or congress formed by delegates from the twenty-seven states, and a president also appointed by such states. Notwithstanding what the writer in the Ency. Brit. affirms, the constitutions, both as regards the general or chief government, and all the twenty-seven states,

have no pretensions to democracies, and are all consequently utterly illegal. Let us, take for example, the constitution of Massachussetts. Here are two legislative bodies and a governor,—the qualification for a constituent to return members to the two legislatives and vote for the governor being, that he must have an estate worth three pounds per annum, or one valued at sixty pounds. The delegates to congress or the chief government are chosen by the joint ballot of the two legislative bodies. The president, we believe, as far as the states of Massachussetts is concerned, is elected by the constituents of its own government. If we are correct as to the choice of the president, it follows, that if a native of Massachussetts has not such an estate as we have mentioned, he has no more to do with appointing the government, either of his own state, or that of the whole nation; than he has in appointing the government of China. It may be said the qualification of a constituent is not great, but this is wholly immaterial, the divine law is violated, and the prerogative of the Most High usurped; however, the qualification may be reduced. That every white native has an equal right to his share of the political right, with all the rest of his brethren, is indisputable.

78. It is equally so, that every native black has an equal right to such share, with all other Americans of whatever colour; though as some white Americans refuse it to others, it is hardly probable they will grant it to their coloured brethren. But as the human skin affords every gradation of colour, from the fairest white to the deepest black,—what we ask—is the precise shade at which the rights of those of that peculiar colour, and all of a darker grade, are to be reduced below those of their lighter brethren? What are to be such rights. What the rights of the lighter class? And what authority, in accordance with the divine law, is there for determining these matters?

79. Volney, speaking of the different nations of the world, says, I contemplated with astonishment the gradation of colour, from a bright carnation to a brown scarcely less bright, a dark brown, a muddy brown, bronze, olive, leaden, copper, as far as to the black of ebony and jet. I observed the Cassimerian with his rose-coloured cheek next in vicinity to the sun-burnt Hindoo, the Georgian standing by the Tartar; and I reflected upon the effect of climate, hot or cold; of soil, mountainous or deep; marshy or dry; wooded or open. I compared the dwarf of the pole with the giant of the temperate zone, the lank Arab with the pot-bellied Hollander, the squat figure of the Samoiede with the tall and slender form of the Sclavonian and the Greek, the greasy and woolly head of the Negro with the shining locks of the Dane; the flat-faced Calmuck with his eyes anglewise to each other and his nose crushed; to the oval and swelling visage, the large blue eyes, and the acquiline nose of the Circassian and the

Abassin.—O men of different climes! look to the heavens that that give you light, to the earth that nourishes you! Since they present to you all the same gifts, since the Power that directs their motions has bestowed on you the same life, the same organs, the same wants, has it not also given you the same right to the use of its benefits? Has it not hereby declared you all to be equal and free? What mortal, then, shall dare refuse to his fellow creature, that which is granted him by nature?—*(Revolutions of Empires.)*

80. Herrera tells us of the Spaniards who were the early colonists of South America, that some maintained the Indians were not perfect or rational men; and were not possessed of such capacity as qualified them to partake of the sacrament of the altar, or of any other benefit of our religion. (vi.—150, 153.) To discountenance such doctrines the interference of the pope became necessary, and Paul III. issued a bull, A. D. 1537, in which, after condemning the opinion of those who held that the Indians, as being on a level with brute beasts, should be reduced to servitude; he declares that they were really men, and as such were capable in embracing the Christian religion and participating of all its blessings.—*(Robertson's Hist. Amer.)*

81. At Hoon, says Capt. Lyon, a boy asked us many amusing questions about our future intentions, and was particularly anxious to know where we were going, and whether for the purpose of collecting slaves. We, of course, disclaimed any such intention, adding that in our own country we looked on slavery with horror. At this he expressed great contempt of us, exclaiming, "D—n their fathers, the asses," a common oath amongst this people; "what are they made for but to serve us; go then and take them, for they are kaffirs, and we cannot do without them." I mention this as a specimen of all the Arabs, who believe most religiously that the Negroes were only created for their service.—*(Travels in Northern Africa.)* Whether the Arabs were taught by the North Americans, or the latter by the former, that some of their brethren "were only created for their service,"—we must leave to those who make merchandize of the bodies and souls of men to determine.

82. It is a singular fact, says Bell, in the physiology of the inhabitants of the Society Islands, Australia, that the chiefs and persons of hereditary rank and influence are, almost without exception, as much superior to the peasantry or common people in stateliness, dignified deportment, and physical strength, as they are in rank and circumstances; although they are not elected to their station on account of their personal endowments; but derive their rank and elevation from their ancestry. This is the case with most of the groups of the Pacific; but especially so in Tahiti and the adjacent isles. The father of the late king was six feet four inches high. Pomare was six feet

two. The present king of Raiatea is equally tall. Mahine, the king of Huahine, but for the effects of age, would appear little inferior. Their limbs are generally well formed, and the whole figure proportioned to their height, which renders the difference between the rulers and their subjects so striking, that some have supposed they were a distinct race, the descendants of a superior people; who, at a remote period, had conquered the aborigines, and perpetuated their supremacy. It does not, however, appear necessary, in accounting for the fact, to resort to such a supposition; different treatment in infancy, superior food, and distinct habits of life, are quite sufficient.—(*Bell's Geography, Glasgow,* 1832.)

83. It is well known, says the Rev. G. R. Gleig, that a continued residence under the tropics gradually converts the complexion from white to black; not in one, or two, or perhaps ten generations, but certainly in the end. Of this truth, the descendants from the Portuguese settlers in India, present a memorable example, who, though they have tenaciously avoided all intermarriages with the people among whom they dwell; are not now to be distinguished, either in feature or colour, from their Asiatic neighbours. In like manner, the woolly hair of the Negro may as surely be traced back to the operations of a particular temperature, as the change upon the coat of the dog from wool to hair, or from hair to wool, is attributable to the removal of the animal from one region to another. It seems, therefore, beyond dispute, that mankind have all originally sprung from the same stock; and as the information conveyed in the Bible on this head, is in no respect in contradiction to reason or probability, it deserves to be received, independently of its divine authority, with unlimited respect.—(*History of the Bible, London,* 1830.)

84. I am inclined, says Bishop Heber, to suspect that our European vanity leads us astray in supposing that our own is the primitive complexion, which I should rather suppose was that of the Indian, half way between the two extremes [of the darkest and the lightest]; and perhaps the most agreeable to the eye and instinct of the majority of the human race. A colder climate, and a constant use of clothes, may have blanched the skin, as effectually as a burning sun and nakedness may have tanned it; and I am encouraged in this hypothesis, by observing, that, of animals, the natural colours are generally dusky and uniform, while whiteness, and a variety of tint, almost invariably follow domestication, shelter from the elements, and a mixed and unnatural diet. Thus, while hardship, additional exposure, a greater degree of heat, and other circumstances, with which we are unacquainted, may have deteriorated the Hindoo into a Negro; opposite causes may have changed him into the progressively lighter tints of the Chinese,

the Persian, the Turk, the Russian, and the Englishman.—(*Indian Journal.*)

85. 'The sons of Noah, that went forth of the ark, were,' says sacred writ, 'Shem, and Ham, and Japheth:'—'of them was the whole earth overspread.' 'God,' says Paul, 'hath made of one blood all nations of men.' The truth of the passages of the Old and New Testaments, is confirmed from the sexes of every hue being able to procreate together. Man, says Buffon, is the noblest being of the creation,—his species is single, since men of all races, of all climates, and of all colours, can mix and propagate. In reference to animals, he also says, the beautiful and the excellent seem to be dispersed over every region of the earth; a portion of which resides in all climates, and always degenerates, unless united with another portion and brought from a distance.—(*Buffon's Works—the Lion and the Horse.*) How far the latter part of these observations may be applied to the human species, is left to the consideration of the reader.

86. When, therefore, we look at the declarations of both the Old and New Testaments,—when we consider that climate and association are sufficient to account for all the varieties of all the individuals of the human race;—when we remember that "all colours can mix and propagate;" and that the divine law recognizes no distinction between any two individuals whatever of the whole human race, in all its generations; so that not any man, in any country or age, can say of himself, I have greater rights; nor, as to another, that he has less;—we may ask the despoilers of the rights of their brethren, whether they can doubt that the latter have immortal souls?—If they cannot, upon what ground, beings, who may one day become denizens of Heaven; are to be considered unfit to perform any of the duties of social life?—and why they are to be deprived of the means of performing the obligation Heaven lays them under, as they ought? As the whites are so fond of enslaving the blacks, it may be further asked, what conceivable reason can be assigned in accordance with the divine law, why matters should not be reversed. After the whites have been for a few years enslaved, they will be able to furnish the world with an account of the sweets of slavery. Among the planters, says Guthrie, horse-racing, cock-fighting, and billiards, are the chief games; which are followed up so closely, that when their money is gone, it is common to hear a negro staked against a few barrels of rice, on a game of billiards!—(*Geog. and Univ. Hist.*)

87. Independently of the *Law of Revelation* (i, 20), from the ability of all colours to procreate together, an unanswerable argument is furnished of the whole human race being under the *Law of Nature*, (i. 19); and therefore, of all men, in all nations

and in all ages, being in a state of the most rigorously exact equality, as regards their rights.

88. It has been affirmed that the general, or chief government, cannot interfere in the question of the abolition of slavery; this being a matter which it is exclusively the province of each state to decide for itself. Suppose there was an insurrection of the slaves in one of the states, so formidable that the whites of that state were unable to repress it: it cannot be doubted that other states, even those where slavery is discountenanced, would assist in putting down the insurrection,—in other words, they would forge fresh chains for the blacks. If, then, one state can interfere with another in perpetuating the degradation of a portion of mankind, it surely can for the glorious object of its emancipation. This further appears from considering, that in whatever manner a political association may be formed; (whence one, or more than one government, emanates or emanate), that does not include every individual that is to be ruled, such association is unlawful. (vi. 123). In the American great political association, is necessarily comprised all who in any manner support the governments of the twenty-seven states, and the chief government. *Every American throughout the Union,* whatever may be the colour of his skin, and to whatever state he may belong; is therefore bound to call on every other American to co-operate with him, in doing all that accords with the divine law to dissolve the association, (2); that a purely democratic constitution, or constitutions, may be established throughout the Union:—if the Americans desire to act in accordance with the divine will.

89. The reader may then be ready to ask — Should the federal government be dissolved, if some of the states will not abolish slavery? It appears to us that it ought. If any one state, disposed to abolish slavery, were thus to address the others:—We not only will not tolerate slavery of either kind, but we will withdraw from the Union, if both kinds (v. 10) are not abolished throughout it, as far as law can accomplish the object; and the members of the single state were to conduct themselves as righteous men in their whole conduct:—the author thinks that all the opposition that might be made by the other twenty-six states, could not prevent its maintaining itself an independent state; as we humbly apprehend it would be preserved through all its difficulties by the divine arm. If this was not so, how, in a righteous cause, could five chase an hundred, and an hundred put ten thousand to flight?—(*Lev.* xxvi. 8). It is not to be expected that the majority of any one of the American States should, in their whole conduct, conduct themselves as righteous men; but all that we have to do with this, is to lament it. If the total abolition of slavery of both kinds cannot be accomplished throughout the Union, every righteous

American in it is individually bound to emancipate as many of his white and coloured brethren as possible, in whatever state they may be, by purchasing persons of colour and giving them their freedom; and portions of land to both the whites and persons of colour. If those Americans that are righteous men, throughout the Union, have not sufficient influence to cause the total abolition of both kinds of slavery; or those that are righteous in any one state, have not sufficient influence to get such state to withdraw from the unhallowed association of the twenty-seven states; such righteous men assuredly cannot take advantage of the iniquities of others, in the protection the unlawful American government in any way affords; for if this were allowable, they would have little inducement to desire the abolition of slavery. (In illustration of these remarks, the reader is referred to v. 133, 134 — vi. 127). As there is no want of land in America, it might, perhaps, be convenient for the whites and blacks to separate, the latter having a distinct portion of territory assigned to them.

90. Flourishing and industrious villages of free negroes, says a celebrated traveller, were existing in Spanish America before its independence; and her subsequent proclamation of equal rights among all her citizens, of whatever colour; has, above every other act, secured for her cause the sympathy of Europe. It will be a dark exception to the moral superiority assumed in favour of the United States, if, notwithstanding the encouraging experience of all the gradual movements that have been ever made, and in spite of this last great example, they persist in denying their negro population the chances of improvement due to human beings.—(*Humboldt*).

91. To the proclamation of the Spanish Americans may be added the late acts of the English legislature, with regard to slavery. The Americans cannot be very sagacious politicians, if they expect to keep a large body of coloured persons in their Union, in a state of gross demoralization, without its exercising a pernicious influence. It is the opinion of some writers, that the number of slaves among the Romans was one of the principal causes of the downfall of their empire. The present condition of the United States, with regard to its constitutions and codes, evinces, in some respects, a more remarkable state of things, than that of any nation which has ever arisen in the world. Antecedent to the Christian era, the Greeks may be mentioned as enjoying a high degree of liberty. Subsequent to that period, scarcely any great nation has had so much as the North Americans; or, to speak more accurately, has been so little enslaved by a few. The Americans have advantages the Greeks did not possess:—among others, may be mentioned the steam-engine, the printing-press, and that unspeakable one, the 'fulness of the blessing of the gospel of Christ!' Yet,

neither are the American codes nor constitutions in accordance with the law of nature, or, what is the same thing, the law of this glorious gospel. This is the more to the discredit of the Americans, as they have not amongst them a hundred thousand bayonets ever ready to act in opposition to all the best interests of mankind. Whilst the baneful vice of avarice flourishes among them, they can never become a great nation, though they may become a populous one. We can therefore scarcely do better than remind them, that the following axiom of their own must ever be, under the divine blessing, the sole foundation of all that is righteous in politics:—"ALL MEN ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL."—(*Constitution of Massachusetts.*)

THE FRENCH CONSTITUTION.

92. France is governed by a hereditary chief magistrate, a chamber of peers, the members of which are appointed for life, and an elected legislative, or chamber of deputies; the latter emanating, according to Bell, from 160,000 of the people. What the numbers of peers and deputies are, we know not; but it is wholly immaterial; let us assume there are about 500 of each: we have thus—

A chief magistrate	1
An association of peers	500
An association of deputies	499
An association of the constituents of these deputies	160,000
A principal association, consisting of those who govern France	161,000

The population of France is upwards of thirty-two millions. Exactness being, as we have intimated, of no moment for our purpose, let us assume that, of these, seven millions are adult males. Here then we have—

Adult males	7,000,000
Governed by a part of this number	161,000
Leaving of the oppressed	6,839,000

Thus, there are about forty times as many of the oppressed as of their oppressors.

93. Was it possible to take one of each class of the oppressors—namely, the king, a peer, a deputy, and a constituent, and say to each of them,—You shall have one month to consider the following proposition:—If, at the end of this period, you can evince that you have the least conceivable greater right to assist in governing France, than any one of the

6,839,000 males you now misrule, you shall have the whole land of France assigned to you for so doing: but if you cannot do this, for assisting in the maintenance of a government in contravention of the law of God, your head shall come off: it cannot be questioned that the king, the peer, the deputy, and the constituent, would all lose their heads. And this is wholly irrespective of the manner and time of the formation of the constitution, whether it emanated from domestic usurpation, foreign invasion, or a combination of these; whether it was founded yesterday, or immediately after the deluge; whether Louis Philippe's ancestors sat on the French throne from the deluge, or he is the first sovereign of his race;—whether the chamber of peers has existed in France ever since the deluge, or was first appointed yesterday;—whether the peers derive their miscalled rights hereditarily, or only for life;—whether the chamber of deputies emanates from the 160,000, or the 6,839,000;—all these matters are immaterial, as far as their legality is concerned.—*They are all utterly unlawful in the sight of Heaven.*

94. The chamber of peers is, therefore, an utterly illegal association.

95. The chamber of deputies is, also, an utterly illegal association.

96. The constituents of these deputies, taken in the aggregate, make another utterly illegal association.

97. The assumption of the chief magistracy, by Louis Philippe, is utterly illegal.

98. The peers, the deputies, and the king forming the government, are therefore likewise an utterly illegal association.

99. The members of this association, and necessarily, therefore, the members of the three others; all contravene the ninth canon of the divine law. (i. 45.) In other words, all the constituents, deputies, peers, and the king, violate the command 'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself'—towards all the oppressed. No greater contradiction being imaginable than that men, in any country or age, who take upon themselves exclusively and forcibly to maintain a government obey this precept. (6—75.)

100. The French people, says the French declaration of rights, calls to the throne his royal highness Louis Phillipe d'Orleans Duc d'Orleans, lieutenant-general of the kingdom, and his descendants, *for ever;* from male to male in the order of primogeniture, and to the perpetual exclusion of the female branches and their descendants.—*(French Declaration of Rights,* 1830.*)* The only sensible part of this quotation, is that which comes last. With regard to that which precedes, we may observe as follows:—Any party of French peasants in any village in France, have as good a right to es-

tablish and maintain a government as Louis Phillipe and his party. The latter have no right whatever; nor, of course, would the party of peasants. The only difference between the two, being that Louis Phillipe and his party have *more power.*

101. In the French declaration it is said, "The French people,"—though we suppose the French people had as little to do in the affair, as the Chinese people. If the declaration had said an extremely small part of the French people, that, it appears to us, would have been correct. But, even if all, without a single exception, had consented, the first Frenchman who attained adult age after the declaration was issued; had, and of course still has, an unqestionable right by the divine law to say, and act upon it,—"As far as my power extends, this Louis Phillipe, and the members of the chamber of peers and the deputies, shall have nothing whatever to do in making or executing the laws. And of course, all other Frenchmen, as they arrived or do arrive at adult age, had, and have the same right, as all that may hereafter arise will; as to Louis Phillipe, his descendants, any chamber of peers, or elected legislative, emanating from a part of the people that may be maintained. More than this, the very parties, supposing, as we have said, they were all the adult males of France that entered into the compact with Louis Phillipe and his party, have an undoubted right to say to him as the head of such party:—The compact was an illegal one, inasmuch as it was, on the part of both of us, an infringement of the rights of others. It is null and void to all intents and purposes whatever. You must vacate the throne to afford those, namely, all the existing native adult males of France, in whom the right of appointing the government alone rests—in accordance with the law of God—an opportunity of exercising such right as they think fit. You, Louis Phillipe, are neither more nor less than a man. Each person whose right has been violated, is also neither more nor less than a man. By the divine law there is no difference in the rights of men. All those whose rights have been infringed, are as much under the protection of Heaven as you are. The Most High will not suffer you, nor any other, to wrong them with impunity. Both of us who were parties to the compact, by contravening the divine law, have set the government of Heaven at nought. It is, therefore, incumbent on us, to have justice done to the despoiled, and by our humble repentance, to have the indignation of the Most High averted; or sooner or later it cannot fail to overtake us. We challenge not only yourself, but the whole of your party together, successfully to impugn one sentence of what we affirm.

102. If a whole generation of the French was so miserably besotted, as to appoint two co-existent legislative bodies, and an hereditary executive: the next generation, or rather those that

appointed the next elected legislative, would, it is to be hoped, utterly supersede the hereditary legislative and executive; and establish a new constitution, not in accordance with the unspeakably wicked inventions of men, but conformably with the will of the Most High. In 1789, the French national assembly issued a declaration, similar to that of the people of Holland. (6—100.)

103. From the French declaration the following are extracts:—

1. Men were born and always continue free and equal in respect of their rights.
2. Civil distinctions, therefore, can be founded only on public utility.
3. The end of all political associations is the preservation of the natural and imprescriptible rights of man.
4. *The nation* is essentially the source of all sovereignty, nor can any individual or any body of men be entitled to any authority, which is not expressly derived from it.
5. Political liberty consists in the power of doing whatever does not injure another.
6. The law is an expression of the will of the community.
7. *All citizens* have a right to concur either personally, or by their representatives in its formation.
8. *Every citizen* has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining the necessity of public contributions; the appropriation of them, and their amount, mode of assessment, and duration.—(*Declaration of the Rights of Men by the National Assembly of France*, 1789.)

104. As to the first.—If the French people discovered this great truth in 1789, how miserably foolish and wicked must they be in 1835, to have nearly 7,000,000 adult males enslaved by 161,000!

105. As to the second.—What possible utility can be an hereditary executive under any circumstances whatever? What possible utility can be a chamber of peers, i. e. whether hereditary or for the lives only of men, however it may be constituted? What possible utility can be an elected legislative emanating from 160,000 citizens? Is it to assist the hereditary executive and chamber of peers, in keeping the rest of the population so ignorant and otherwise immoral; that they and their posterity, shall never be able to govern themselves?

106. As to the third.—Instead of this being verified, the end of all the French political associations; (i. e. the chamber of peers,—the chamber of deputies,—the constituents of the latter,—these associations, with the king, forming the great association that misrules France,)—is, to destroy the natural and imprescriptible rights of 6,839,000 of its citizens.

107. As to the Fourth.—*As the nation* is the source of all sovereignty, how comes it to allow a fortieth part to exercise all the functions of sovereignty?

108. As to the fifth.—Political liberty must be utterly annihilated, seeing that 161,000 citizens have totally destroyed the

liberty of 6,839,000; inflicting on them one of the greatest injuries men can sustain at the hands of each other. (6—75.)

109. As to the sixth, seventh, and eighth.—If "*all citizens,*" or, as the declaration otherwise expresses it, "*every citizen,*" have or has a right to concur in the formation of the government; why deprive thirty-nine parts out of forty of such right?

110. The extracts from the declaration should be in the hands of every man, of every country, and of every age. The whole universe cannot impugn a single sentence of them. The second to the eighth, flow from the first:—

"MEN WERE BORN AND ALWAYS CONTINUE FREE AND EQUAL, IN RESPECT OF THEIR RIGHTS."

This great truth is indelibly engraven on the heart of every virtuous man, of every country and of every age!

111. The existing government may, and does, exercise all the acts of sovereignty; but all its acts are *entirely of power and altogether without right.*—This state of things will continue during all the ages, any other form of government than that which is purely democratic, is maintained in France.

112. No other evidence is wanting of the moral character of our neighbours on the other side of the nation, than their political institutions.

113. The following will do as companions for them to decorate their houses.—

PRIME CAUSE.	REMOTER CONSEQENCES.
Less or greater immorality of the whole population.	A small number only enriched by engrossing the land, by illegal taxation, and by commercial oppression and competition. The rest of the population, in a less or greater degree, approximating to, or actually in the following state,— The working weavers of the Department of Lower Seine, says a journalist, are in a state of such misery, that the manufacturers themselves acknowledge it is impossible the men can live on the product of their labour. The prefect and the manufacturers have undertaken an examination of this subject, and behold the result of their inquiries. They chose forty weavers the most industrious and able amongst 250 of the first workmen of the department. Out of forty, those who gained most during the year now closing upon us, were eight, who had earned in working from four o'clock in the morning, until ten and eleven o'clock at night, from eleven sous to thirteen sous per day.
IMMEDIATE CONSEQUENCES.	
An hereditary chief magistrate.	
A chamber of peers.	
An elective legislative, emanating from about a fortieth part of the people.	

Unrighteous laws allowing—
The land to be engrossed by a few.

The engrossing the land, the church, army, and debt, all arise from the bad laws.

A national church.

A large standing army.

A national debt and other unjust taxation.

Mark you! the very best and the most successful had gained five-pence-halfpenny to sixpence-halfpenny per day. The next sixteen, in working the same number of hours, had gained from five to seven sous per day, or from 2½d. to 3½d. per day; and the last sixteen out of the forty, had gained two sous and a half or 1¼d. a day. They had not, of course, been fully employed, because there was not work always for them. But those who had been most successful and fortunate labourers, and constantly working from four o'clock in the morning, to ten and eleven o'clock at night, had gained from 5½d. to 6½d. per day;—take the average at 6d. and the sum total for the year will be £9. 2s. 6d.—(*Morning Chronicle*, 29*th Dec.* 1831.)

TWO CO-EXISTENT LEGISLATIVE BODIES.

114. To attain the objects of righteous legislation, it is obviously incumbent on a nation to appoint a sufficient number of those persons who are eminent for wisdom, and the love of justice and mercy towards their brethren, and of humility towards Heaven. And as in a multitude of counsellors, if they are holy men, there is safety, let it be supposed that a nation appoints one thousand persons. The dividing these into two bodies, suppose of five hundred each, can answer no more beneficial end than requiring that one of the five hundreds shall wear blue coats, and the other black ones. The good (which comprises all others), that can be attained by each of the thousand, is a copious effusion of the Holy Spirit: this each and all will derive in the precise ratio that justice, mercy, and humility are the governing principles of his and their conduct. But assuredly, in no greater degree will they attain this holy influence by dividing themselves into two or more bodies. The only argument that can be urged with even the appearance of plausibility, in support of two co-existent bodies, is, that any measure can be deliberated on by each; and thus from more careful consideration, an enactment which may in any degree be prejudicial; if it escapes the vigilance of one body will be little likely to escape both bodies. But this can be accomplished by one body dividing itself into two or more parts, such parts meeting in distinct chambers, and when any measure has passed the ordeal of each; it may be finally submitted to the whole thousand, by which mode all the good attainable will be derived. It is, therefore, impossible to imagine any conceiv-

able benefit a nation can derive, from having two independent legislative bodies.

115. It is no answer to this, to refer to the page of history, and point out that such have existed in a nation, and that measures have originated in one unthought of by the other. Let the good be supposed in some particular nation, mainly attributable to some of its hereditary legislators; there could have been no want of means to enable them to publish their sentiments, whereby, though there had been but one legislative body, and they not members of it, the good derivable through their sagacity would have benefitted the nation. To deny this being equivalent to asserting that a man cannot be of advantage to his country in the way we are considering, unless he happens to be the member of a legislative body, which is obviously absurd. *One lawfully constituted body* of as many members as a nation pleases, is therefore sufficient for every possible purpose. If its members rightly seek the divine assistance, the fullest plenitude of wisdom will be afforded; that, as far as lies in a legislative body, it will be enabled to insure the temporal and eternal happiness of the members of a nation. Those that insist on the advantage of two independent bodies, we hope, will oblige mankind, by evincing the benefit derivable from the second; and that they will further evince, if two are advantageous, whether a greater number would not be still more beneficial. If so, the exact number by which all the ends of righteous legislation can be attained. This done, the next thing requisite will be, to evince the good, if any, derivable from one body being hereditary, or the members being appointed for life. If it is made out to the satisfaction of all the reasonable part of mankind, that a nation can be benefitted by having two or more independent legislative bodies; it by no means follows that one of them must be hereditary, or the members appointed for life. We take the liberty of considering, that one elected body is sufficient for all the purposes of legislation.

116. We noticed in the preface, the propensity men have to tread in the footsteps of their ancestors, be it ever so tortuous, inconvenient, and wide of the mark they want to attain: this is in nothing more obvious, than the conduct of mankind with regard to governments. Notwithstanding, all human ability cannot discover the remotest benefit two legislative bodies can be to a country, the North Americans adopted two after the Europeans. From North America, the notable invention travelled to South America; thus, for example, we find two legislative bodies in Columbia, Peru, and Brazil. In the island of Hayti we also find two. As to those the British nation is blessed with, we may notice their utter inutility, by observing, that though it is now nearly eight hundred years since William the

Conqueror subjugated this country, during about six hundred of which two legislative bodies have existed, they have been all this time determining what are the rights of Englishmen!—if, indeed, they are determined by the late measure, strangely called the Reform Bill. As men should try to improve on the institutions of those that have gone before them, we hope the next country that is revolutionized, will try whether three, or more legislative bodies will not be beneficial. That very many of the countries of the world sadly want revolutionizing, is a truth, few we think, will be found to impugn.

117. If there are two legislative bodies in each of the twenty-seven North American states, besides the two chief legislative bodies for the whole nation, these will make fifty-six, being fifty-five more than the Americans have any occasion for, if they are a virtuous people; and twenty-eight, i. e., one in each of the twenty-seven states, and one for the whole nation, more than they require under any circumstances whatever. The following enactments, with suitable penalties, issuing from one legislative body,—'Thou shalt not kill;'—'Thou shalt not steal;'—'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour;'—if the laws were properly executed, would have an equally salutary effect in repressing the crimes to which they relate, though there were as many Americans as there are Chinese, and though the American nation exists for ten thousand ages; as if the enactments issued from fifty-six legislative bodies; and the same as to all other laws. It may be urged that one legislative body would not have time to attend to all the affairs of the Union. Its present population can, we suppose, hardly amount to fifteen millions: these may return any number of legislators. With regard to separate governments for each state, the matter may be briefly stated thus:—if, with the exception of any one state, the population of the whole twenty-seven was so much more virtuous than that of the one, that this aggregate would return a wiser and better legislature, the one state would obviously be better without a separate government. If, however, the one would appoint over itself a wiser and better legislature, than would emanate from the aggregate of the twenty-seven states, the one would be better in having its own separate government; this, of course, applies to all the states. As the more there are of mankind, and the more closely they are associated, the more powerful are their effects, whether for good or ill; and as their prevailing tendency is towards the latter, twenty-eight governments seem better than only one.

118. One legislative body in each state may benefit the Americans, but two never can; seeing that a state may return thousands of legislators, if numbers avail any thing; but whatever the number is determined to be, suppose, for example, a thousand: dividing them into two bodies, can no more avail any

thing, than, as we have said, requiring five hundred of them to wear blue coats, and the other five hundred black ones. The only two questions that really can concern a nation, as to its legislative, are, therefore, these,—*What is a suitable number to form the body?—What are the characters of those that are returned?* Of how little service all the fifty-six legislative bodies are to America, thus appears. The political right being allowed to be engrossed, and thence the land, and in some of the states that kind of slavery being allowed, where men may be sold and bought like bales of goods; the Americans have adopted the three great errors of European legislation. That the consequences are not felt with equal severity in America as in Europe and its dependencies, arises from the small number of the population of America, compared with the extent of her territory.

119. The influence of two legislative bodies, may be illustrated by reference to the French chamber of peers. If the French nation were thus to address the peers,—We really have not been able to discover that a chamber of peers, whether hereditary or for life, can benefit the nation in any way; and therefore request you will evince, to our satisfaction, what service you are to us, and you may take a year to consider of the matter; it cannot be doubted, that if all the French peers were to get all the members of the British house of peers, the chamber of deputies, and the British house of commons also to assist them; the whole aggregate of all these four bodies could not produce a single sentence in favour of the French peers, though the whole year was spent in considering the affair. The answer that might be returned is the following.—We are as anxious as ever to engross all the land, and absorb as much of your wealth as we now do, in the shape of rent and taxation. The supposed benefits we derive, are literally not worth mentioning, in reference to the incalculable injury we are the the prime instruments of inflicting. And a chamber of peers, however constituted, never has been, nor never can be, of the least conceivable benefit to France!

120. Measures that emanate from the deputies, or executive, if they interfere in no degree with the miscalled rights of the peers, the great majority are as little interested about as if they were automatons. When a few interfere, the main effect is to deprive the business of legislation of its simplicity,—the peers and the deputies being frequently brought into collision. Any thing that would curtail the powers or privileges of the peers, they make a determined resistance to, no matter how much to the prejudice of the nation.

121. The very language addressed to this chamber, evinces the absurdity of its constitution. A lawfully appointed legislature being simply entrusted with a certain duty, the members

are simply the servants of the nation; but on the hereditary, or monarchical principle, every thing is exactly opposite to what is proper. Here the legislative and executive are, or wish to be, masters. Hence, if the nation requires any thing, a humble petition must be addressed to these self-constituted masters. But this is utterly wrong: a nation, or any part of it, should never send petitions, but requisitions:—constituents thus addressing their representatives.—You have not done your duty, and if you are so unmindful of it for the future, we shall without further notice supersede you. When masters have to send petitions of any kind, much more humble ones to their own servants, things sadly want reforming.

122. The chamber of peers may truly be said to be the very quintessence of political quackery.

123. A violation of the divine will may be repented of and forgiven by both man and God; but even if it is pardoned,—to the violators it must necessarily work more or less ill; and generally, also, to innocent persons present ill, though to these Heaven will in the end make all things work for good. The reader's attention was directed to Russia and North America, for the effect of laws on the power and well-being of nations. (vi. 2.) Though the constitution of the latter is widely different from that of the former—as it is in opposition to the divine law, —in the eye of him who seeth not as man seeth, *the American constitution is working and will continue to work nothing but ill during all the ages in which it shall be maintained.* (vi. 193.) It may not work so much evil as the Russian, but still its whole operation is and will be evil. The only difference is in the degree. But such is the unspeakable blindness of mankind, that in comparing, for example, one unlawful constitution with another, if the former does not work so much ill as the latter, it is pronounced to be "glorious!" This arises from their having no just conception of what should be the proper state of things. As the American constitution is unlawful, if there can be any gradations in that which is so; it would be making things worse to tolerate the existence of a legislative or executive, either for life or hereditarily.

124. Though the history of mankind and the present state of the world, evinces that, when compared with the divine law, all nations and ages have been, and still continue, in a miserable state of demoralization; and though, as one of the evidences of this, we find the infatuated Israelites crying out for a chief magistrate similar to the nations that surrounded them: history, as far as our researches extend, presents us with no instance of a whole nation, being quite so besotted as to cry out for an hereditary legislative body. This would indeed be a climax to which we believe human infatuation never has sunk, and we trust never will sink.

125. Can it be questioned if the North Americans were to allow a body of hereditary legislators to arise among them, that they would be some of the greatest fools the world has ever heard of? If then, the establishment of such a body would evince the very climax of folly,—can it be supposed the *maintenance* of it would be less foolish? Can it be doubted that every hour it remained among the Americans, they would publish to the whole of the living generation, and all future generations of mankind to the end of the world; that they were some of the most besotted fools on the whole earth,—some of the most immoral among men?

126. Some idea may thus be obtained of the unspeakable folly of the Americans allowing an hereditary legislative to exist among them. Suppose a private family was to allow one of its members, one of the most incapable and immoral among them; a man fit for little else than to eat, drink, and sleep; to be maintained for no other purpose than to interfere in all the concerns of every one of his relations, so that no man in the family could do as he pleased as to the marriage of his daughters, or the placing out his sons; or any woman scarcely be allowed to choose, whether she shall order beef or mutton for her husband's dinner: no one would, we apprehend, question that the members of such a family, except perhaps the interferer general, were all mad together. *But what shall be said of every family throughout a whole nation permitting such interference?* And that all families do, while they tolerate an hereditary legislative, is abundantly evident: as the members of such legislative, by assisting in the enactment of unrighteous laws, or allowing those of their predecessors to remain unrepealed; so operate on the productive and other powers of society, as most materially to interfere in the way men shall marry their daughters, or place out their sons. And they go beyond interfering as to whether women shall order beef or mutton for their husbands' dinners, as in a certain instance we can mention, they are the prime instruments which prevent thousands and tens of thousands of families from having either. Not a few of the unhappy persons to whom we are alluding, from having their right to the land abstracted from them in opposition to all righteous law; being at times only able to obtain potatoes without even a little salt to savour them, and not always enough of these. (v. 266.)

127. If an hereditary legislative was most unhappily to get footing among the North Americans, and the nation did nothing more than for ever to prevent it from interfering with having anything to do in making or altering the laws; thus allowing the members of it to retain the land and amount of taxation they illegally engrossed; assuredly it would be one of the brightest days in the whole history of America, a day which should be observed with universal festivity throughout the country, from

its utmost extremities, north and south, east and west. But of course it would be a far greater achievement, to take from them the land they illegally engrossed, and the amount of taxation they illegally levied. We would not however have them kept upon potatoes without salt; let them have as much beef and pudding as they can eat; but it should be made felony for *any one* of them ever to be seen within a hundred miles of the hall of the legislative. Thus much then on the subject of two co-existent legislative bodies.

128. A government emanating from part of a nation, may comprise one, a few, or many. It may be hereditary, elected for the lives of the members, or for a limited period. It may also be compounded of the hereditary and elected; and necessarily be of transient or permanent duration.

129. A purely despotic government can exist no where but in the imagination. The chief magistrate can only be considered as one of the aristocracy, and he is not always the most powerful. At the head of the unlawful association that supports such a government, must necessarily be the aristocracy.

130. Time in reference to governments, may perhaps be compendiously divided into two portions, from the flood to the Christian era, and thence to the present time. As to the former portion, little is known of its history but what the annals of the Greeks, Romans, Asiatics, and the Bible contain. We have briefly adverted to the state of Greece. (vi. 68.) The political constitution of the Romans was perpetually changing. The Asiatic constitutions were principally despotic, not unlike the Russian or Persian at present. Hence the rise of *hereditary sovereigns.* The constitution of the Hebrews, (which we shall have to consider at length) as it came from God, was purely democratic, except as regarded their foreign 'bondmen.'—As to the latter portion, at the time of our Lord's appearance, the Romans were masters of a large part of the Western World. When their empire declined, about five hundred years after the Christian era, the southern parts of Europe were overran by immense irruptions of men from the north and east. The generals who headed these forces, in many cases, took possession of the countries they conquered, themselves engrossing large portions of the land, and dividing a great part or all of the remainder among their officers and soldiers. Hence the former proprietors were reduced to a less or greater degree of subjection, and were, therefore, designated *slaves,* the military being styled *freemen.* Such was the origin of the *feudal system* in Europe. The word feudal comes from *feodum,* compounded of *od,* possession or estate, and *feo,* wages or pay; intimating that the grant was made as a recompense for service. The general in chief assumed the office of sovereign, and his principal officers became hereditary legislators. Hence the

rise of the *hereditary legislative bodies* that now afflict the countries where they exist. Their rise alone must satisfy every reader of discernment that they are utterly illegal.

131. The feudal system gave rise to constant disputes between the principal commanders or sovereigns, and their officers or the nobles, either in their own persons or those of their descendants. To keep down the power of the nobles, the sovereigns had frequently recourse to the people at large. Hence arose *elected legislatives*, emanating from a *part* of the people, beyond all question equally unlawful with hereditary legislatives and executives. Hence also we see the rise of those unlawful constitutions, *an hereditary legislative and executive, and a co-existing elected legislative.* As to which, we may repeat what we have just said about hereditary legislatives, that the *mode by which such constitutions was established,* must satisfy every discerning reader of their utter illegality in the sight of Heaven. These hopeful constitutions were, as far as our researches extend, unknown in the ancient world. They arose, we see, on the ruins of the Roman empire.

132. Almost all the efforts in favour of liberty in every country of Europe, says Dr. Robertson, have been made by the new power [the people] in the legislature. In proportion as it rose to consideration and influence, the severity of the aristocratical spirit decreased; and the privileges of the people became gradually more extensive, as the ancient and exorbitant jurisdiction of the nobles was abridged.—*(View of the Progress of Society in Europe.)* (6—130.)

133. *Assuredly, no other evidence is wanting of the apostacy of men from their Great Creator, than what the constitutions and codes of nations afford.* (6—246.)

134. If, reader, you have the slightest doubt of a pure democracy being the only lawful government in the sight of Heaven, for all nations in all their ages,—imagine a country having superseded its government, and therefore wanting another. Then assume that the democratic is not lawful. Next endeavour to note how the nation should proceed in the formation of its constitution, in accordance with the divine will: (7.) and again, to adopt the words of Paine, you will soon find yourself in "a labyrinth of difficulties, from which there is no way out but by retreating" to what has been elsewhere stated. (i. 48.) The more the matter is studied, the more certain will every ingenuous person be that this is the only conclusion at which he can arrive. This, 'the Lord of hosts has purposed, and who shall disannul it?'—We, therefore, perhaps cannot better close this chapter than by an extract from the works of Dr. Hutcheson.

135. Civil power, says he, is most naturally founded by these three different acts of a whole people:—

1. An agreement or contract of each one with all the rest,

that they will unite into one society or body, to be governed in all their common interests by *one* council.

2. A decree or designation made by the *whole people* of the form or plan of power, and of the persons to be entrusted with it.

3. A mutual agreement or contract between the governors thus constituted and the people (i. 40.): the former obliging themselves to a faithful administration of the powers vested in them for the common interest, and the latter obliging themselves to obedience.—(*Moral Philosophy.*)

CHAP. VIII.

MODE OF SUPERSEDING UNLAWFUL CONSTITUTIONS.

It is possible to exclude men from the right of voting, but it is impossible to exclude them from the right of rebelling against that exclusion. When all other rights are taken away, the right of rebellion is made perfect.—(*Paine's Princip. of Government.*)

In all states and conditions the true remedy of force without authority is to oppose force to it. The use of force without authority always puts him that uses it into a state of war as the aggressor, and renders him liable to be treated accordingly.—(*Locke on Gov.*)

1. Rebellion, according to its strict acceptation, signifies "insurrection against *lawful* authority." Hence there can never be rebellion against a government forcibly emanating from part of a nation, however it may be constituted, and for however many ages it may have been maintained: it never having derived any "lawful authority" from God, or those only empowered by him to appoint a government—namely, the great electoral assembly.

2. Lawless opposition may, however, be even more criminal in the sight of Heaven to an unlawful government, than to a lawful one. The latter might be able much more effectually speedily to suppress the opposition. Besides, though a government emanating from part of a nation is unlawful in the sight of Heaven, it is the one the majority of the people thinks proper to have maintained: if this was not so, it would be superseded. Against even such a government, it is therefore wholly unjustifiable to excite opposition for the sole purpose of increasing the anarchy. (vi. 177.) Bad as things were before, this makes them worse. We have seen that all that an unlawful government can lawfully do, is to supersede itself. (vi. 180.)

In truly doing its best for the welfare of the nation to accomplish this, it may of course lawfully suppress opposition. To come into collision with any opposition, that it may maintain itself for an unlawful object or an undue time, makes it equally a wrong-doer with such opposition. Though the majority of a nation tolerates an unlawful government, this is no authority whatever for its forcibly maintaining itself, for any other end than to supersede itself. Wherever and whenever any other than the purely democratic constitution is maintained, every man in the nation who is not doing all that lawfully lies in him, that it may be superseded for the democratic, is undoubtedly violating his duty in the sight of Heaven. (vi. 224 to 227. vii. 2.)

3. Lawful opposition to an unlawful government, therefore, obviously consists in endeavouring to supersede it by measures in accordance with the divine law, for the purpose of setting up a new constitution conforming with this holy rule.

4. The governed declaring by their majority have always a right to supersede any one ruler, and therefore every one, even under a lawful constitution. (i. 46.) They may exercise this right whenever they think fit, as to any rulers, even though such rulers do their duty. This would, no doubt, be highly displeasing to Heaven. Nevertheless, in the governed, the right by divine appointment recedes. To Heaven they are accountable for its exercise.

5. As, then, the governed have under any circumstances this right, no question can be made as to their right of superseding rulers under an unlawful constitution; *those who, instead of preventing all abstraction of right, are the greatest violators of right of any men in a nation.* This may be said of all unlawful rulers in every country and age. (vi. 190 to 193.)

6. *And as the political right is the great right which comprehends all others,—in those from whom it is abstracted, "the right of rebellion is made perfect."*

7. It has been taken by "force without authority." This "always puts him that uses it into a state of war as the aggressor, and renders him liable to be treated accordingly," whenever to "oppose force to it" is *expedient.* (vi. 174.) Consequently, though men in any country or age may have to pass their whole lives under an unlawful constitution, or code, or both, this in no manner affects their *rights.* These flow to every man that comes into the world immediately from God, and are therefore, it must never be forgotten, wholly beyond human influence. (vi. 22.)

8. Under an unlawful government, there may obviously be three classes of persons: those who actively support the constitution,—those who are regardless about what sort of government they live under,—those who are anxious to do all in their power that a lawful government may be established and main-

tained. The great object of these must be to draw over as many as possible of the two preceding classes to their party, until it becomes sufficiently powerful to dissolve the unlawful association which upholds the government. (vi. 253.)

9. To accomplish this, the principal measures obviously are—

1. To cause the 'knowledge of God' to be every where diffused, and men's lives generally, and, if possible, universally, to be brought therewith to accord.
2. To require unlawful rulers to evince by what authority they govern, in accordance with the divine law or will of God.
3. As they can never evince any such authority, to require them peacefully to vacate their offices, that a government in accordance with this holy law may be established.
4. If unlawful rulers, after having been thus applied to, refuse peaceably to resign,—the last step is to "oppose force" for the purpose of compelling them.

10. As to the first, in the despotisms of the East, says Dr. Brown, and in all the savage despotisms in which men, accustomed to look on power only as something that is to be endured, obey as brutally as they are brutally governed; what virtue could there be in rousing a few wretches to attempt what could not but fail in their hands, even if their number were comparatively greater, and in thus producing a few more murders, and a little more terror than would have existed, but for the foolish effort?

> "True fortitude is seen in great exploits,
> Which justice warrants, and which wisdom guides;
> All else is towering frenzy and distraction."

In ages of extreme luxurious profligacy, it would be, in like manner, vain to call to those who have no virtue, to arm themselves, from a virtuous hatred of oppression, against a tyrant whom other tyrants would speedily replace. Truth in the one case, in the other case virtue, must be previously diffused; and if truth and virtue be diffused, their own silent operation may gradually succeed in producing that very amendment which mere force, with all the additional evils which its violence produces, would have failed to effect. They form, indeed, the only useful, because the only permanent force, operating on the mind, in which all real strength is, and operating on it for ever.—(*Lecture* 91).

11. Regenerators of their country should ever have in view, as the beginning, the middle, and the end of their labours in effecting a revolution;—and when it is effected, as the beginning, the middle, and the end of all their future labours, that from such revolution may be educed all the benefits which can be conferred on a nation, that they must be examples of eminent holiness in their own persons, and this will lead them to desire that as many as possible may be equally holy as themselves. All men, in all places, and at all convenient times, should be suitably exhorted to this holiness, as in the precise

ratio that justice and mercy are the rules of men's conduct in their intercourse with each other,—and humility is the rule of their conduct towards Heaven,—will the downfall of oppression, and all other human ills, be the necessary consequence. But for the miserable ignorance and other immorality of the oppressed, scarcely any one of the governments on the continent of Europe would be tolerated for a month! To the *many*, in whom *power* principally resides, true patriots should almost exclusively direct their attention. To use the words of Dr. Price,—"Show them they are men, and they will act like men. Give them just ideas of civil government, and let them know that it is an expedient for gaining protection against injury, and defending their rights, and it will be impossible for them to submit to governments" which "are usurpations of the rights of men,"—"contrivances for enabling the *few* to oppress the *many*." (vi. 158). Brief and cheap-printed statements should be circulated among the less enlightened, clearly evincing to them that the great Creator decrees that all men shall be free,—all politically equal,—all wise, and good, and prosperous, and happy;—consequently, that his beneficent designs can never be carried into effect, so long as some allow themselves to be enslaved by others. The motto of every true patriot assuredly should be—"THE WELFARE OF THE PEOPLE IS THE SUPREME LAW." (vi. 161). All virtuous men should every where be called on to endeavour to arouse all others of their countrymen to a sense of their misconduct in the sight of Heaven, in allowing the continuance of the unlawful constitution.

12. And as to the righteous portion of the misgoverned, let not any one of them be disheartened, though the sphere of his labours may seem circumscribed, and though no immediate benefit may be perceived from them. The lesson a virtuous woman teaches her infant son, may in after life, have the most powerful results. If this is not the case in his generation, it may in that which succeeds. (iii. 30). All the aggregate of human guilt that has been accumulated since the creation necessarily has arisen from each individual adding his portion. It is the same with the good men do, as to the aggregate of such good. None can calculate the extent of their influence. It must not be forgotten that, in morals, there is no neutral ground: all must be labouring with or against God! All should consider what great things are dependent on the establishment of righteous laws. The following are examples of what single individuals have effected.

13. In free governments, says Tacitus, we see a constellation of orators. Hence, Demosthenes displayed the powers of his amazing genius, and acquired immortal honour. He saw a quick and lively people, dissolved in luxury, open to the seductions of wealth, and ready to submit to a

master; he saw a great and warlike monarch threatening destruction to the liberties of his country; he saw that prince at the head of powerful armies, renowned for victory, possessed of an opulent treasury, formidable in battle, and by his secret arts, still more so in the cabinet;—he saw that king, inflamed by ambition and the lust of dominion, determined to destroy the liberties of Greece. It was that alarming crisis that called forth the powers of Demosthenes;—armed with eloquence, and with eloquence only, he stood as a bulwark against a combination of enemies, foreign and domestic. He roused his countrymen from their lethargy; he kindled the holy flame of liberty; he counteracted the machinations of Philip; detected his clandestine frauds; and fired the men of Athens with indignation. To effect these generous purposes, and defeat the policy of a subtle enemy, what powers of mind were necessary! how vast, how copious, how sublime! He thundered and lightened in his discourse;—he faced every danger with undaunted resolution. Difficulties served only to inspire him with new ardour. The love of his country glowed in his heart;—liberty roused all his powers;—and Fame held forth her immortal wreath to reward his labours. These were the fine incentives that roused his genius, and no wonder that his mind expanded with vast conceptions. He thonght for his country, and by consequence, every sentiment was sublime; every expression was grand and magnificent.—(*Dialogue concerning Oratory.*)

14. The mountainous uninviting situation of the Swiss and Grisons formed a security for their liberties. For a considerable time they continued under little better than a nominal subjection to the Burgundians and Germans, till about the year 1300, when the emperor, Albert I., treated them with such rigour, that they petitioned against the cruelty of his governors. Instead of affording them relief, Albert augmented their hardships, and one of his Austrian governors, Gresler, in the wantonness of tyranny, set a hat upon a pole, to which he ordered the natives to pay as much respect as to himself. William Tell being observed to pass frequently without noticing the hat, and being an excellent marksman, the tyrant condemned him to be hanged, unless he cleft with an arrow an apple upon his son's head at a certain distance. Tell performed the task, and Gresler asked him the meaning of another arrow he saw stuck in his belt: he bluntly replied that it was intended for his (Gresler's) heart, if he had killed his son. Tell upon this was sent to prison; but making his escape, he watched the opportunity, shot the tyrant, and is said thus to have laid the foundation of Helvetic liberty. The government of the Italians by the Spaniards, under the Austrian line, was so oppressive, that it gave rise to the famous revolt headed by

Massaniello, a young fisherman without shoes or stockings, in 1647. His success was so surprising, that he obliged the haughty Spaniards to abolish the oppressive taxes, and to confirm some of the liberties of the people. Before these could be wholly re-established, his continual agitation of body and mind unhappily brought on a delirium, and he was put to death at the head of his own followers.

15. He who has spent his life in unsuccessfully endeavouring to have a righteous constitution and code established in his native land, may on his death-bed thus address his children.—My sons! it has been, as you know, my painful situation to witness through life, that, so far from men living under laws in accordance with the will of Heaven, and obeying them; so gross and universal has been the immorality, that even *our very laws themselves are unrighteous;* arising from the makers and executors of them being allowed to hold their power in opposition to all right, and thence necessarily for an unhallowed purpose. I have endeavoured to stem the flood of immorality by which the country has been, and still is, deluged. My exertions have been far less than they ought to have been, but I trust they have been honest. As you hope to meet me in Heaven,—as you hope to save your own souls,—my dying injunction is, that each of you, as far as lawfully lies in you, supply, to the utmost of your ability, what has been wanting in me; by ceasing not, to the last moment of your lives, to cause all the accursed abominations of men to be superseded by laws made in accordance with the will of the Most High. My children, neglect not, I implore you, this my dying injunction, that it may not arise up against you at the day of judgment!

16. As to the second and third, simultaneously with the most powerful and universal efforts being made by all good men to improve the morality of their countrymen, unlawful rulers may be addressed in the following, or a similar manner, by any of the governed.—We will not prejudge the case, but assume that you are as you profess to be, the lawful rulers of the country; and though this should certainly prove to be so, we cannot but be sensible that both you and ourselves are most guilty, on account of an inquiry into the legality of your appointments, in the sight of God, never having been instituted. Is it to be tolerated for an hour longer, that multitudes are ignorant whether you have any better title to govern the country, than you have to govern Heaven? It is almost so incredible that this should truly be the state of things, that nothing but the impossibility of believing any thing else, can make us credit it. We are truly at a loss who most to be ashamed of, you or ourselves! Was not your effrontery almost boundless, it might have been expected that some one of you would have endeavoured to remedy this most crying evil. As it never has been

done, it may justly be suspected that your ignorance of the rights of mankind is equal to your effrontery! That such an utterly disgraceful state of things may no longer continue, it will be necessary for you to make out these two points, namely—

That our constitution is lawful in the sight of Heaven.

And that you are the persons, contradistinguished from all others, who have the right to make and execute the laws, and appoint some of those that assist in doing these things, by virtue of such constitution.

This we require to be done to the satisfaction of all good men; and further, that you will cause a *printed statement*—to be made of it, that *all* may have an opportunity of reading and fully comprehending that you are what you profess to be,—namely, the lawful rulers of the country in the sight of Heaven.

17. As any men, in any country or any age, whatever may be their character, would ordinarily gladly suppress the beginning of a revolution, if this could be done so easily as by the simple publication of a manifesto; evincing that, in addition to the *power*, they have also the RIGHT to rule;—should all endeavours prove fruitless to elicit any notice to such a requisition as the foregoing, the members of the government may next be remonstrated with, and shown the unrighteousness of their conduct; i. e., that they are at the head of an association who have appropriated to themselves an undue share of the political right, and, through that, much of the land, and taxed men at their pleasure, or done other unlawful acts. And they may be asked if they intend to retain their power in opposition to all right, and, by so doing, involve their country in all the horrors of civil war.

18. Resistance to the payment of taxation seems an unjustifiable mode of endeavouring to supersede a constitution, as even an unrighteous government, whilst it subsists, should have the support that a righteous government deserves. Besides, the refusal on the part of a few only to pay the ordinary taxation, will be wholly unavailing, and the government will compel the payment. But though the governed continue this, it is, of course, no reason why the governors should continue to hold their unlawful power.

19. As to the fourth,—in illegally seizing the whole political right, the oppressors never intended to restore it to its lawful owners. They often care little about remonstrances if these proceed no further; and of the majority of oppressors in most countries and ages, it may assuredly be affirmed, that nothing but the actual wresting from their hands the power they illegally hold, or the certainty that this will take place if they do not quietly resign it, will properly affect them.

20. When an illegal government finds men arrayed in small

numbers to oppose its acts, the military are called out, and frequently find little difficulty in overpowering those opposed to them: but when opposition to the maintenance of an unlawful constitution becomes general, and when, in addition to this, the chiefs of government have reason to expect that, by the longer pursuit of illegal measures, the oppressors and the oppressed may come in contact, and blood may be shed,—and that such chiefs, being the prime cause, will have to answer for it with their heads,—in a case like this, the general demonstration of determined resistance to the longer maintenance of a constitution, would ordinarily, if we mistake not, be fully sufficient to subvert it, without the effusion of a single drop of blood. Those, therefore, who have extensive opportunities of examining the history of different nations, will, we apprehend, find that the benefits derivable from tumultuous oppositions to governments have been less frequent and less important than some may suppose; the effect ordinarily being, that such efforts only cause tumults and bloodshed; or, if they succeed in superseding the government, another form equally, or even more, objectionable is established. These observations are exemplified in the case of our French neighbours.

21. Numerous instances may be found in the history of nations, of the oppressed associating for the purpose of superseding the misrule of their oppressors; that the former have met with no better success, thus arises: though theirs was a holy cause, they were not good men. Their general character has not fitted them to pursue this, or any other object aright; i. e., so as to bring upon them the divine blessing, which alone could enable them to accomplish their purpose. Bell, speaking of the late revolution of Belgium, says it was begun by a mob. A large mass of people, who had assembled on the 25th August, to hear the opera of the Muette de Portici, being disappointed of their object by the smallness of the theatre, turned their attention, as is usual on such occasions, to mischief. The first object which came in their way, was the printing-office of the National, the principal government paper. From this they proceeded to the house of the editor, who had rendered himself obnoxious, by his opposition to the Belgic union. This being totally demolished, they made an attempt to reach the place royale, from which they were deterred, partly by a show of resistance, and partly by entreaties. The hotel of Van Maanen, however, was attacked and burned. De Potter was not forgotten. "Down with Van Maanen!" and "De Potter for ever!" was heard in every street; as the rioters traversed the city in search of new objects whereon they might wreak their vengeance. Hitherto the military and the gendarmerie had made but trifling exertions to restrain the rioters. During the night, however, different parties of military attacked the

mob, and where resistance was made, fired upon them, so that a considerable number were killed.—*(Bell's Geography, Glasgow, 1832.)* The above affords a very accurate example of the way in which revolutions are often attempted or effected. A large mass of people go to hear an opera, and being disappointed, proceed to revolutionize their country! Are such persons as composed the Belgian "mob," those who may be expected to establish a national constitution in accordance with the will of Heaven? And, even the leaders in such affairs, the De Potters and Van Maanens of countries, are, as we have been insisting on, too often more immoral than those they lead; generally through ignorance, or other immorality, or both, sacrificing the public good to their own supposed well-being;—i. e. the maintenance of the oppressing system in some form or other; that they may be among the chiefs of it. Hence the language of a prophet will too truly apply to them: they "are blind, they are all ignorant, they are all dumb dogs, they cannot bark, sleeping, lying down, loving to slumber: yea, they are greedy dogs, which can never have enough, and they are shepherds that cannot understand; they all look to their own way, every one for his gain." Thus, it happens that even when a country is revolutionized, those who accomplish it have not sense and virtue enough to establish a righteous government. This is exemplified in the Belgians setting Leopold over their heads, the French Louis Phillipe, and the people of Paraguay Dr. Francia; of the last of whom we are told, that in point of absolute authority, he has been without a rival in the most despotic countries of Asia.

22. Where, either in the original formation of a government, or the superseding an illegal constitution, if a nation is divided into two or more parties, no difficulty can arise to any good man as to his duty; it being obviously to unite himself to that party, whatever its number may be, whose object is in strict accordance with or most approximates to the divine law. Unless this is attended to, he may be assistant to carry on the measures of those, whose only object in superseding one form of government, is to replace it by a more oppressive one. As association is that alone which constitutes power, and right association that alone which constitutes lawful power;—the greater the number united for any object, the more virtuous that object is; and the greater earnestness with which all the associates seek the divine assistance, the closer and more powerful their union will be. *What, then, is there that virtuous men,—in a holy cause,—pursuing none but righteous measures,—and therefore assisted by the arm of the Omnipotent, cannot accomplish?* No mathematical truth is more evident, than that when the number becomes at all considerable, its power must be literally irresistible. Of these associates, five shall chase an

hundred, and an hundred shall put ten thousand to flight. It being almost impracticable, that in effecting a revolution, a whole country should be able to cooperate; if the great work is not begun by some, it can never be performed. Any number of persons, in any country or age, living under any other than a purely democratic constitution, are therefore fully justified in the sight of Heaven in subverting their government. But it is incumbent on those who undertake the great work, *to be satisfied, that from the strength of their party, and the general state of the country, they may reasonably calculate on success.* (v. 227.)

23. They are, however, bound to try the effect of moderate measures of all kinds, before they proceed to those of a more decided character, waiting with much long-suffering the issue of the former. They should not only themselves require their rulers to evince the lawfulness of their titles, but call on all men, every where, to address the most energetic remonstrances to such rulers on the course they are pursuing: all the acts of the regenerators being, of course, done in behalf of the whole nation.

24. After every means has been tried,—if such rulers evince to the whole world that they are incapable of evincing they have any lawful title to make and execute the laws, or appoint any of those that assist to do so,—are deaf to the repeated applications of those they misrule,—refuse peaceably to resign what they illegally hold,—set the nation at defiance,—and not the nation only, but the Lord God Almighty himself, who alone 'ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will:'—the last step to be taken by *righteous men, whose object is in a lawful manner to supersede an unlawful constitution,—when a suitable opportunity* presents itself, is to arm themselves for the purpose. In other words,—of putting down, by lawful force, that which is maintained by unlawful force.

25. Matters being in this state, the time will at length have arrived for the standard of revolution to be hoisted. The regenerators of their country should individually and collectively, privately and publicly, invoke the aid of Heaven; all of them with perfect singleness of heart, in all things desiring only to know what is the will of God, and to do this holy will. Immediately prior to the last pacific act, there should be a public religious service. The rulers should then once more be solemnly invoked to evince the lawfulness of their titles before the whole world, the holy angels in Heaven, and necessarily the Most High himself! Two great ends are hereby gained—as far as possible, the responsibility of the subsequent proceedings is thrown on the heads of such rulers, and as regards their opponents "THE RIGHT OF REBELLION IS MADE PERFECT."

26. Good men reduced to the sad extremity of lawfully en-

deavouring forcibly to subvert the illegal constitution of their country, may take for their motto, the ever-memorable words, 'IF GOD BE FOR US, WHO CAN BE AGAINST US?'—and fearlessly encountering their opponents, may be assured of going on, conquering and to conquer, until they have attained their glorious purpose. And all who oppose men thus righteously engaged, are contravening the divine law, (i. 38.) and therefore guilty of high treason to the government of Heaven.—'Who is wise, and he shall understand these things? prudent, and he shall know them? for the ways of the Lord are right, and the just shall walk in them; but the transgressors shall fall therein.' 'There is no wisdom, nor understanding, nor council against the Lord!' Faithful servants of Heaven—and those only are addressed,—opposed in the glorious object we are considering, are earnestly exhorted to remember *mercy* in the midst of judgment. We are told of the Divine Being, that 'he retaineth not his anger for ever, because he delighteth in mercy.' 'I will,' says the psalmist, 'praise thee, O Lord, among the people; and I will sing praises unto thee, among the nations. For thy mercy is great above the heavens, and thy truth reacheth unto the clouds.' 'Be,' says our Lord, 'merciful, as your Father also is merciful.' 'Blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy.' And says James: 'he shall have judgment without mercy, that hath showed no mercy; and mercy rejoiceth against judgment.'

27. When the public happiness, says Dr. Brown, instead of being promoted by obedience, would, upon the whole, when every consequence, indirect as well as direct, is taken into account, be promoted by shaking off that power which is inconsistent with its great object; remonstrance, even rebellion itself, —if that name can justly be given in such circumstances of dreadful necessity to the expression of the public will—has as truly its right divine, as established authority, even in its best state, could be said to have it; when, as exercised with happier tendencies, it was productive of that good in which alone the divinity of its right is to be found. A revolution should be, and will be, the last resource of the thinking and good. But, though it will be the last resource, it still is a resource; a resource in those miserable circumstances, in which times, and occasions, and provocations, teach their terrible lesson. When the rare imperious cases do occur, in which the patriotism that before made obedience a duty, allows it no more, to him who feels that he has now another duty to perform; when he sees, with sorrow, that a cause which is good in itself, will demand the use of means from which, with any other motives, he would have shrunk with abhorrence;—he will lift his voice, sadly indeed but still loudly,—he will lift his arm with reluctance, but when it is lifted, he will wield it with all the force which the thought

of the happiness of the world, as perhaps dependent on it, can give to its original vigour. *(Lecture* 90.*)*

28. It has been observed, (6—217) that good men will not seek to remedy an evil by introducing the oppressing system. In the progress of a revolution, they may, as a temporary expedient, have to carry on the government without delegation from all the adult males declaring by their majority. This can, however, only be done for a very limited time, and for the *sole purpose*, at the earliest moment it can be done with advantage, of convening the great electoral assembly. (i. 48.)

29. In confirmation of what has been advanced, this chapter may be closed with the following quotation:—"The people, that is" "*every individual* moral agent among the people, has an unalienable right to be self-governed; that is, to chuse his own legislator, governor, and director. Consequently, to take from or to deny any of them the free exercise of this natural and fundamental right, is to act the tyrant, and *to be guilty of the worst kind of robbery* that can be committed. It is such an atrocious violation of the just rights of mankind, as will authorize every man to use the most speedy and efficacious methods in his power, to assert and recover his native freedom, by redressing his wrongs and punishing the tyrants and usurpers."—*(As quoted in Dean Tucker's Treatise on Government.)*

CHAP. IX.

LAWS RELATIVE TO THE LAND OF NATIONS.

1. The doctrine propounded in this essay, of every man that comes into the world being entitled to a property in the land, may seem to some startling. It once did so to the author. *He has, however, come to the conclusion, because he could come to no other.* Truth, as has been said, is unchangeable and eternal, and so not liable to any accident or influence. (vi. 179.) Men may choose whether they will seek the truth; but if it is sought, they cannot choose whether they will or will not give it credence. However active the mind may be in the search for it, it is entirely passive in the reception of truth: though men may undoubtedly, and very commonly do, take that for truth which is not so. If a theory is unsound—in other words, if it is the mere wanderings of a disordered imagination, so far from any trying to reduce it to practice, it is much to be lamented it should ever have

been obtruded on the world. On the other hand, a sound theory must be precisely that which should be reduced to practice with all possible exactness. Far, very far, be it from the author knowingly to write a single sentence of any theory of his own. He professes humbly to inquire what is the theory of God! All the preceptive parts of the Bible are but theory. It will, however, be to the unspeakable sorrow of those by whom the following is practically realized: 'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels.'

2. Historians tell us, that the land of nations has sometimes been held entirely by the chief magistrates,—sometimes by a few,—and sometimes it has been divided among the whole community, excepting a small number, in an acknowledged state of slavery. Had we an opportunity of examining the titles to estates in various nations, from the Christian era to the present time, they would doubtless be found greatly to differ; but all are unquestionably bad, except those which accord with the divine law. Whether near the poles, or at the equator, in Europe, Asia, Africa, or America, no good title can have been, or can now, or hereafter be made, by any person whatever; in past, present, or future ages; except that which conforms to this holy law. This conformity alone constitutes a legal title. In most countries and ages the mode has been for the political right and the land to be engrossed by a few, thereby reducing the many to slavery; thus superseding the will of the Most High as declared in the divine law, by the accursed abominations of men.

3. We have seen that the feudal system placed a large part of the population of Europe in a state of slavery. Of these slaves there were two classes, some considered as belonging to the soil, and some more immediately as appertaining to their masters. The former could not be separated from the land without their own consent. The serfs now existing in Russia are a remnant of the feudal system,—they form part of the glebe. (vi. 158.) The abstraction of the land from the English is another remnant of this system. The question has already been asked, when will this be abolished? (v. 24.) It may now be inquired—When will the Russian remnant be abolished? And how happens it, that as few Englishmen are so blind as not to see the illegality of this, they are so much in the dark as to the unlawfulness of themselves being enslaved by the abstraction of the land? *The laws relating to the land of England would, assuredly, disgrace the darkest ages of the worst savages.*

4. It forms an undeniable proof, that the members of the two English legislative assemblies and the chief magistrate do not properly understand the duty of legislators, in enacting that undisturbed possession for a certain period gives a valid title. If

the title is good, in accordance with the only legitimate standard, the will of God, as declared in the divine law, such an enactment is mere waste paper. If the title is bad, a million of ages will not make it good. It will be just as bad on the last day, as it was on the first day of the million. (vi. 313.) If, then, the land of England is held in contravention of the divine law, justice demands exactly the opposite of that which our law declares. If any persons have deprived others of their rights for a considerable period, so far from that being an argument why the spoliation should be continued, it is a most powerful reason for restitution being made with the least possible delay.

5. To illustrate our subject, let us advert to the mode in which a nation must proceed according to the divine law; from its first colonizing until the whole lands are fully peopled. Between these two periods, we have to determine in what manner the land must be apportioned in all the generations of the nation. Whatever can be truly affirmed of any supposed country, must necessarily apply to all nations in all their ages; the divine law being imperative in all places and at all times. (vi. 36.) In colonizing lands, there are three parties to be considered:—

The first colonists.

Their heirs.

The rest of the living generation of mankind and their heirs.

First colonists may be considered *collectively* or as a whole nation, and *individually* as the members of such nation.

6. Let us consider of them, first, in their *collective* or national capacity. And that a party amounting to one hundred adult males and their families migrate to a hitherto undiscovered, and from us far distant island of large extent, that we may call Concordia. These colonists can only possess themselves of as much land as is necessary. Suppose them to arrive on a first of January, and take possession of the island; and on the following day another party arrives, also with the intention of settling on it. Those who first arrived may perhaps say:—We have taken possession of the whole island, and therefore shall not allow you to occupy part. It is true we have more than in all probability we and our posterity for a hundred generations may require: nevertheless, we intend to keep it all. To this the persons addressed might reply:—All men of all ages are under the divine law. If you could make it appear, that in the course you are pursuing, you are obeying it, we would quietly leave the whole island to you; but as you cannot, we shall occupy as much of it as we require. As you came first, we shall not object to your selecting a proper quantity of land, in whatever situation you think proper, and then we shall do the same. If you resist, we shall have recourse to arms, and as you will be acting in contravention of the divine law, in doing that to us which you would not have done to yourselves; we shall earnestly implore the aid of Heaven, and trust

thereby to be enabled to frustrate your iniquitous intention. As we hope, under the divine blessing, to live like virtuous men, it is for your advantage that we should join you; for as men can live only in association, the greater the number the more varied are their qualities, and the more powerful is their action on each other. Hence, the more there are of us, if we rightly apply our talents, the more prosperous and happy may we become, and in the more rapid manner. (iii. 21.) It cannot be supposed that one people can have the right to keep in a depopulated state whole regions of the earth, for no other reason than because it is its pleasure so to do. If a single acre may be thus misapplied, without a contravention of the will of God, a larger quantity to any extent may; and by all nations and throughout all ages. The opposing party being made to see, that it is their duty and interest, these words being strictly synonimous—to allow the other party to join; the two united, may possess themselves of a proper quantity, and leave it to their descendants, and these to future generations. As these increase, they may take possession of the land circumjacent, until the whole island is fully peopled; unless antecedently other foreigners arrive desirous of colonizing: these would of course have exactly the same rights as the first and second party of colonists had; that is, the right to appropriate to themselves so much of the land as was not lawfully occupied. The previous colonists could not appropriate to themselves more of the island than their necessities required, on the same principle that their aboriginal ancestors could not.

7. Let us next consider of the Concordians in their *individual* capacity. The divine law giving the whole nation the right of entering on as much land as its members reasonably required, but no more, no individual can exclusively occupy more than is sufficient for the use of himself and family, because he cannot want more. Such a procedure, by causing others to be partly or wholly deprived, would be doing to them what he would not have done to himself, and thus an infraction of the divine law; introducing all the evils of Vicious Association. Each man, it must be remembered, *is a member of Association.* He cannot exist in any other character. For all the benefits land engrossers receive, they want to abstract the land from some, (to whom as their fellow members they are in a less or greater degree indebted for what they enjoy); such engrossers thereby educing evil, not only to the persons from whom the land is abstracted, but in a less or greater degree to the whole Association: the prosperity of which must ever be proportional to the means each of its members possesses, and exists for the promotion of such prosperity. It is therefore obviously for the interest of all the members, that each should have the greatest plenitude of means, and employ those means for the general good; this good being the

sole source whence any and all can be benefitted; as has been elsewhere insisted on. (i. 14 to 17.) It surely cannot be lawfully permitted, that some, by engrossing the land, for all the good they receive from association, shall inflict on it nothing but ill. It is the will of God that his gifts shall minister to the good of all. If more land cannot be entered upon by the whole nation than it requires, without infringing the rights of the rest of mankind, the members of such nation throughout its generations assuredly cannot lawfully do that to one another, which they cannot do to strangers. For it being incontestible, that until there was a sufficient number of native Concordians to people the whole island, any foreigners that chose to migrate to it, would have a right to so much of the land as was not lawfully occupied; foreigners would thus have a right which some of the natives themselves did not possess. But this is not to be supposed. Some may perhaps urge, as Heaven since the creation has allowed large tracts of land to be unpeopled, there may be no infringment of the divine law, in some engrossing larger portions than their neighbours, or leaving multitudes without any. That this is no valid ground for so proceeding, appears from what follows. We have seen, that the perfect freedom of the will is the necessary constitution of our nature, (iv. 11), and if it is destroyed, all moral obligation is at an end. Heaven, therefore, never irresistibly forces men, but affords them all necessary assistance in educing their temporal and eternal welfare. After the deluge, there being but Noah's family in the world, a considerable time necessarily elapsed before it could be peopled. If part of mankind any where chose to huddle themselves together, in a way destructive of their own happiness,—or if any now choose to do so, or are compelled to do so by the wickedness of others,—or if any are so placed, partly by their own wickedness, and partly by that of others,—Heaven has nothing to do with this, but to bring the guilty parties to judgment at a proper season. Men, in any nation, who possess an undue portion, when applied to by those without land, to relinquish what they unlawfully hold, cannot say to them,—We shall keep what we have; there is plenty unoccupied at the antipodes, or elsewhere. The love of country, of relatives, and of friends, must ever be held sacred; and no man can be required to separate from them, but on sufficient grounds. If a man may engross a single acre more than is necessary, he may the whole land of a nation, if he has the power! And if one may do so, another may, and consequently all others: and if this may be done in one nation, it may in another, and consequently all others. The absurdity of all which is obvious, as such conduct would, to a certain extent, cause the earth to be unpeopled; and thus the very thing would arise, that we have supposed to be a pretence why some

should desire to engross. The man who wants a large portion of land may go to the uninhabited part of Africa, and possess himself of as much as he pleases. In a country where there are multitudes equally in want of land as himself, in whatever generation of a nation he may arise; he can, *in accordance with the will of God*, be allowed an equal share only with all his neighbours. And this rule obviously applies to all men. If any impugn this, we may repeat the question elsewhere asked,—Why is the labour also not allowed to be engrossed? (v. 12).

8. If it is inquired whether first colonists are not entitled to more than others for bringing land into cultivation, we answer, that it is the duty of every man to do all that is within his power, for the benefit of the nation to which he belongs, (i. 19). 'When,' says our Lord, 'ye shall have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done that which was our duty to do.' The parties to whom the question relates, are principally the first colonists and their own children. Every one must see that the former could not do too much for the latter, nor these too affectionately reciprocate such kindness. On the part of the first colonists, the approbation of their own consciences, as well as that of Heaven, is a sufficient recompense for all the extraordinary labour they incur.

9. The following are examples of land being unlawfully engrossed. The distance from Chicklana to Algesiras, says Bourgoing, is fourteen leagues. I performed the journey, on the same horse, in one long summer's day, and found the country more thinly inhabited, than perhaps any region which is not entirely uncultivated. I went, it is true, across the plains, avoiding circuitous roads, which would have led through some villages; but the reader will scarcely believe me, when I assure him, that with the exception of Vejer, which I perceived on my right, and Medina Sidonia on my left; the only habitations I met with in this whole journey, were four or five groups of the miserable huts, called cortijos, in which labouring people reside during part of the year. For ten leagues out of these fourteen, the road leads through the domains of the Duke of Medina Sidonia, consisting entirely of corn-fields and pasturage. In no part of them is there the least vestige of a human habitation; not an orchard, a kitchen-garden, a ditch, or a stile. The great proprietor seems to reign there, like the lion in the forest, by driving away all who would otherwise approach him. Instead of human inhabitants, I met with seven or eight numerous colonies of horned cattle, and some troops of mares. On seeing them unshackled by yoke or bridle, roving at pleasure over a space unbounded, as far as the eye can reach, by enclosure or barrier; the traveller is disposed to fancy himself

in the first ages of the world, when the animals, in a state of independence, divided with man the empire of the earth, found every where their own property, and were not themselves the property of any person. Andalusia has been divided into immense possessions, ever since the period of its conquest from the Moors. The principal Castilian noblemen who accompanied the victorious monarchs, obtained grants of prodigious tracts in perpetuity, according to the fatal custom introduced throughout almost the whole monarchy.—(*Modern State of Spain*). The lands, says another writer, for three, six, eight, twelve, and fifteen leagues in extent, often belong to one owner. The nobility and the clergy possess nearly the whole. —(*Laborde.*)

10. Dr. Clarke tells us that, near the town of Bogoroditz, in Russia, nothing is seen but corn-land covering a vast extent. It is the richest district in the empire. Here is a magnificent seat belonging to a nobleman, whose estate comprises sixteen square miles of the finest corn-land in Russia, and was said to contain 70,000 peasants. Some of the Russian nobles, says another esteemed writer, have 70,000 or 100,000 peasants: from this it may well be supposed that their wealth is immense, in whatever manner the labour of these slaves is employed. Women and children, as well as men, must labour for their master, for such pay as his caprice or his wants may dispose or enable him to give. Tithes are besides demanded of whatever may remain in their hands. As soon as a child reaches the age of ten, its labour is required; and when he reaches fifteen, each male slave is obliged by law to labour three days in each week for his master. If the proprietor chooses to employ him the other days, he may; as, for example, in a manufactory: in this case, however, he finds him food and clothing. In general, the master, instead of exacting the labour of his slave for the stated portion of the week, agrees to receive a rent; and he is bound to furnish him with a house and a certain portion of land. The aged and infirm are provided with food, raiment, and lodging, at his expense.—(*Modern Traveller—Russia.*)

11. Before Louis the Stammerer, says an author of the sixteenth century, almost all France was a royal demesne, the king parcelling it out to his subjects as he thought proper.

12. The Spanish and Russian noblemen could not, by the divine law, be the original owners of more land than all other Spaniards and Russians; excepting on the supposition of its having been originally lawfully divided, and that a larger quantity had fallen to them through the deaths of their relations without other heirs; but, under these circumstances, the quantity could never have been very considerable. The two noblemen, therefore, could not lawfully let the land they possessed, at a rent; such rent being the property of those who had the

right to the land. Machiavel, speaking of the disputes about the Agrarian law, among the Romans, observes, how much greater value men set upon riches than honours; for, whenever there was any dispute about the latter, the nobility often gave up a share of them to the people, without much reluctance or opposition; but when their estates were at stake, they defended them with obstinacy. This may be expected to happen in any age or country, when engrossers come to be dispossessed of what they illegally hold. But it is obvious, that when men know what are truly their rights, and generally determine to possess themselves of them, by acting like righteous men, and earnestly seeking the divine blessing on their exertions; opposition on the part of a few engrossers must be utterly unavailing.

13. In opposition to the appropriation of the land among all throughout a nation's generations, let it be imagined the whole was allowed to belong to one, as is the case in some countries. As to the sovereign of Java, one of the Asiatic islands, Bell tells us that his subjects have no right of liberty of person or property: his breath can raise the humblest individual from the dust to the highest distinction, or wither the honours of the most exalted. There is nothing to oppose his will. Not only honours, posts, and distinctions depend upou his pleasure, but all the landed property of his dominions remains at his disposal; and may, together with its cultivators, be parcelled out by his order, among the officers of his household, the members of his family, or the ministers of his pleasures. Every office is paid by grants of land, or by a power to receive from the peasantry a certain proportion of the produce of certain villages or districts. — (*Bell's Geography; Glasgow*, 1832). Under these circumstances, it is obvious, that the productive and other powers of the whole population, can only be associated as its despotic master chooses to allow. That this is an incontestible evil, every man that wishes to be thought by his neighbours in possession of his senses, will, we apprehend, admit.

14. If, then, it is an evil for *one* to engross the whole land, it must also be an evil for it to be done by a *few*.

15. And that it could never have been the design of Heaven for one, a few, or any number, however large, short of the whole population of a nation, to be entitled to the land; is apparent from considering, that exactly the same argument, as to kind, though not as to degree, may be used as to depriving any single one whatever, as to doing this to all but one: for, as whoever is deprived, can only associate his labour as the landholders choose to allow, the depriving any one whatever, therefore, of the full enjoyment of all his rights, is a loss to the primary association to which he belongs: and as this applies to any one, it consequently does to all so deprived; the worst

state of society being, for all but one to have the right to the land abstracted; the best, for none to labour under this privation; or, as we have said, for all to have the greatest plenitude of means, and employ those means for the good of the whole primary association, whence alone any and all can be benefitted, (i. 14 to 17); a state of society which must manifestly be superior to every other. And could all nations be brought thus to associate, from the interchange that might exist between them, it would obviously be equivalent to *the whole earth being the freehold of each man and his heirs; as each would derive all that the united labour of all mankind, operating on it (for the benefit of all,) could afford him!* (16.) To reduce one man only to either kind of slavery, (v. 10), or all but one, though it was as populous as China, is equally a contravention of the divine law, differing only in degree. And as this may be said of one nation, it may of another, and consequently all others; and if of one age, it may of another, and consequently of all others: whence, we see, if the enslaving system is at all allowable, to what extent it may be carried; i. e., to enslave the whole human race, throughout its generations. But some of its advocates may, perhaps, be ready to say,—We would not have the whole population of a country, with one exception only, despoiled:—we would only have a part thus treated.

17. Will these gentlemen be good enough to favour the world with an exact account of the numbers, in all countries and ages, with reference to the whole population, that may be despoiled, in order that men may most beneficially associate?

18. And whether the despoiled are all to be reduced to one kind of slavery; and if so, to which? Or, if to both kinds, what are the numbers that are to be reduced to each?

19. And whether these gentlemen themselves have any objection to be placed among the despoiled? If they can give no sufficient reason why others should more than themselves,—will they be good enough also to say to which kind of slavery they desire to be reduced?

20. If of the members of a nation, one is employed in building, another in manufacturing, and a third in educating the youth; these persons may let the land which belongs to them to an agriculturist. But though this gives the latter the occupancy of a greater quantity of land than his fellows, it does not confer on him that of ownership. The reader will not fail to mark the difference between *occupying* land, and *owning* land while in the occupancy of another. It is not to be imagined in any state of society, that all are to become cultivators of the earth; but it is quite comprehensible, that all the individuals of a thousand branches and divisions of production, may be the owners of land, though one division only is employed in agriculture. It is obvious, also, that every man, whatever his em-

ployment may be, must have a habitation; and not less so, that such habitation may be his own property. It is also evident, that all must live on the produce of the land; consequently, that in it, all may have a property.

21. It was said, at the conclusion of the seventh chapter, that, if the reader endeavoured to form a constitution, he would find himself in a labyrinth of difficulties, from which there was no way out but by retreating to the democratic. As, then, no other constitution than this is lawful, of course no lawful titles to land, under any other, can be made. If a nation has not a constitution, it cannot have a code: and if a constitution is not lawful, neither can be its code. (vi. 38, 75).

22. Whether, with human laws or without them, Heaven, under all circumstances, assigns a property in the land to every man that comes into the world, in every nation and every age: as to the two states of society, that of being with, and that of being without, laws; whatever is the divine will in one case, must be so in the other. The only righteous object of human laws, being to make the contumacious do the will of God, as declared in the divine law. (vi. 24).

23. Men from whom the possession of the land is abstracted under an unlawful constitution, can regain their rights by superseding such constitution in a lawful manner. Under a democratic one, they should appoint those legislators only who will secure to every man his three great rights. *This is the provision that the Most High* (who alone 'ruleth in the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will;' and before whom 'all the inhabitants of the earth are reputed as nothing, and he doeth according to his will in the army of Heaven, and among the inhabitants of the earth, and none can stay his hand, or say unto him, — What doest thou?') *has made for securing the right to personal liberty, and the property in the land, to every man, in all nations, and throughout their generations.* (vi. 182.)

24. The situation of those who hold land in accordance with the divine law, is wholly different from that of the Spanish and Russian noblemen. The truly lawful holder can bid defiance to the world: the foundation of his claim is as secure as the throne of the Eternal, from which it emanates. Whoever dares molest a man in his possession, is guilty of a crime; not against human government only, but of high treason to the administration of God himself. So far from any liability to molestation, the rightful owner can call on every man in his nation to aid him in the preservation of his rights, and all are bound by the divine law to lend such aid. (vi.—227.)

25. By enactments emanating from a lawful legislative and executive alone, can any man, in any nation or age, lawfully hold land. By such enactments alone, themselves, according

with the divine law, can the right of every man be secured. By such enactments it is impossible but that it must be secured. No man, says Hooker, may in reason take upon him to determine his own right, and according to his own determination proceed in maintenance thereof; inasmuch as every man is, towards himself and them whom he greatly affects, partial; and therefore strifes and troubles would be endless, except men gave their common consent all to be ordered by some whom they should agree upon; without which consent there would be no reason, that one man should take upon him to be the lord or judge over the other.—*(Eccl. Pol.)* As boundaries and landmarks, says Dr. Taylor, rather described than fenced, rather pointed out where avarice ought not to intrude, than secured the pass where violence would sometimes presume to enter; some collateral security was thought necessary. And that collateral security was a general agreement. There was a mutual engagement to stand by each other. What we call law was the condition of the obligation. (vi. 25.)—*(Elements of Civil Law.)*

26. As to the right of women to land,—the reader is referred to our observations in this chapter, on the distribution of the land among the ancient Hebrews; and to the following chapter.—As to eldest sons, see also the Hebrew mode.

27. It is, of course, competent to the legislature to enact that the ownership of lands may be transferred; but this can only be done for a limited time. A contrary procedure would affect the rights of future generations. Unless, therefore, they could be made parties to the compact of sale, it would be a contravention of the divine law. (i. 45—, vi. 288, 308 & 309.)

28. A law should be enacted limiting the time for which land can be transferred. At the expiration of this, there should be a jubilee, when every man should return to his possession. (Lev. xxv. 10.) *No statutes can by possibility conform with the divine law, which take away the right to the land from any native, of any country, in any age;* excepting in the event of transfer by a father, and the son happening to die prior to the periodical redemption. In this case, though he loses it by premature death, his heirs or next of kin enjoy it in virtue of his right.

29. In the descent of lands, even when the laws are righteous, it seems possible, though not very probable, that by the death of relatives, a larger share than is convenient may fall to one individual. To remedy this, it may be enacted, that no man shall be allowed to hold more than a certain portion. When he has attained to this, any further quantity that may descend to him, should be at the disposal of the government; and be assigned to any of a nation's sons, that require land.

30. All land not occupied in any nation, in the way that has

been pointed out, (5 to 7.)—whether forming part of the territories claimed or appropriated by the nation *collectively*,—or by the members of such nation *individually*,—or that which has never yet been claimed by any human being;—of right belongs to those who first desire to appropriate it. As to the land already possessed by a nation, either collectively or individually, the natives without land have a right to the first choice; and when they have had their proper portions assigned to them, whatever may be left belongs to any foreigners who choose to possess themselves of it. (vi. 321.)

31. Present possessors of land in nations under unlawful constitutions, should be allowed to hold it for a reasonable time, excepting from this arrangement exorbitant engrossers. At the expiration of this time, all who have been excluded, should be put in possession of their unquestionable right.

32. If any ask to whom the buildings should be assigned, we reply this can be determined only by a lawfully appointed legislative. The means whereby men acquire wealth to purchase land, necessarily applies also to those whereby they make costly erections.

33. If from an unlawful constitution and code having been allowed to be maintained, and some, deprived of their right to the land, apply for restitution to the engrossers, and are told by them;—The land we possess has been held by us, and our ancestors, for a thousand years,—or by others—that they yesterday paid for the land they claim, with gold;—The answer to the former, is, your miscalled right is not worth a straw, in consequence of the foundation and maintenance of the constitution and code, under which the land has been and is now held; —having ever been, and now being wholly opposed to the will of God, as expressed in the divine law.—The answer to the latter is,—you obtained the gold, only by being concerned, in some way or other, in one kind or both kinds of slave labour, existing by multitudes, being from the unrighteous laws, driven off the land:—to gain one single farthing thus, until you had done all that lay in you, that a lawful constitution and code might be established and maintained, is utterly illegal:—and even after you had, ineffectually, done all in your power that these objects might be accomplished, you could not lawfully considerably enrich yourself, by dealing in either of the two kinds of slave labour. (v. 126, 134, 182; vi. 127, 201.) If you gave your gold for an unsound title, your only remedy, as has been observed, (v. 225.) if any, is, to get the gold returned. The land is ours, and therefore belongs not to the vendor, nor to you. Suppose you had bought our bodies and souls instead of our land; should we be obliged to resign ourselves to your disposal, for no other reason, than that you and others, by an unlawful compact, want to make merchandize of us? With re-

gard, however, to both you who say that the land you claim has been held by yourselves, and your ancestors, for a thousand years; and you who say, you yesterday paid with gold for the land you claim:—as we who address you, have been equal wrong doers with yourselves, in neglecting to do all that lay in us, that a lawful constitution and code might be established; we shall not take advantage of our own misdeeds, but allow you to hold the land for a limited period.

34. By a lawful constitution alone can it be determined, that after a certain period those who arise in a nation, can have no more land assigned to them; except any holders or their heirs die without relatives or descendants. And when the land of a nation is so fully peopled, as for such an enactment properly to issue, the time will have arrived for men to migrate to more distant lands. It could never have been the divine intention, that men should be so huddled together; that any part of any nation should be deprived of the means of bringing all their faculties to perfection:—therefore, whilst it is incumbent on men to apply their labour to the earth, in such a manner as shall make it the most productive of every thing they require,—it is equally incumbent, that when the population of any nation becomes so numerous, that the land on which they live, is insufficient for the supply of all their wants; some of them should migrate. And when they do, they should not only be attended by the anxious wishes and prayers of those they leave behind; but, if necessary, be furnished at the public expense, not only with all the means requisite for a comfortable transit, but with a copious supply of every thing that will conduce to their well-being, in the land of their adoption. It is also desirable that proper persons should be appointed to superintend the egress of immigrants, and to supply them with whatever they may require, in addition to what has been already furnished; thus, fully and permanently to secure their prosperous settlement. Men who have to bring a new country into cultivation, should have to attend to that alone. Every thing they can themselves require, should, as far as possible, be provided for them from others; and all neceasary assistance should be afforded to them, until they are fully able to do without.

35. In further illustration of our subject, it may be inquired, what miscalled rights land engrossers acquire, under an unlawful government? If a man has a field or a house, and says,—this is mine, what do these words comprehend? It is usually said, a man may do as he likes with his own. On this supposition, therefore, the man in question may build a wall around his field, and direct that it shall never more be applied for the use of man. And if this may be said of one field, it may of all others. If, then, we suppose the land of a nation to be wholly engrossed by one despot, and that of all other nations in a simi-

lar situation, the destinies of mankind will be altogether at the disposal of a handful of men. Hence we see, that Heaven can never have intended for the land to be at the disposal of any other than a lawful government.

36. If war was declared by one nation against another, and the ground would be a just one, from the latter nation appropriating a larger quantity of land than it could reasonably require; the absurdity of an unrighteously appointed government, calling on those of its own subjects, excluded from any ownership in the land, to resist the invaders, must be apparent. Here are three parties, all having an equal right, one unlawfully excluding the two others. Of these two, one fights for his rights; the other, not only against those of his assailant, but also his own.

37. As to a nation internally, suppose some to engross an undue share of the land. Is it to be imagined, that others, from whom the right is abstracted, can in accordance with the divine law, be required to beat off those, similarly situated, endeavouring to possess themselves of it? What more monstrous requisition can be made to men, than for them to hazard their own lives, and those also of the persons to whom they are opposed, to keep both out of their unquestionable rights: in order that those who do the greatest injury to society, of any men in it, may fatten on what they unlawfully engross?

38. The situation of political oppressors and land engrossers, two characters ordinarily combined in the same individuals, is this:—first, the members of the faction to which they belong, appropriate to themselves the whole political right; next, as much of the land as they can get within their grasp; besides doing other illegal acts, such as taxing men in any way they please, and to as great an extent as they are able. After having thrown the whole nation into a state of Vicious Association, and thereby reduced nine tenths of it to a less or greater degree of pauperism; some of the pauperized multitudes are made soldiers, and required to risk their lives for about a shilling a day; to protect the miscalled rights of the engrossers against either civil or foreign war: the wages of the soldiery being of course paid by the pauperized multitudes, who perform nearly all the labour. If the bodies and minds of men are to be so enslaved, that they are precluded from taking an interest in the government under which they live, is it not too much to call on them to oppose intestine commotion or foreign invasion?—Either may be the means of restoring them to that of which they are iniquitously deprived—the political right, and thence the land. Bell tells us, that the subjugation of Persia would be a blessing to it. (vi. 142.) How can a set of oppressors require the oppressed to rivet their own chains? Can men be asked to repel the infraction, not of their rights; for they have none, or only what their

masters allow them? The very modest requisition the oppressors make, is truly as follows:—

39. Suppose either foreign invasion or civil war is expected; on the ground of an undue quantity of land being appropriated, the few engrossers thus practically address the many, who are despoiled. A large army is coming to deprive us of our possessions, be good enough to drive them away at the hazard of your lives. We cannot deny that the assailants, and you who are to oppose them, have quite as good a right to the land as we who engross it have; yet still we beg of you to risk your lives in our defence. As to such of you as survive the conflict, no care shall be wanting on our part that *you* shall never disturb us in our possessions. We will make enactments, declaring that the land shall belong to us and our heirs *for ever*. Other enactments shall declare, that a few years' undistured possession shall give a sound title; no matter how the miscalled right was attained. A third class of enactments shall declare it to be high treason, even to inquire whether the constitution and code, under which the possession of the land is first acquired, and maintained afterwards; are in accordance with the will of Heaven, or utterly opposed to it. A fourth class of enactments shall declare, that you shall not meet together to deliberate about your rights. A fifth class, that none of you shall have arms, to enable you to assert such rights, in the only way to which we shall ever be inclined to listen. A sixth class, that we shall arm as many of you as we please, and in what manner we please, to prevent the slightest opposition on your part. And how much soever, through the land being engrossed, you oppress one another and compete with one another, and are thereby impoverished; you will of course have to maintain the armed force, as we can contribute nothing towards it; being indeed scarcely fit for any thing, but to eat, drink, and sleep at your expense. We shall amuse you with a seventh class of enactments, that will pretend to direct that a few of you shall be educated; but we have no more intention, that you shall be so far enlightened, as to comprehend the real nature of your rights, than we have to turn cannibals and eat you. Indeed, we scarcely know ourselves what are truly the rights of men. As many of you must necessarily, through the oppression and competition, of which we have just spoken, be reduced to starvation; an eighth class of enactments shall declare, that you shall have such a pittance doled out to you, as shall prevent your starving outright. You must be perfectly satisfied, that if all these things will not maintain us in the possession of that which we unlawfully engross, and effectually prevent you from ever possessing land, nothing will. If we have not said enough to induce every one of you, if necessary, to shed every drop of his blood on our behalf; it is impos-

sible to imagine that any thing will induce men. Hesitate not, therefore, to risk your lives in our defence; and as the best encouragement, we may repeat that both the right of the assailants and yourselves to the land is quite as good as ours. Consequently, gentlemen, we rely on every one of you proving a hero in our behalf.

40. If, reader, you imagine to yourself some spiritual being, ignorant of rebellion to his Great Creator, and told of the existence of the human race, the Bible being placed in his hands, wherein the apostacy of mankind is so forcibly depicted; and he were to be asked in what manner he considered the question of the land had been treated; he would probably say, as to some nations in some of their generations, that the engrossing system had been tolerated; but he could scarcely imagine it to have prevailed so extensively and so durably as it has in reality.

41. It is usual to talk of causes and effects, but the most accurate mode is to speak of one Great First Cause, and all besides as a connection of effects,—such connection being good if the divine will is obeyed; ill, if it is contravened. Every thing being done throughout the universe by synchronous and consecutive association, it is easy to trace the series of effects by which any man and all men are placed in the situations in which they are found.

42. A part of any generation of any nation may violate the rights of others, and of course set up what constitution and code they please. Such a state of things may prevail through many generations. And it may be done in many nations. But however extensively these things may operate, both the spoilers and the despoiled assuredly only treat the divine law as atheists. And both must answer for their conduct at the high tribunal of Heaven.

43. The different constitutions prevailing in the world are conclusive evidences that the will of God is set at nought. In Russia, the right of making and executing the laws is in a single individual,—in France it is in about 161,000,—in England in a much larger number,—in North America in a still larger number. In Russia, again, the right is wholly hereditary,—in France partly hereditary, partly elective for life, and partly for a limited period; in England partly hereditary, and partly elective for a limited period; in North America wholly elective for a limited period. If the doing such things is not treating the law of God as an idle tale, or rather as though there was not any law, or any God to make a law; will any reader tell us what would be so doing? Suppose the constitution of any one of these countries to be lawful, the constitutions of the other countries must necessarily be unlawful. How can there be two modes of obeying the divine law? (vi. 290, 291.) A nation, it must be remembered, may in the same or different ages vary the number of

persons it will have to make and execute its laws, which is all it can do. This in no degree affects men's rights. To vary in any manner the number of those who are to appoint a legislative and executive, as it affects men's rights, is the divine prerogative alone.

44. Those who make andexecute the laws, or appoint those that shall do so, in most or all the nations of the European continent, might, as to any one nation, be changed for those who do it in any other; without any greater wrong being done than what mankind now sustain. Nicholas and his satellites may exchange places with Louis Phillip, the members of the chambers of peers, and the constituents of the deputies; without the slightest further infringement of the rights of the Russian and French nations. Nicholas has as much right to be chief magistrate of France as he has of Russia! Louis Phillip has as much right to be chief magistrate of Russia as he has of France! It is of little importance to a nation, whether bayonet law is administered by natives or foreigners.

45. The pauperism and destitution of the *many*, in the countries just spoken of and others, is one of a series of effects, another of which is the enriching the *few*. That the former is educed by the latter is abundantly evident. If any deny this, we ask—*how the state of the many is educed?* There is little hope but that mercantile oppression and competition would prevail, if all were in possession of the land. Whilst it is engrossed, these evils necessarily must prevail, *from the operation of the laws.* Nothing can be more obvious than that the many millions which compose the grand commercial association of the world, can never rightly associate whilst the land is engrossed. Such engrossing, it must be remembered, operates on the *labour* from its inseparability from the land. (i. 11.) *The time may perhaps arrive when legislators will discover, that every farthing earned by the productive classes whilst the engrossing is allowed, is unlawful gain in the sight of God.*

46. The earth, says Say, is not the only agent of nature which has a productive power, but it is the only one, or nearly so, that one set of men take to themselves to the exclusion of others; and of which, consequently, they can appropriate the benefits. The waters of rivers and of the sea, by the power which they have of giving movement to our machines, carrying our boats, nourishing our fish, have also a productive power; the wind which turns our mills, and even the heat of the sun, work for us; but happily no one has yet been able to say,—the "wind and the sun are mine, and the service which they render must be paid for."—(*Econ. Pol.*) To multitudes from whom the land is abstracted, from the unfavourable operation it has on their labour, the beneficial influences of both the "wind and the sun" are frustrated. 'The Most High,' says a prophet 'ruleth in

the kingdom of men, and giveth it to whomsoever he will.' *He* has, as we have seen, given the land to all the children of men. (vi. 110.) But unlawful rulers interfere with his government, giving the land to whomsoever *they* will! The time will arrive, when they will find that the Most High perfectly knows how to govern the universe which he alone created, and which he alone preserves.

47. Consider, reader, for a moment, what an unspeakable wickedness it is for any one man to set the Most High at defiance, as to any matter, however inconsiderable. And then endeavour to form some notion of the mighty, mighty, mighty, sum of guilt arising from whole multitudes, in many nations and for many ages; treating the will of the Lord God Almighty, as declared in the constitution of human nature, and the revelation he has made to mankind; with no more attention, (to use the expression elsewhere adopted, v. 134.) than the wanderings of a sot or a madman. And this in reference to a matter of such inconceivable importance as the constitutions and codes of nations.

48. To every man it may be said—'Are not two sparrows sold for a farthing? and one of them shall not fall on the ground, without your Father.—But the very hairs of your head are all numbered.' Such eminent holiness, it must be remembered, is required in every man, that for 'every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment.' (i. 33.) Seeing these things, nothing can be more derogatory to the divine character, than to suppose that all the three great rights are not inviolably secured to every man that comes into the world by the Most High, if men live according to his will; and that it is only rebellion to such will that causes the rights of any man, in any country, or any age, to be in any manner infringed. Every thing that emanates from Infinite Perfection being alike perfect, is not susceptible of degrees. But if one thing could be supposed to be more perfect and exact than another, it would, assuredly be, how lawful constitutions and codes should be maintained; seeing that thereon every thing that is holy is dependent.

49. It is, perhaps, difficult sufficiently strongly to impress on some readers, the utter impossibility of drawing a line between the abstraction of any one of the rights of any individual of mankind; and the total abstraction of all the rights of the whole human race throughout its generations. This aggregate of rights flowing to mankind by the exercise of the prerogative of the Most High, no atom of it can be violated, without an infringement of the divine prerogative. The moral government of God over our world is superseded, whether one atom or the whole aggregate of human rights is infringed. The difference is only in the degree. The attributes of wisdom, power, and

benevolence, will not be ascribable to the Deity, if an atom can be violated, any more than they would be if the whole aggregate can be infringed. It is equally incumbent on him to provide for the happiness of *any one* as of *every one* of his children.

50. To secure to every man his rights, the laws must be righteous. To be righteous, they must be executed by those alone who will make righteous laws—namely, persons appointed by a whole nation. Every man thus has his rights in his own keeping: Heaven has afforded all the security that the constitution of human nature admits, that these two great points shall be attained. If such security is insufficient, there is obviously no remedy. (vi. 200.) We have seen that it is not only the duty of every man to do all that lies in him, that the constitution and code under which he lives shall be lawful; but besides this, he is bound, as far as his power extends, to remedy the evils brought on men by the abstraction of their rights, (vi. 127) and the misapplication of their powers. (v. 134.) It is also his duty to do all that he can to cause all wicked persons to repent, and then to trust them as righteous persons. (v. 182.) Heaven designs that universal righteousness shall reign on earth, (*Mat.* vi. 10), and thence the prosperity and happiness such a state of things would generate.

51. That rights may be neither abstracted nor misapplied, Heaven makes men liable to evils proportionably great with the prevalence of unrighteousness of themselves or others. (vi. 196.) Assuredly, if men's being placed on a weekly income that "amounts to less than tenpence each,"—to have to wear their dress "day and night till it literally falls to pieces,"—to be stupified, bewildered, and reduced to almost a state of idiotcy, —to have to feed on "the undigested grains of corn from the dung" of animals (v. 15 to 20,)—will not induce them, by all lawful means, to endeavour to possess themselves of the rights Heaven awards them—and also cause all righteous men to assist them in the undertaking, (vi. 227) and in the application of such rights; nothing will have this effect. Men are brought not only to the level of the brute creation, but below it, when circumstanced as in the examples just noticed. What can Heaven do more than to make a whole nation the guardians of the rights of each of its members? And, after lawful rulers are appointed and rights lawfully assigned, for every man in a nation to be amenable, in a less or greater degree, for every unlawful act done by such rulers,—and for the acts of his other contemporaries and future generations? And, necessarily, therefore, in a less or greater degree, for the misapplication of the productive and other powers of any and every man. In other words, if one only of the whole human race was labouring under the slightest privation, every other of the whole human race, as far as is practicable, is bound to eman-

cipate the unfortunate; excepting, of course, giving any encouragement to vice. (i.19; vi. 232; *Luke* x. 29; *Mat.* xxv. 40.)

52. Can any thing be more opposed to reason and equity, or more degrading to the divine character; than to suppose it is lawful, in the case of Dives (v. 126)—that of 16002 persons, 16000 are, by the engrossing the land, to be reduced to pauperism, that 2 may have a hundred thousand per year?—In other words, that the 2 may have the ability to command a quantity of labour or produce, that can be of no conceivable benefit to them;—when, but for such engrossing, the whole 16002 might all, without a single exception, have had their most enlarged wishes satisfied! Let it be remembered, this is not a mere theory. Many persons in Europe derive a hundred thousand pounds yearly by engrossing the land!

53. Can any thing be more opposed to reason and equity, or more degrading to the divine character, than to imagine, that as to the possessions of Dives and similar persons, a standing army may be lawfully kept, (at the expense of the very persons who are pauperised,) to preserve such possessions from invasion by natives or foreigners?

54. Can anything be more opposed to reason and equity, or more degrading to the divine character, than to imagine that the soldiers who compose such army, can be lawfully called on to risk and lose their lives; for no other object, than to render lasting the pauperism, vice, and misery of themselves and multitudes of their brethren; in order that the land engrossers, some of the most depraved men in a whole nation, may be allowed to fatten on the general immorality?

55. Can any thing be more opposed to reason and equity, or more degrading to the divine character, than to imagine that of those who are members one of another; some members, (i. e. the land engrossers), for all the benefits they derive from association, shall lawfully educe pure and unmitigated and almost boundless ills to multitudes of their fellow members;—whereby the necessity for associating is made the greatest curse to such multitudes, instead of the greatest blessing. (v. 34.)?

56. It would, as we have elsewhere said, have cast a shadow over the divine glory, had there been one being of the whole human race that ever wanted a morsel of bread, through insufficient provision on the part of Heaven. (v. 22). But if the land-engrossing system is lawful, God must have brought by far the largest part of the populations of most nations into the world, to render them, in a less or greater degree, ignorant, vicious, poor, and wretched! If the land-engrossing system is lawful, God is the prime Author of most of the iniquity and misery that deluges the world! If it is lawful to a certain extent, but not to the degree it is carried in some nations,—to God and some men, together, much of the iniquity

and misery must be placed! If it is lawful, assuredly the Most High, instead of being infinitely wise, powerful, and benevolent, must be infinitely foolish, weak, and vicious! What blasphemy can be more outrageous, than in any manner to insinuate that Infinite Love brings countless multitudes into the world, in all ages, to destroy their temporal well-being, and greatly endanger their eternal happiness! How can men, despoiled of the land, love their despoilers? How can the former love one another; seeing from the competition that cannot but exist between them, they must act unfavourably on one another? How can they love God? If he is the Author of the oppressing system, what is there in it to excite their love towards him? In most, or all countries where it exists, if credit is to be given to the rulers of such countries, every thing is done by the providence or grace of God!

57. How soon, as we have elsewhere intimated, might the lawless men who misrule France and Russia, cause all Europe to be in a state of warfare: if it could be imagined they might lawfully hold the governments of their respective nations in their own hands, Heaven would be chargeable to a very great extent, for the thousands, or hundreds of thousands, of murders, that might be committed by such warfare! *Can it be questioned that, for every one of the unrighteous acts committed by every unlawful government that has ever been maintained in the world, and all the boundless iniquity thence arising on the part of the governed; if the Most High has not appointed the means for discovering, with the most rigorous accuracy, how lawful constitutions and codes, in all countries and ages, are to be maintained, he is, in a less or greater degree, the prime Author of all such unrighteousness and iniquity?* With the exception of persons alluded to in the Bible, as the Hebrews, if the rights of men are not what we affirm, the Most High has evinced almost, or altogether, a total disregard of the whole human race,—mankind being involved in inextricable confusion as to what are the rights of any one of them! Consider for a moment, reader, what it is to imagine,—*the Most High calling a world into existence, and* (with a comparatively few exceptions only) *being regardless how many arose on it, and of the temporal and eternal happiness of every one of those who did!* It is beyond measure painful even hypothetically to speak thus of the Lord God Almighty; but in what other way is the unutterable wickedness of the violators of the rights of others, as well as of all those who passively tolerate such violation, to be evinced?

58. Absolute and unqualified atheism, if such a thing can exist, is not more derogatory to the divine character, than to suppose the destinies of all nations, throughout all their ages, may lawfully be in the hands of any miscreants that can, by

fraud or force, seize or maintain governments: and one set of miscreants may be as bad as any other, though in a nation an unlawful political constitution may have been maintained for ages. If the purely democratic is not the only lawful one, force may be applied by any, as to the government of any country, in any age,—fraud there could not, as none could exist; for where no law is, there is no transgression; and there assuredly is no law, if, in any country or age, any other than the democratic constitution may be maintained in the sight of Heaven.

59. *We therefore hesitate not to affirm, in the most unqualified manner, and challenge not only the whole of the living generation of men of all the nations of the earth, but of all that shall hereafter arise upon it, successfully to impugn our assertions; that,—whatever can be said for or against the right of any man, in any nation, or any age, to an equal property in the land with all the rest of his countrymen, can be said for or against the right of all men, in all countries, and all ages. If any man is without right to the land, every man is; and conversely, if any man has the right, so has every man. The political right, whence the right to the land arises, is, by the divine law, equally assigned to all men, in all countries, and all ages. This holy rule being the one alone binding on the whole human race throughout its generations, and making no difference whatever as to the rights of men:*

60. No contravention of the law of God, how trifling soever, can be remedied by any or all human means; much less, therefore, can one so important and so extensive, as depriving by far the larger part of the populations of countries of the possession of the land. Many inventions have been sought out and practised, to remedy the incalculable evils thence arising, and all have failed. (v. 120). More may be tried, but they will unquestionably experience the fate of their predecessors; and men will at last come to the conclusion, that the law of God is not to be treated as an idle tale with impunity. *If they do not arrive at it in time, they certainly will in eternity!*

61. If we look at the law of the chosen people of God, and the law of other nations respecting the land, what a surprising discrepancy appears! In Canaan we find every Hebrew, by divine appointment, having his possession; in other countries, what ought, according to the will of God, to be the possession of every man, engrossed by a few, and sometimes even by one only. The sacred historian acquaints us, that the Hebrews were directed by the Most High,—'Ye shall dispossess the inhabitants of the land, and dwell therein; for I have given you the land to possess it. And ye shall divide the land by lot for an inheritance among your families, and to the more ye shall give the more inheritance, and to the fewer ye shall give the less

inheritance; *every man's* inheritance shall be in the place where his lot falleth; according to the tribes of your fathers ye shall inherit.'

62. With regard to sons, the Mosaic code thus enacts.—'If a man have two wives, one beloved and another hated, and they have borne him children, both the beloved and the hated, and if the first-born son be her's that was hated; then it shall be, when he maketh his sons to inherit that which he hath, that he may not make the son of the beloved first-born before the son of the hated, which is indeed the first-born: but he shall acknowledge the son of the hated for the first-born, by giving him a double portion of all that he hath; for he is the beginning of his strength; the right of the first-born is his.' There is also a statute relative to a man marrying the widow of his deceased brother.—(*Deut.* xxv. 5 to 10). As to the inheritance of daughters.—'If a man die, and have no son, then ye shall cause his inheritance to pass unto his daughter. And if he have no daughter, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his brethren. And if he have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his father's brethren. And if his father have no brethren, then ye shall give his inheritance unto his kinsman that is next to him of his family, and he shall possess it.' The Rabbins tell us, that the first-born took of a father's property twice as much as any one of his brothers. If a father left six sons, a division was made into seven equal parts, whereof the eldest had two, and each of the others one. If the eldest was dead, and had left children, his right devolved upon his children and heirs. As a widow, ordinarily, had no portion in the land, nor a daughter when there was a son; the provision, to a certain extent, for the widow and unmarried daughters, with that of any aged servants of the father, we may suppose devolved on the eldest son, or eldest daughter when there was no son. It was therefore reasonable that the eldest son or daughter should have the necessary means for making such provision. The Hebrews being allowed to repudiate their wives, it was necessary the law should be precise as to the rights of the eldest son of the first wife.

63. As to the provision for the ministers of religion, the statutes in the Mosaic code obviously do not apply to another nation; because, those who were to be benefitted by them among the Hebrews, are expressly pointed out by God; which cannot be said of the ministers of religion in any other nation. In any other, therefore, no particular persons can set up the Mosaic statutes as an example: as, suppose the Chinese to be converted to Christianity, and any given number among them to demand provision, and produce the Mosaic statutes as a precedent; any other persons obviously may do the same, whereby it becomes a nullity. And this may, of course, be said as to

all nations. And on the same principle, none in any nation can say of the ministers of religion,—it shall be a statute that they have no inheritance in the land; because such ministers have the same right, by the divine law, as all other men.

64. With regard to the Jubilee, the law says,—'Thou shalt number seven sabbaths of years unto thee seven times seven years; and the space of the seven sabbaths of years shall be unto thee forty and nine years. Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of the jubilee to sound on the tenth day of the seventh month; in the day of atonement shall ye make the trumpet sound throughout all your land! And ye shall hallow the fiftieth year, and proclaim liberty throughout all the land, unto all the inhabitants thereof; it shall be a jubilee unto you; and ye shall return every man unto his possession, and ye shall return every man unto his family.' 'If thou sell ought unto thy neighbour, or buyest ought of thy neighbour's hand, ye shall not oppress one another. According to the number of years after the jubilee thou shalt buy of thy neighbour; and according unto the number of years of the fruits, he shall sell unto thee. According to the multitude of years thou shalt increase the price thereof; and according to the fewness of years thou shalt diminish the price of it; for, according to the number of the years of the fruits, doth he sell unto thee. Ye shall not, therefore, oppress one another; but thou shalt fear thy God, for I am the Lord your God.' '*The land shall not be sold for ever, for the land is mine*, for ye were strangers and sojourners with me. And in all the land of your possession ye shall grant a redemption for the land.' There are other statutes relating to the redemption of land, for which the reader is referred to sacred writ.

65. Every one who had bought land of another, had to give up the possession to the original owner, or his heir, on the day of jubilee. Suppose Thomas to be the original owner of a portion of land, and ten years after a jubilee to dispose of it to Henry;—the latter would only acquire a title to it for forty years. And suppose, ten years after, Henry to sell it to Charles,—the latter would acquire a title for thirty years. If he kept it for the whole of this period, or until the next jubilee, it reverted from Charles to Thomas, irrespective of Henry. Thus, all that the Hebrews could do with their lands, was to let them on what we call lease; the average of the whole period being twenty-five years:—and thus we see the time for which land was allowed to be alienated among the chosen people of God. All the lay Hebrews being freeholders, if any of them parted with their land, and reduced themselves to poverty, it must ordinarily have been from their own misconduct. This is not, however, the case with men in our age and nation. By the glorious system we pursue, multitudes are born, and must

necessarily remain, in a state of pauperism during their whole lives! If, then, Heaven directed, that as to men, who, with all possible advantages, reduced themselves to poverty, the average time for their so continuing should not exceed twenty-five years; it can never be contended, that those who are so circumstanced by the unrighteous acts of others, and, to a certain extent, irrespective of their own conduct, shall be placed in a worse situation. It therefore appears, that though the time for the restitution of the right to the land, to all who, in the various nations of the world, are withheld from it, in contravention of the divine law, may be shorter than the time allowed by the Mosaic code, it cannot be longer in accordance with the will of Heaven.

66. Every Israelite, says Michaelis, was to receive a certain extent of land, of which the full property was to be vested in himself, although he durst not sell it; so that it descended to his posterity for ever. By this means, there could be no Israelite born who did not inherit a piece of land from his progenitors.—(*Com. on the Laws of Moses, Art.* 41). In the year of jubilee, says Dr. Jennings, all estates which had been sold, were returned back to their former proprietors, or to the families to which they originally belonged; by which means it was provided that no family should be sunk, and ruined, and doomed to perpetual poverty, for the family estate could not be alienated for longer than fifty years. The nearer, therefore, the jubilee was, the less was the value of the purchase of an estate. This law of the Jews was famous among the Heathens, some of whom copied after it. It was political to prevent the too great oppression of the poor, as well as their being liable to perpetual slavery. By this means, the rich were prevented from accumulating lands upon lands; and a kind of equality was preserved through all their families. Never was there any people so effectually secured of their liberty and property as the Israelites.—(*Jewish Antiq.*) The estates of the Israelites, says Patrick, were so fixed, that no family could ruin itself, or grow too rich: for the law provided against such changes; revoking once in fifty years all alienations, and setting every one in the same condition wherein he was at the first: by which means ambition was retrenched, and every man applied himself with affection to the improvement of his inheritance, knowing it could never go out of his family.—(*Com. on Lev.* xxv. 10.)

67. Something similar to the Hebrew mode of redemption prevails in Norway, where every man whose ancestors have at any time possessed a freehold, and who every ten years has declared in the proper court that he claims the estate, but that he is unable to redeem it, may, when he has acquired sufficient wealth, recover the possession of his forefathers. In this case, the immediate proprietor is compelled to quit the

property for the estimated value. This renders every one careful to preserve an exact knowledge of his descent, and fixes the affections of a family to that spot which has long remained the property of the race. The great superiority of the Hebrew over the Norwegian mode, thus appears:—By the former, the land could pass from a family but for a certain time only, under any circumstances whatever;—by the latter, it may pass away for ever, unless the claimant has wealth enough to purchase it; besides which, the land-owners of Norway are, we suppose, few, in comparison of the whole native adult male population.

68. If the Israelite who removed a single landmark of any one of his neighbours, was accursed in the sight of heaven —(*Deut.* xxvii. 17), what must be the extent of the criminality of those wholesale spoliators of the rights of others, who are the means of removing what ought to be the landmarks of multitudes, through many generations; in retaining large quantities of land, which, though held in accordance with those abominations styled the laws of their country, are utterly opposed alike to the Mosaic code, and all righteous law whatever?

69. As to alienation, whatever the wretched inventions of men in any country may permit, we may be sure, it is utterly opposed to the divine will, that if a man is idle and dissolute, and so parts with his possession in the land, his posterity for many generations shall thereby be reduced to poverty, or to speak more correctly, slavery. Hence it appears, that all the legislators that ever have lived, do now or shall hereafter live in the world, have been, are, and will be, as little able to give a reason, why statutes so just and merciful as those which relate to the Hebrew jubilee, should be more unsuitable for a nation, than the following:—'Thou shalt not kill'—'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour,' or any others in accordance with the divine law. With regard to the Mosaic code, and especially that part of it, which has reference to the land; when such code is compared with that of any other ever heard of in ancient or modern history, not copied from it, we may unhesitatingly repeat a question that has elsewhere been put, namely—'What nation is there so great, that hath statutes and judgments so righteous?'

70. Two of its commandments are as follow,—'Honour thy father and thy mother as the Lord thy God hath commanded thee, that thy days may be prolonged; and that it may go well with thee in the land which the Lord thy God giveth thee.' —'Neither shalt thou desire thy neighbour's wife, neither shalt thou covet thy neighbour's house, his field, or his man-servant, or his maid-servant, his ox, or his ass, or any thing that is thy neighbour's.' These were very suitable for a Hebrew auditory; but they are not adapted to those collected in countries where

the land is allowed to be engrossed by a few. Take the case of Russia, for instance: the many cannot be told to do a thing, and as an encouragement to obedience promised the continued enjoyment of that which they do not possess: and in consequence of such privation, instead of its going well with them, numbers are in the situation the wretched Hebrews were, for disobeying the divine commands. Their misery being so great, as to cause many of them to say or feel within themselves in the morning,—'Would God it were even!' and at even—'Would God it were morning!' (v. 15 to 20.) In Canaan, where all were provided for by laws emanating from Heaven, coveting each other's houses or fields was highly criminal. It was being discontented with God's righteous dispensation. It was wicked as regarded man; for all having property in the land, no good man could want to engross, and thereby reduce others to pauperism and slavery. In Russia the case is widely different, as to very many of those deprived of the property in the land, and thence placed in the condition of the beasts that perish;—instead of being commanded not to covet the houses or fields; they ought not only to covet them, but take all lawful means to possess themselves of their due share of them. If these commandments are read over in the service of the national church of Russia, it may be hoped that the government will either have the consistency to restore the despoiled Russians to the property in the land, awarded to them by their Great Creator—or direct that the commandments shall no longer form a part of the church service.

71. And here the following question may occur to the reader —*How is the land to be divided?*

72. It has been intimated (iv. 14), that perfect Association is that which appears to the writer the only one in entire accordance with the divine will. Conformably with this, a nation would be as one great family (v. 135 to 138.); its productive powers and the land being under the controul of the government. It has also been said, that the wickedness of mankind alone prevents their availing themselves of the benefits derivable from such a state of society (iv. 14.) If these views are correct, all the difficulty that can arise about the division of the lands of a nation, originates from the iniquity of men. That such difficulty is by no means inconsiderable, appears from considering, that if the land of a nation was righteously divided in one generation, fresh obstacles might arise as to such division in a succeeding one, especially as the population of a country became numerous.

73. And nothing can be farther from our intention than to imply, that if all men had their rights, they would so apply them as altogether to banish pauperism, destitution, and their concomitants. Constituted as human nature now is, the experience

of all past ages and the present state of the world evince, that a less or greater degree of unrighteousness may always be expected.

74. The difficulty about dividing the land furnishes, if we mistake not, an unanswerable argument that Perfect Association alone entirely accords with the divine will. Whatever the rights are that the Most High assigns to men, it is quite clear, that if it were possible for all the powers of hell, earth, and Heaven to combine, such rights, as to any one human being whatever, cannot lawfully be infringed. And to the author it is not less clear, that men's rights can only be properly applied in perfect association—however insuperable the obstacles may be, from the wickedness of mankind, to reduce it to practice.

75. It must be remembered, that the population of a nation is but a small portion of the whole number that exists on the earth,—that an entire generation of the human race is small when compared with all its generations—that our world is insignificant when compared with the whole universe—that the whole duration of the earth is but an instant compared with eternity, if any comparison can be instituted: and reasoning by analogy, that one and the same law—*i.e.* that of association (i. 5), governs the whole universe throughout eternity: also reasoning by this mode, it is not to be questioned, that all the parts of the universe are associated with each other. If the will of God was done on earth as perfectly as it should be, all the wickedness of men would be at an end: all difficulties, therefore, that occur, in supposing the application of the perfect mode of association to the nation and generation in which we live, vanish, by our conception of things being sufficiently extended (as far as our capacities will allow of such extension); namely, to *the whole operation of the Omnipotent throughout the universe, and throughout eternity!*

76. Men cannot associate either with Heaven or with each other as they ought separately. They may love one another in some tolerable degree, but only so, whilst they are negligent of love to God. But they can by no possibility rightly love him, without loving one another as they should. His omnipotent aid will preserve them not only from neglecting to love their fellows, but from every other ill. Human association assuredly can exist in accordance with the divine will only, by all the members, both individually and collectively, in all their operations, being under the guidance of the Holy Spirit (ii. 14; iv. 13.) In the exact degree it departs from this, is it, and will it continue to be, prejudiced. No line can possibly be drawn between every individual, humbly endeavouring in his whole conduct perfectly to do the divine will, and every individual of the whole human race, in his whole conduct, endeavouring as much as possible to contravene this holy will. But how little ground there is for

hoping that human association will ever be carried on in accordance with such will, appears from considering, that instead of all being desirous to do it, 'there is none righteous, no not one. There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God.' From all which are further apparent the great truths inculcated in this Essay. To the following portions the reader is more especially referred. (i. 19—45; ii. 14; iv. 8; v. 91—34—182; and vi. 127—201.) THE LAWFUL ASSIGNMENT OF THE LAND EVINCES, BEYOND ALL POSSIBILITY OF QUESTION, THAT IN A MANNER TOTALLY DIFFERENT FROM WHAT IT IS WITH US, SHOULD, IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE WILL OF GOD, BE THE CONSTITUTION OF ASSOCIATION!

77. Were men to associate according to the Imperfect mode, as the population of a nation might be expected to increase far more rapidly than under the present mode; some may consider such increase a difficulty, and inquire how it is to be met. To this we return the answer Abraham did to his son (*Gen.* xxii. 8); in the assured conviction that this will invariably be the case, if men seek first the kingdom of God, and his righteousness. If the population of a country is more than sufficient for its territorial extent, suitable applications to the throne of mercy will discover to what part of the world a migration may be best made, and determine the bounds of its habitation. If the period ever arrives, when all the parts of the globe fit for the abode of man are occupied, no apprehension need be entertained as to his future destiny, as it cannot be questioned that God will make provision.—(*Rev.* x. 5, 6.) Whether our globe is fully peopled in fifty years, or fifty thousand are requisite for the purpose—no difficulty can arise, seeing that the ordering of the matter is in the hands of Infinite Wisdom and Power!

78. It is asserted by some writers, that if the population of a country is not kept down by a proper degree of prudence, in the formation of matrimonial connections; it will necessarily be kept down by the prevalence of vice, want, and misery. And that population has a constant tendency to exceed the means of subsistence. Heaven never designs that any human beings shall be called into existence, without the fullest means being at hand, to bring to perfection their corporeal, intellectual, and moral faculties. If men duly attend to the following, we apprehend that, so far from population having a constant tendency to exceed the means of subsistence, exactly an opposite state of things will arise. (vi. 20.)

The mode by which the greatest number may suitably subsist on a given extent of territory.

So to associate their labour, as under the divine blessing, it is capable of being made most productive.

When necessary, migrate.

79. Those, says Mr. M'Culloch, who inquire into the past

and present state of the world, will find that the population of all countries has been principally determined by their means of subsistence. Whenever these means have been increased, population has also been increased, or been better provided for; and when they have been diminished, the population has been worse provided for, or has sustained an actual diminution of numbers, or both effects have followed.—(*Pricip. Pol. Econ.*) A spot of ground in New Spain cultivated with bananas, says a celebrated traveller, is sufficient for the subsistence of more than fifty persons, while an equal space in Europe, cultivated with wheat, would not nourish above two. The labour, and it is rude untutored labour, of one individual two days in the week, is there sufficient to support a numerous family. In Mexico, maize yields, on an average, one hundred and fifty fold, while in Europe the farmer thinks his crop excellent, if he obtain eight bushels of wheat for the one he sows.—*(Humboldt.)*

80. Is it for a moment imaginable, that Heaven allows beings to be called into existence, and yet that nothing they can do will preserve a less or greater number of them, from a less or greater degree of want? If this is not blasphemy, it is very much like blasphemy! Were all the habitable parts of the earth peopled, so that sufficient subsistence was not obtainable for any more that arose, and the Most High did not then make some alteration in the constitution of things as they exist at present;—*then*, but not until then, should men talk of population having a tendency to exceed the means of subsistence. (36.) If we may credit writers on the state of the antediluvians, the world was before the flood far more populous than it is at present. No one will, we believe, venture to affirm, that since the deluge the earth has been fully peopled, or that there is the remotest possibility of its being so in the present age.

81. Every thing evinces it is the divine intention, that the whole earth should be covered with a righteous population. (vi. 18.) Every thing would tend to this great end, if men lived according to the divine will. (iii. 21.) We are not advocates for the contraction of improvident marriages, especially in such a vicious constitution of society as ours. But it deserves consideration, how far some can lead a moral life in a state of celibacy. *(1. Cor.* vii. 7.*)* It would too much extend the limits of this Essay, to go fully into the question of population. Some points relative to it are, therefore, but briefly considered.

82. We have seen it asserted, that though the population of America doub'es itself in twenty-five years, for that of Scotland to do so, takes one hundred and twenty years: a somewhat similar proportion being the state of things with other new and old countries. Making due allowance for climate and soil, it can scarcely be doubted, that according to

the divine will, population should, in all countries and places, augment in a nearly equal ratio. What should cause any difference?—Suppose, then, an old country to be so thickly populated, as to be incapable of subsisting any increase: migrations should, as we have said, be made. If it is not thus thickly populated, the increase must be checked by men being obliged viciously to associate, through the operation of unrighteous laws. And whilst this check is operating, it must be remembered, that as to those that do arise, shipwreck is necessarily being made of their temporal happiness, and their eternal well-being is greatly endangered. (v. 161.) Engrossers of the political right and the land, that thus act on mankind; will find they are incurring a far, very far, very very far, more serious responsibility, than many of them may possibly expect. A similar question to one elsewhere put (v. 130.) may here be asked,—*What will be the condemnation of those concerned in making merchandize of multitudes of immortal souls?*

83. Independently of the whole tendency of the oppressing system, to educe the unspeakable evils to which we have just adverted, the following may be considered as extraordinary means for the attainment of the end. It is, says Mr. Young, too much the interest of a parish, both landlords and tenants, to decrease the cottages in it, and above all to prevent their increase; so that, in process of time, habitations are extremely difficult to be procured. There is no parish but had much rather its young labourers would continue single: in that state they are not in danger of becoming chargeable, but when married the case alters. All obstructions are, therefore, thrown in the way of their marrying, and none more immediately, than that of rendering it as difficult as possible for the men, when married, to procure houses to live in. This conduct is found so conducive to easing the rates, that it universally gives rise to an open war against cottages. How often do gentlemen, who have possessions in a parish, when cottages come to sale, purchase them, and immediately rase them to the foundation; that they may never become the nests, as they are called, of beggars, brats:—by which means their tenants are not so burthened in their rates, and their farms let better. In this manner the young inhabitants are prevented from marrying, and population is obstructed.—(*Farmer's Letters to the People of England.*)

84. An interesting question arises, in reference to the land—namely, whether the people of any country have a right to divide themselves into two distinct nations. Suppose the Spaniards and Portuguese constituted only one nation, and chose to divide themselves as they now are divided. No power on earth has any right to interfere. The divine law would not be infringed by their separation. To it there could, therefore, be no objection.

The enactment by which the separation is effected can, in accordance with the divine will, however, only emanate from a lawful government. An unlawful government, it must never be forgotten, and can hardly often enough be insisted on, can lawfully do no other acts, but those which utterly supersede itself. (vi. 304.) It seems highly improbable that a nation having a lawful government should desire to divide. In it there could be no object. If one part of a nation is oppressed by another, the most compendious mode of redress, is for all good men to unite and put an end to the oppression, by establishing a righteous government. If a country is so miserably demoralized that this cannot be accomplished, good men, who believe they can do their duty better in a foreign land, should migrate.

85. When the members of a nation migrate, if they locate themselves so near the parent country, that the establishment of a separate nation, may have a tendency to disturb its peace in any way;—if its government accords with the divine law, the colonists being thereby insured equal rights; the parent country may, we think, insist on such colonists continuing to form part of it. When such colonists migrate to so great a distance, either by land or by water, that their establishing themselves a separate nation, can have no tendency to disturb the peace of the parent country, it has no right to interfere with them. The political rights of the whole human race being precisely the same; necessarily, therefore, including those who do, and those who do not migrate:—if a party of Swedes was to form a colony on our supposed island of Concordia, the Swedish government would have no more right to insist on such colony forming part of the Swedish nation, than the French government would have a right to insist on the new colony forming part of the French nation. That the Swedes are natives of Sweden, gives no more right to any or all other Swedes to interfere with them, than it does to the French, because the French and the Swedes are natives of Europe, or for any other reason equally frivolous. The proprietor of the land is the Divine Being! The Swedish people, or their government, have no peculiar right to it whatever. The Swedish people, or only lawful government that can exist in Sweden—namely, the purely democratic, have no right in any manner to dictate to, or prevent part of their countrymen, who think fit to colonize unpeopled lands; any more than they have to dictate to the natives of France, Spain, or Turkey. The Swedish nation, or its government have therefore, nothing more lawfully to do either with the land of the colony, or the colonists themselves, than the antediluvians had. From Heaven alone the colonists derive their right to the land and their liberty. To Heaven alone they are accountable for the exercise of these gifts.

86. I have, says a celebrated lawyer, heard in my youth, a naked savage in the indignant character of a prince, surrounded by his subjects, addressing the governor of a British colony, holding a bundle of sticks as the notes of his unlettered eloquence. "Who is it," said the jealous ruler over the desert, encroached upon by the restless foot of English adventurers; "who is it that causes this river to rise in the high mountains, and to empty itself into the ocean? Who is it that causes to blow the loud winds of winter, and that calms them again in the summer? Who is it that rears up the shade of these lofty forests, and blasts them with the quick lightning, at his pleasure? *The same Being who gave to you a country on the other side of the waters, and gave ours to us; and by this title we will defend it.*"—*(Lord Erskine.)*

87. When men migrate to other lands, a nation must have been previously founded, as that of the Concordians, or the contrary. If it is to the former, the Swedish government have no right to dictate to the Concordians in any manner whatever, until the latter have violated international law, by infringing the rights of the Swedish nation. The receiving a party of Swedes would be no infringement, because all that part of Concordia, not lawfully occupied, is open to the whole human race. Consequently, the Concordians could not lawfully prevent the migrating Swedes coming. If these are the founders of the Concordian nation, neither in this case can the Swedish nation or its government interfere, for the reasons just assigned. Suppose three parties, consisting of a hundred French, a hundred Swedes, and a hundred Turks, to found the Concordian nation. If the principle that has been laid down is not correct, the French, Swedish, and Turkish governments may each insist on the Concordians forming part of their respective countries. Thus, the Concordians may have a French army invading them at one end of their island, a Swedish army at the other, and a Turkish at another part. When the three had subjugated the colonists, they would have to commence fighting with one another, to determine to which of their masters at home Concordia was to belong;—a state of things which, it is presumed, none will attempt to justify.

88. If first colonists and a parent country agree to form one nation, they have a right so to do. If subsequently the former choose to declare themselves independent, they have a right so to do. Just as the parent country has the right to refuse allowing the lands of the colonists to form a part of its nation,—or having given this licence, to withdraw it. If lawful governments were maintained in nations, there would never be any difficulty as to these points; because all men having the same rights, it would be of no conceivable benefit to a parent country to insist

that a colony should become a part of it. All the benefits deducible from any intercourse might be as well attained under two governments as under one.

89. By judicious colonization, I mean, says Say, colonization formed on the principles of complete expatriation, of self-government without the control of the mother-country, and of freedom of external relations; but with the enjoyment of protection only by the mother-country, while it should continue necessary. Why should not political bodies imitate, in this particular, the relation of parent and child? When arrived at the age of maturity, the personal independence of the child is both just and natural; the relation it engenders is moreover the most lasting and most beneficial to both parties.—(*Pol. Econ.*) A country, says Dr. Price, that is subject to the legislature of another country in which it has no voice, and over which it has no control, cannot be said to be governed by its own will. Such a country, therefore, is in a state of slavery.—(*Obs. on Civ. Lib.*) There is something, says Dr. Hutcheson, so unnatural in supposing a large society sufficient for all the good purposes of an independent political union, remaining subject to the direction and government of a distant body of men, who know not sufficiently the circumstances and exigencies of this society; or in supposing this society obliged to be governed solely for the benefit of a distant country; that it is not easy to imagine there can be any foundation for it in justice and equity.—(*Mor. Phil.*) Though, says Hume, free governments have been commonly the most happy for those who partake of their freedom, yet are they the most oppressive and ruinous to their provinces, and this observation may be fixed as an universal axiom in politics. What cruel tyrants were the Romans over the world during their commonwealth? The provinces of absolute monarchies are always better treated than those of free states.—(*Essays.*) The evil of slavery, says an American writer, was entailed on the United States by the measures of the mother country during the period of colonial dependence. The colonies made repeated efforts to prevent the importation of slaves—but could not obtain the consent of the English government!

90. An unlawful government, therefore, first granting lands to some of those it has misruled, and then endeavouring to compel those persons to form part of the parent country, are absurdities next only to its altering the constitution of its own country. (vi. 304.) A government that can lawfully do nothing at home, but utterly supersede itself, is not content with usurping dominion over the parent country, but wants to do the same with regard to another nation!

91. It is obviously for the interest of the inhabitants of small islands, to unite themselves with great nations. This, however, makes no difference as to their political rights. The islanders

declaring their determination by their majority, have a right to decide to what nation they will attach themselves, of course gaining the consent of such nation:—their election also having no tendency to disturb the peace of any nation to which they are contiguous. Unless such contiguous nation has a constitution and code in accordance with the divine law, it cannot lawfully compel a junction of the islanders. When a lawful government, acting in a lawful manner, compels the junction of any islanders with the nation over which it rules; it cannot abstract from any one of them his equal share of the political right, with all the native adult males of the island and nation at large: every form of government, but that in which all the native adult males, (in whatever part of the governed territories any may reside) have a voice in its formation, being, as we have seen, absolutely and utterly unlawful.

92. Assuming that our constitution is indisputably a lawful one, we should be glad, even under this circumstance, if some of our jurisconsults will satisfactorily evince, what greater right all the inhabitants of the British Isles—necessarily, therefore, including the rulers of them, have to govern the people of the East Indies, than they have to rule the people of Spain or China. If the British people or their masters, or both together, have any lawful controul over India, have they not still a lawful title to govern the people of the United States of America; and necessarily, therefore, to punish them as rebels, for their audacity in maintaining themselves independent? Paine's biographer tells us, in reference to the work called "Common Sense," that the following passage was omitted in the printing—"A greater absurdity cannot be conceived of, than three millions of people running to their sea-coast every time a ship arrives from London, to know what portion of liberty they shall enjoy."

93. These observations will expose the wickedness of the governments of parent countries, usurping the prerogative of the Most High, in granting lands in distant countries to some of those they have misruled at home.

94. Dr. Robertson informs us, that our Henry VII. on the 5th March, 1495, issued a commission to Giovanni Gaboto, a Venetian adventurer, and his three sons; empowering them to sail under the banner of England towards the east, north, or west, in order to discover countries unoccupied by any Christian state; to take possession of them in his name, and to carry on an exclusive trade with the inhabitants, under condition of paying a fifth part of the free profit on every voyage to the crown. And on the 11th June, 1578, Elizabeth authorized Sir Humphrey Gilbert to discover and take possession of all remote and barbarous lands unoccupied by any Christian prince or people. She vests in him, his heirs and assigns *for ever*, the full right of property in the soil of those countries whereof he

shall take possession. She prohibits all persons from attempting to settle within two hundred leagues of any place Sir Humphrey or his associates shall have occupied during the space of six years.—(*Hist. Amer.*)

95. At the early colonization of America by the English, in 1609, another historian tells us, that many of the nobility, gentry, &c., obtained a charter in the name of the Treasurer and Company of Adventurers of the City of London, for the first colony of Virginia. The charter bestowed on the company the absolute property of the country for two hundred miles to the south of Cape Comfort, and as far to the north of that point. And from the Atlantic to the Pacific Ocean. Thus, by a few strokes of his pen, and an act of gigantic injustice, the king of England bestowed on a few of his subjects; as a magnificent but uncostly present, about 6° of latitude and upwards of 50° in longitude, the property of many independent tribes. The vast extent of the grant was not then distinctly understood; but this ignorance did not lessen the extravagance and injustice of the pretension of the king of England, to deprive so many independent nations of their territorial property, and transfer it to his own people.—(*Lardner's Cyclopædia—United States.*)

96. By the bull of Alexander VI., says Dr. Robertson; on which, as its great charter, Spain founded its rights; all the regions that had been or should be discovered, were bestowed as a free gift upon Ferdinand and Isabella. They and their successors were uniformly held to be the universal proprietors of the vast territories,which the arms of their subjects conquered in the New World. From them all grants of land then flowed, and to them they finally returned.—(*Hist. Amer.*)

97. The Spaniards, in order to give their titles to the countries of which they took possession some appearance of validity, employed several of their most eminent divines and lawyers to prescribe the mode in which they should take possession. A copy of the instrument may be found in Dr. Robertson's works. It need hardly be observed, that it evinces either a total ignorance of the rights of men, or a determination to utter whatever audacious falsehoods were thought convenient.—(vi. 324.) In the observations made prior to giving the preceding quotations, the consideration of any of the lands being peopled was purposely excluded; the question being treated with reference only to lands unappropriated. The sovereigns of England and Spain were therefore nothing but lawless invaders.

98. The conduct of governments generally, assuredly affords the most melancholy instances of the depravity of human nature. Sometimes we find them granting distant unappropriated lands to an inch of which they cannot make a lawful title. Then, without any just grounds whatever, invading foreign nations and

seizing their lands. Then again, as to their own subjects, enfranchising some and disfranchising others, reducing men to one kind or both kinds of slavery. We believe we may assert, without hazard of contradiction, that there is no unlawful act whatever, nor any iniquity, however great, that lawless rulers have not authorized! It has been with modern European governments as it was with the ancient Roman, of which Justin remarks, it was ever ready to grant what did not belong to it.

99. Having seen how lands may be illegally entered on by nations, let us next advert to an unlawful title granted to an individual; of a portion of land in the United States. The land appears to have been originally purchased by a person named Collins, and by him sold to another person called Woods; to whom a president, by virtue of powers invested in him by a *part* of the nation, granted the following title:—

"269. James Monroe, President of the United States of America:

"To whom these presents shall come, greeting,—

"Know ye that John Woods, assignee of Hugh Collins, of White County, Illinois, having deposited at the general land office a certificate of the register of the land-office at Shawneetown; whereby it appears, that full payment has been made for the south-east quarter of section nineteen, in township two, south of range ten east; containing 160 acres of the lands directed to be sold at Shawneetown, by the acts of congress relative to the disposal of the public lands in Illinois: there is granted to the said John Woods, the quarter section of land above described; to have and to hold the said quarter section of land, with the appurtenances, unto the said John Wood, his heirs and assigns *for ever*. In testimony whereof, I have caused these letters to be made patent, and the seal of the general land office to be hereunto affixed. Given under my hand, at the city of Washington, the eighteenth day of December, in the year of our Lord one thousand eight hundred and nineteen, and of the independence of the United States the forty-fourth. By the President,

"(Seal.) JAMES MONROE.

"Josiah Meigs, Commissioner of the General Land Office.

"Recorded, vol 2, page 445."

(*Two Years' Residence in the Illinois Country, by John Woods*, 8vo. *Longman, Lond.* 1822.)

100. The whole of the native American adult males, no matter how much they differ in colour,—have unquestionably the right to supersedetheir constitutions, for those which are purely democratic; and through laws emanating from lawful rulers, to cause the possession of the land to be assigned to themselves, as to them it of right belongs. The possession and the right, now separated, would then be united. All the American enactments and title-deeds, together with any instruments of any unlawful governments—for example, the ukases of Russia (vi. 185), if treated according to their merits, should be consigned to the chandler's shops, to wrap up butter and cheese. A Russian ukase is certainly as good law as an American enactment. What is here said, will necessarily apply to any future generation of the Americans, whilst their present constitutions

remain. Precisely the same phrase "for ever" is adopted in the French declaration, (an extract of which is elsewhere given,) as in Elizabeth's grant to Gilbert, and the title-deed of Woods. In reference to Canaan, we have seen, the Mosaic code directs, that 'the land shall not be sold for ever.' (64.) The instruments of the French, English, and American governments; and the English enactment that undisturbed possession for a certain period gives a sound title, are fit companions. They too sadly evince the deplorable ignorance of those who so officiously take upon themselves to rule their brethren. (vi. 182, 288, 305, 308, 309.)

101. This miserable blindness is not confined to law-makers. Political writers of eminence evince themselves to be equally in the dark. Burke, in his work on the French Revolution, tells us, that "prescription, through long usage, mellows into legality governments that were violent in their commencement." If, as some blasphemers pretend, Heaven has not furnished men with any law as to the formation of a national constitution and code, and any part of any nation may maintain any sort they please or are able; time can have nothing to do with the matter. Any kind of constitution and code will do, at any time, and in any place. In other words, all kinds of constitutions and codes will do at all times and in all places. But as the purely democratic is the only constitution lawful in the sight of God, whether any other is a day or a thousand years old is totally immaterial, as far as its legality is concerned. Whichever way it is taken, therefore, time has nothing whatever to do with right or wrong, or the lawfulness or unlawfulness of the constitutions and codes of nations: i. e., whether right and wrong, depend on the will of man, or the will of God! As they assuredly depend alone on the will of the latter, to alter the nature of that which is immutable, a million ages is as inefficacious as an instant. (vi. 36, 178, 179, 313.) Burke should have enlightened the world, as to the exact time the *mellowing* process must go on, until wrong becomes right! But as mankind attain truth only by slow degrees, we must hope that some happy genius will in no distant age arise, apt both in politics and the mathematics, and therefore able to calculate this with the utmost precision. Burke is sadly inconsistent.—It has been seen, he also tells us that:—"In a state of nature it is an invariable law, that a man's acquisitions are in proportion to his labours.—In a state of artificial society, it is a law as constant and as invariable, that those who labour most, enjoy the fewest things; and that those who labour not at all, have the greatest number of enjoyments. The blindness of one part of mankind cooperating with the frenzy and *villany* of the other, has been the real builder of this respectable fabric of political society." (vi. 138.) As he here infers what is truly the case, that the "villany" is always

coexistent with "a state of artificial society," that wherein the many are sacrificed to the few;—he quite explodes his mellowing process of villany becoming not villany.

102. It is, says Dr. Paley, the intention of God, that the produce of the earth be applied to the use of man; this intention cannot be fulfilled without establishing property: it is consistent, therefore, with his will, that property be established. The land cannot be divided into separate property, without leaving it to the law of the country to regulate that division; it is consistent, therefore, with the same will, that the law should regulate the division; and consequently, consistently with the will of God, or right, that I should possess that share which these regulations assign me.—*(Mor. and Pol. Philos.)* Such of the following clauses as are enclosed between inverted commas, are extracts from this paragraph. The clause in italics is inserted by ourselves.—"It is consistent" with the divine "will"—

1. "That property be established."
2. "That the law should regulate the division."
3. *That there be a perfect accordance between the law and the law of God.*
4. "That I should possess that share which these regulations assign me."

There can be no doubt of the first, second, and fourth. As to the third, whether the law is or is not to accord with the divine will, is the most material part of the matter. All consideration of which, is, however, lost sight of by Paley. In consequence of this omission, he further tells us:—*My right* to an estate does not at all depend upon the manner or justice of the original acquisition, nor upon the justice of each subsequent change of possession. It is not, for instance, the less, nor ought it to be impeached, because the estate was taken possession of at first by a family of aboriginal Britons, who happened to be stronger than their neighbours; nor because the British possessor was turned out by a Roman, or the Roman by a Saxon invader; nor because it was seized *without colour of right,* or reason, by a follower of the Norman adventurer; from whom, after many interruptions of fraud and violence, it has at length devolved to me.—*(Moral and Pol. Philos.)* We have seen that right and wrong being immutable, time has no operation on them. What then can be more unphilosophical, than for a writer to talk of "my right," to that which "was seized without colour of right!" However, those who obtain any thing "without colour of right," may assign the *possession* of it to their heirs:—they cannot assign the *right.* It was never theirs. (vi. 314.) The heirs, therefore, obtain only the possession. They can only acquire the right from those, to whom, according to the will of God, it belongs. It can scarcely be sufficiently deplored, that authors of such eminence as Burke and Paley, should thus write. If any are

induced to believe what they teach, it may be said of the teachers and learners, that they are 'blind leaders of the blind. And if the blind lead the blind, both shall fall into the ditch.' It has been elsewhere remarked, that the whole world has never yet produced a single argument in opposition to the lawfulness, in the sight of Heaven, of the democratic constitution. (vi. 170.) The extracts from Burke and Paley afford very good examples of what those who espouse their doctrines urge. The reader will find nothing better, whatever may be the extent of his researches. One should imagine the opponents of democracies must be ashamed of their defenders; but shame is a virtue with which these gentlemen are not much troubled. Their defenders utterly betray the cause they espouse. What else can be the consequence, when men advocate that in favour of which, not a single sentence is adducible? If we mistake not, the whole world cannot furnish *a single attempt*, that is worth the perusal of a man of sense, to evince the lawfulness of any other than the democratic form of government. Such as impugn it, usually attack parts of their opponent's works, or write about the influence of democracies, as if any form of government would necessarily make men do their duty. (vi. 194.) Those that consider what is here asserted is untenable, are obviously bound to evince, in the clearest manner, and to the full satisfaction of all reasonable men—

That the democratic constitution is not lawful.

What is that constitution which is lawful in the sight of Heaven?

103. The author solemnly declares, by all the hopes he has of eternal salvation, that he believes the rights of men are truly stated in this Essay. If his assignment of rights is not clearly made out to any reader—he apprehends it must arise either from his inability to write more perspicuously, or incapacity in the reader, or both these causes. It is not the least answer to any thing that has been advanced, to say that, if all had their rights, some would abuse them. The abuse cannot be chargeable on men before they are born. The three great rights of man, are the *birthright* of every man that comes into the world. It is perfectly consistent with the divine character so to have constituted man, that he can live only in association; and that *all* the members thereof, however extended their numbers, shall constantly go on educing the highest degree of good to *each* other: —no other scheme obviously being so worthy of the Most High. On the contrary, none is so unworthy of him, as for some to be lawfully able to abstract the rights of others. This only enables the former, for all the benefits they receive from association; to educe ill, not only to the particular members from whom the rights are abstracted, but in a less or greater degree, to the whole association. The imaginary good those who abstract

attain, being far below the real good that might accrue to all by a lawful assignment and application of the gifts of Heaven. These can be neither diminished nor increased. Any other application, therefore, than the one of divine appointment, lessens their efficiency. (i. 15 to 17—v. 126, 174—vi. 136.) This, if we mistake not, is the only just account that can be given of the rights of men.

104. The student of legislation may proceed from God or go to God. He may either inquire what the national constitution and code are that accord with the divine will, and thus he proceeds from God. (vii. 7.) Or he may take up the constitution and code of any nation, and trace its accordance with, or dissonance from the divine law: he thus either proceeds to God, or discovers the discrepancy of the political institutions of the nation with this holy law.

105. *As 'we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad;'—and as it is to the eternal infamy of all the past generations of mankind, that the slightest doubt should exist as to the rights of men; in other words, what are truly a lawful constitution and code in the sight of Heaven:—the author adjures every reader in the glorious and fearful name of the Lord God Almighty, to do all that lies in him that the great question may be most fully elucidated, and for ever determined; seeing that in it, is in a less or greater degree, involved all that is holy; as far as this earth is concerned, all that is dear to righteous men; all that is dear to the holy angels;—namely, in a less or greater degree,* THE NUMBERS THAT ARE TO COME INTO THE WORLD: AND THE TEMPORAL AND ETERNAL HAPPINESS OF EVERY ONE OF THOSE THAT DO ARISE!—*The author desires, with all possible solemnity, earnestness, and affection, to admonish every reader of the unspeakable greatness of his accountability, as to this adjuration!*

CHAP. X.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

1. THE history of all nations is little else than an account of the various ramifications of political jugglery, and wholesale butcheries thence arising. With these things, women have ostensibly little to do. Of the character of the female sex

in the aggregate, therefore, history furnishes us with but very imperfect information. The experience of any individual, however great, must also necessarily be far too circumscribed, to speak decisively on so important a matter: but, from all the evidence that exists, the conclusion is, that however gross and universal is the immorality of men, when compared with the only legitimate standard, the divine law; immorality is yet greater in women,—the different degrees of temptation to which the sexes are obnoxious being considered;--and thus appears to have thought a very competent judge.—(*Eccl.* vii. 27, 28). With us, women are generally liable to be little assailed by any thing beyond their own dwellings; but men, having far more extended intercourse with the world, are proportionably exposed. If, in the history of the world, women do not appear to have acted so viciously as men, we apprehend it is because they have not had *the power;* and that the peculiar vices of females are not a suitable subject for the historic pen. Ordinarily speaking, whatever power does fall to their lot, they exercise equally, or more viciously, than it is exercised by men: and women too often exert a most pernicious influence over their male connections; men being instigated by them to act in a way they never otherwise would. Some, though disposed to admit that women, when they are bad, are many of them exceedingly vicious; affirm on the other hand, as to women that are good, that many of them are superior to the most excellent men. With these sentiments we do not accord. It appears to us, that, as men are ordinarily corporeally and intellectually superior, so are they morally greater than women. If the intellectual superiority is admitted, the moral necessarily follows: it not being supposable that the more powerful intellect and the lower degree of morality are compatible, or that the converse of this holds good. Magnanimity is an exceedingly rare virtue in men;—it is still more rare in women. (vi. 276.)

2. On examining the Old Testament, we find women, after the fall, every where considered as subordinate to men. The first intimation we have of this, is in the sentence passed by the Divine Being on the serpent, on Eve, and on Adam: part of his address to the woman is as follows:—'Thy desire shall be to thy husband, and he shall rule over thee.' By the Mosaic code, men were allowed to divorce their wives; but we do not find this privilege extended to women as to their husbands. The reasons for a bill of divorce, says Michaelis, is left by Moses entirely to the justice, conscience, or pleasure of the husband. The clause we translate, 'he hath found some uncleanness in her,' our author renders "he finds in her the nakedness of a thing;" that is, any defect, or any thing to find fault with. Fathers were allowed to dispose of their daughters as

servants, as we apprentice youths. Under certain circumstances, women could not marry without their fathers' consent. The Israelites sometimes made vows to the Lord: these, on the part of young unmarried women and wives, were not allowed to be binding, without the consent of the father in the one case, or the husband in the other. If a young woman married, and passed herself for a virgin when she was not so, she was liable to be punished capitally. If a husband suspected his wife of adultery, she was subjected to a very severe ordeal; and if guilty, could not through the interposition of Heaven escape unpunished. In cases of adultery, both the criminals were liable to suffer death. Women who inherited land, could not marry out of the tribe of their fathers, that the inheritance might not be removed from tribe to tribe. Men, however, were not thus restricted; as, though they married women not of their own tribe, the inheritance continued in it.

3. In the New Testament we find women considered in the same light as in the Old. 'Husbands,' says Peter, 'dwell' 'according to knowledge; giving honour unto the wife as unto the weaker vessel.' 'Let,' says Paul, 'your women keep silence in the churches, for it is not permitted unto them to speak; but they are commanded to be under obedience, as also saith the law. And if they will learn any thing, let them ask their husbands at home, for it is a shame for a woman to speak in the church.' He elsewhere says, 'The head of the woman is the man,' who ought not in prayer 'to cover his head, forasmuch as he is the image and glory of God; but the woman is the glory of the man. For the man is not of the woman, but the woman of the man. Neither was the man created for the woman, but the woman for the man.' 'Wives,' therefore, 'submit yourselves unto your own husbands as unto the Lord. For the husband is the head of the wife, even as Christ is the head of the church,—and he is the saviour of the body:'—'as the church is subject unto Christ, so let the wives be to their own husbands in every thing.'

4. We however find this order of things reversed, in a few instances, in the history of mankind. Herodotus asserts that the men were the slaves of the women in Egypt; and that it was stipulated in the marriage contract, that the woman shall be the ruler of her husband, and that he shall obey her in all things.—(*See Burder's Orient. Lit. No.* 353.) There is, says Bell, one singularity peculiar to the people of Metelin, an island off the coast of Asia Minor, and which seems always to have prevailed there,—namely, the sovereignty of the females; to express it in the vulgar phrase, "the women wear the breeches." The women here are every thing, and the men nothing. The husband is merely his wife's head domestic, perpetually bound to her service, and the slave of her caprice.

The women have town and country houses, in the management of which the husbands have no share, nor ever dare to interfere. The husband's distinguishing appellation is his wife's family name. The woman rides astride on horseback, and the man sits sideways. The eldest daughter inherits the whole landed property, and the sons are paid off with small dowers, or what is worse, turned out pennyless to seek their fortunes. The sexes seem, in fact, to have changed their relative situations;—the women appear to have always had something masculine in their habits and propensities, and to have borne constant rule over the men. It is impossible to account for this strange anomaly, no where paralleled in the globe: the island is, to all appearance, a perfect model of an Amazonian commonwealth.—(*Bell's Geography.*)

5. Beyond the Suiones, says Tacitus, we next find the nation of Sitones, differing in nothing from the former, except the tameness with which *they suffer a woman to reign over them.* Of this people, it is enough to say that they have degenerated from civil liberty;—*they are sunk below slavery itself.* The Sitones, adds Murphy, according to Brotier and others, were the inhabitants of Norway. The state of slavery to which they submitted, is mentioned in the emphatic manner of Tacitus. They degenerated from liberty, because they were content to be slaves in a land of freedom;—and they were sunk beneath the usual debasement of servitude, because they endured the galling yoke of a female reign. Tacitus makes that reflection in the true spirit of a Roman republican, who knew that it was the policy of his country not to suffer the softer sex to intermeddle in any department of the state. The ladies of Rome were, during their whole lives, subject to the authority of their fathers, their husbands, or their brothers. From the expulsion of the Tarquin family, no title alluding to the rank or employment of the husband was annexed to the wife.—(*Tacitus' Manners of the Germs., and Notes.*) We know not whether the Sitones, in allowing a woman to rule them, excluded every other woman in their nation from any share to the political right. If they acted thus, it is impossible to imagine any thing more absurd than a female despotism, such as prevailed in Russia under Catherine the Second. If a nation tolerates a woman in the highest political office, what reason can there be for not having female judges; and why all the important offices in a nation should not be occupied by women? This would afford the men an opportunity of attending to the duties of the nursery and other domestic offices.

6. We cannot divest ourselves of the conviction, that, to make and execute the laws of a nation, and appoint those who shall perform these offices, is the peculiar duty of men. None, it is presumed, will contend, that if one sex only is admissible,

it should be the female. To have both employed for the purposes we are considering, would be attended with the obvious inconvenience of improperly exposing women; and modesty must ever be held in the highest estimation by all virtuous persons. As Paul thought it suitable for women to keep silence in churches, we can hardly suppose he would have tolerated their haranguing legislative assemblies. 'I will,' says he, 'that the younger women marry, bear children, guide the house,' 'be discreet, chaste, keepers at home, good,' and 'obedient to their own husbands.' If there is not virtue sufficient in the male population of a nation, to establish and maintain a constitution and code, in conformity with the divine law, all the efforts of women will not effect this; for the greater portion of corporeal and mental strength being in men, whatever forcible efforts women may make to obtain a particular object, would speedily be suppressed if the other sex were opposed to it. The Most High having placed in the hands of men the greater share of *power*, it appears to us that it is his will, that the right of making and executing laws should be in them. (vi. 26). When 'the Lord said unto Moses,—Gather unto me seventy *men* of the elders of Israel,'—for the purpose of forming a council, no allusion whatever is made to women. The having commonly excluded the female sex from all share to political power, is perhaps one of the most sagacious things mankind have generally agreed to do: conduct like that of the Egyptians, the people of Metelin, and the Sitones, being exceptions from the ordinary practice.

7. The rights, however, of women cannot by the divine law be infringed. With the subordination which has been adverted to, these must be precisely equal to those of men. Though the Hebrews were allowed to repudiate their wives; on the abrogation of their polity, this privilege was abolished by our Lord, as regards all mankind. (*Mark* x. 2 to 12). The Hebrews inquired of Jesus, 'Is it lawful for a man to put away his wife?'—his reply is to this effect:—Moses gave no positive command; but seeing your wicked and malicious dispositions, that you would turn away your wives without any just and warrantable cause; to restrain cruelty and disorderly conduct, and prevent greater mischief, he did so far allow it, as to exempt them that did it from punishment: but still it was a transgression of the moral law. Our Lord also determines the question according to the original law of God, and limits the permission of divorce to the single case of adultery. By the Mosaic code, a seducer was obliged to marry the virgin whom he had seduced; and without being ever able to divorce her, as we have seen was otherwise allowed. He had also to pay a fine of fifty shekels of silver to his father-in-law. With us, a man is under no such obligation: he can only be sued for pe-

cuniary damages, and imprisoned in default of payment. If Heaven thought fit to protect the rights of women, by compelling a marriage under the circumstances above-mentioned, why, it may be asked, should the female sex be allowed to be treated differently among us? It argues little in favour of a nation, being jealous for the fullest protection of its daughters' rights, to tolerate such laws as ours in reference to women. It must not be forgotten, that though the woman is culpable, the man commonly is much more so. The being able to escape almost, or altogether, without any legal consequence, is, therefore, an insufficient check on the immorality of men. The first seduction of young women commonly takes place under the expectation of marriage:—without this, their virtue is seldom conquered, because they know that they have the unpleasant and ignominious consequences of illicit love to bear. By the very artifice, says Michaelis, to which seducers in England often recur but too successfully;—among the Israelites, the woman would become a wife by a tie utterly indissoluble;—and were the English to make seduction, by a pretended marriage, felony like rape; unless when the woman herself intercedes for the seducer, and at the same time resolves to be legally remarried to him, we should soon cease to hear of any more such villanous practices in that country.—*(Com. on the Laws of Moses, Art.* 91.*)* If, says Dr. Paley, we pursue the effects of seduction through the complicated misery which it occasions, and if it be right to estimate crimes by the mischief they knowingly produce; it will appear something more than mere invective to assert, that not one half of the crimes for which men suffer death by the laws of England, are so flagitious as this.—*(Mor. and Pol. Philos.)*

8. With regard to the right of women to property in the land, the only suitable mode seems to be, that in accordance with the Mosaic code, as adverted to in the last chapter; to which the reader is referred for the better understanding what follows; (ix. 62.) It is quite evident, than that the dying father, husband, or brother—if any distinction must be made—would be much more anxious, that his surviving female relatives should be duly provided for, than those of the other six. And all must feel, that not only are the rights of women equal to those of men, as regards the land and all other things; but indeed greater, as may be illustrated by some observations of Dr. Brown. The rights, says he, which are legally perfect, are often of less powerful moral force, than rights which are legally said to be imperfect. There is no one, I conceive, who would not feel more remose, a deeper sense of moral impropriety, in having suffered his benefactor, to whom he owed all his affluence, to perish in a prison for some petty debt; than if he had failed in the exact performance of some trifling conditions of a con-

tract; the terms of which he well knew, the law would hold to be definite, and of perfect obligation.—*(Lecture* 91.*)* Such women, as the law assigns no portion of the land to, have therefore an incontestable right to all the benefits arising from it. To adopt the words of Dr. Brown, there is, assuredly, no man but who ought to "feel more remorse, a deeper sense of moral impropriety", in having suffered their rights to be in any way abstracted from them,—than from men. If men are regardless either of their own rights, or those of their female relatives, this affords a powerful incentive to the latter, to do all in their power to incite them to better things. (vi. 200.) As a state of probation is that whence all moral beauty emanates: if men are so lost to every thing commendable as to violate the rights of women, these can derive little pleasure from their society, and all that is most valuable in human association, is annihilated. The notion of men generally infringing the rights of women as to property, exists no where but in the imagination. Indeed, it is impracticable.

9. When we speak of women to whom the law assigns no portion, having a right to the land; we do not, of course, mean its produce only. The right of women to the land of their relatives is precisely similar to that which a wife has over the land of her husband. We are here alluding to widows and younger unmarried sisters. All women should contribute in some way to the benefit of the primary association to which they belong. No woman can, in accordance with the divine law, have her right to the land so abstracted from her, as to be driven into either state of slavery. (v. 10.) Fathers, brothers, and elder sisters, may lawfully require their unmarried female relatives, to dispose of their labour to proper persons, and for a suitable remuneration, if they have no occasion for it themselves. And if women prefer being with strangers, they have a right so to be. The divine law which requires men to lay down their lives for one another, when suitable occasions demand; necessarily requires peculiar consideration from men towards their nearest female relatives, and from these to one another. We have supposed, that but for the wickedness of mankind, there would be no division into a lot for each person, of that part of the land devoted to agriculture, &c. Under such circumstances, the rights and possessions of women would be equal to those of men. If, then, it is only from the guilt of mankind, that a necessity for such division arises, men surely cannot insist that this wickedness shall be augmented, by depriving any of that half of the human race, of their rights: who are the least able to defend themselves from aggression. How obnoxious the oppressors of the poor, the widow, the fatherless, and the stranger, are to the righteous indignation of Heaven, may be

seen by the following, and other passages of sacred writ.—(*Ex.* xx. 10.—xxii. 21 to 24.—xxiii. 9 to 12. *Lev.* xiv. 21. xix. 10, 33, 34.—xxiii. 22.—xxiv. 22.—xxv. 6, 25, 35 to 38, 47 to 55. *Num.* xv. 15, 16. *Deut.* v. 14.—x. 18, 19.—xv. 7 to 11—xvi. 11, 14.—xxiv. 12 to 22.—xxvi. 12, 13.—xxvii. 19.—xxxi. 12. *Job.* xxii. 9. *Ps.* lxviii. 5.—cxlvi. 9. *Prov.* xv. 25. *Isa.* i. 17, 23. x. 2. *Jer.* vii. 6. xxii. 3. *Exek.* xxii. 7. *Mat.* xxv. 35 to 40. 1 *Tim.* 5, 3. *Jam.* i. 27.)

10. It has elsewhere been intimated, that no man of any age or country, can perform his duty without doing all that lies in him, that a constitution and code in accordance with the divine law shall be maintained in his native land. To this glorious object women may be assistant. Upon it, the preservation of their own rights is mainly dependent. Hence, though politics are by some thought in no degree the province of women generally, we apprehend this to be erroneous; and may observe, that a competent knowledge of their duty as to them, may be easily acquired. (vi. 155.) To give children the first rudiments of that education, which shall best enable them to act like virtuous persons in this transient state of existence, and become the denizens of Heaven hereafter; is the duty of mothers. Let then those who desire to approve themselves to their own consciences, fail not, with the deepest solicitude, to bring up their children in the nurture and admonition of the Lord. And remember, that at a suitable age, the youth of both sexes are taught, that they are imperatively bound to do all in their power, that the laws of their country shall accord with the will of the Most High. Let women also incite their husbands and brothers to the performance of this great duty. It is, says Dr. Brown, of the domestic virtues we must think, when we think of the morals of a nation. A nation is but a shorter name for the individuals who compose it; and when these are good fathers, good sons, good brothers, good husbands, they will make good citizens; because the principles which make them just and kind under the domestic roof, will make them just and kind to those who inhabit with them that country which is only a larger home.—(*Lecture* 89.)

11. The prevailing manners of an age, says another celebrated writer, depend more than we are aware of, or are willing to allow, on the conduct of women. This is one of the principal things on which the great machine of human society turns. Those who allow the influence, which female graces have in contributing to polish the manners of men; will do well to reflect, how great an influence female morals must also have on their conduct. How much, then, is to be regretted, that women should ever sit down contented to polish when they are able to reform; to entertain when they might instruct. Nothing de-

lights men more than their strength of understanding, when true gentleness of manners is its associate: united, they become irresistible orators, blessed with the power of persuasion, fraught with the sweetness of instruction; making women the highest ornaments of human nature.—(*Dr. Blair.*) Let men, therefore, not be unmindful of the inestimable blessing, of being connected with excellent mothers, sisters, wives, and female friends. Nothing can be more obvious, than that it should be the great object of association, for all the associates to do their utmost, that by their reciprocal exertions, they may make a continual progression in virtue and happiness. Good men must ever be intensely anxious that these blessings should be the lot of their female relatives, from the unspeakable benefits therefrom accruing to both sexes. As a nation advances in refinement, the importance that women should be of distinguished excellence, will be proportionably appreciated.

12. A negro, says a traveller, pays his addresses to a girl, and if after a short acquaintance he fancies she will answer his purpose, he simply gives or sends a small present to the parents, who rarely raise any obstacles to balk his wishes; whereupon, the female quits her father's house, and resides as long as she lives with her suitor. The courtship of a Mahomedan is carried on in much the same fashion, with the addition of reading the fatha, or marriage ceremony. When they get tired of each other, the fatha is again read, and the couple part for ever with as much coolness and unconcern as if they had been utter strangers to each other. The Africans have less of sentiment in their love affairs than Europeans. They have no stolen interviews, no rambling in verdant fields, no affectionate squeezes of the hand, no language of the eyes, no refined feeling, no moonlight reveries; all is conducted in the most unpoetical business-like way imaginable, and is considered in the light of one of their least important concerns; the lover merely saying to his intended bride:—"should you like to become my wife, my dear?"—To which the lady replies, "I have no objection." "Then come and live with me," retorts the man, and from that hour the couple reside together. This is the beginning and end of their courtship, and I never heard of a refusal on the lady's part to embrace the proposal. The notions of female perfection amongst the people consist in the bulk, plumpness, and rotundity of the object; and a perfect beauty, in their estimation, as it has often been remarked, is a load for a camel.—(*As quoted in Bell's Geography.*)

13. In America, says Dr. Robertson, the condition of woman is so peculiarly grievous, and their depression so complete, that servitude is a name too mild to describe their wretched state. A wife amongst most tribes is no better than a beast of burden, destined to every office of labour and fatigue. While the men

loiter out the day in sloth or spend it in amusement, the women are condemned to incessant toil. Tasks are imposed on them without pity, and services are received without complacence or gratitude. Every circumstance reminds women of this mortifying inferiority. They must approach their lords with reverence; they must regard them as more exalted beings, and are not permitted to eat in their presence. There are districts in America where this dominion is so grievous, and so sensibly felt, that some women, in a wild emotion of maternal tenderness, have destroyed t heir female children in their infancy; in order to deliver them from that intolerable bondage, to which they knew they were doomed.—(*Hist. Amer.*)

14. Another writer gives us a very different account of the Spaniards. The respect and devotion with which the fair sex are treated by them, says he, are quite remarkable. "I kiss your feet, my lady," is the accustomed salutation. A woman is a sacred object, and the very meanest Spaniard would shrink with horror from the slightest outrage committed on a female. "White hands can never offend,"—is the universal consolation even when feminine indiscretion becomes ungentle. Down to the time of Charles III. it was the custom in many of the southern provinces for a gentleman to bend on one knee whenever a lady addressed him. The Spanish drama is crowded with incidents and beautiful sentiments founded on the extraordinary influence of women.—(*London Magazine, Art. Spanish Romances, vols.* 7 & 8.) And among the Hindoos, a maxim of authority deemed to be equivalent to that of Menoo, says, "Strike not even with a blossom a wife guilty of a hundred faults."

CHAP. XI.

EXAMINATION OF CERTAIN PASSAGES IN THE BIBLE.

1. SACRED writ informs us, that in the beginning—'God created man in his own image.' Had man kept his first estate, we may humbly consider the divine law would have prevailed as to all mankind in all ages; as it may be supposed to do in every part of the universe, except where spiritual beings are in a state of rebellion to their great Creator.

2. To guide the guilty children of men to their temporal and eternal happiness, Heaven took one nation of the earth under

its peculiar government for fifteen centuries, and gave it a code of laws, part of it not according with what is called in this essay the divine law. The infatuation of the Israelites frustrated, as far as it could, God's gracious designs; and their polity was abrogated at the Christian era. As it was not the design of Heaven to pursue the same course with another nation, our Lord and his disciples declined any particular interference with Jewish or Roman politics; their commission having a far nobler object—namely, the regeneration of the whole world in all its future ages! And through that, the establishment of righteous constitutions and codes, in all nations and in all their generations. Happy, beyond expression happy, would it have been for those that have passed away, had they attended to the divine teaching! Happy, beyond expression happy, will it be for those to do so, that now exist, or that may hereafter arise.—(*Isa.* xlviii. 18.) Our Lord, says Mr. Horne, is the only founder of a religion in the history of mankind, which is totally unconnected with all human policy and government; and therefore totally unconducive to any worldly purpose whatever. All others, as Mohammed, Numa, and even Moses himself, blended their religious and civil institutions together, and thus acquired dominion over their respective people; but Christ neither aimed at nor would accept of any such power.—(*Intro. to the Scriptures.*)

3. Antecedent to the Christian era, those, as the Israelites, with whom Heaven did especially interfere, were amenable to the law revealed to them from above; whilst Gentile nations with whom Heaven did not particularly interfere, were, or rather ought to have been, governed solely by the law of nature. For when Gentiles which had not a revealed law, did 'by nature the things contained in the law, these having not the law' were 'a law unto themselves'; which shewed the work of the law written in their hearts: their conscience also bearing witness, and their thoughts the meanwhile accusing or else excusing one another.' For as many as sinned without the revealed law, also perished without such law, and as many as sinned in the revealed law were judged by the law. Subsequent to the Christian era—Heaven has not nor does interfere in a particular manner with any person or nation—all men in all nations, and in all ages, being, as we have said, bound as to all things by the law of nature, confirmed as it is by the law of revelation;—these perfectly according, we have called them the Divine Law. In reference to this holy law and the precepts subordinate to it, given by our Lord during his sojourn on earth, he thus directed his faithful followers who immediately attended on him, and all that have since arisen or shall hereafter arise—'Go ye,' 'and teach all nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Teaching them to

observe all things, whatsoever I have commanded you—and lo I am with you alway, even unto the end of the world. Amen.'—'God,' says Paul, as elsewhere quoted, 'hath made of one blood all nations of men for to dwell on all the face of the earth, and hath determined the times before appointed, and the bounds of their habitation.' Peter says, 'Of a truth, I perceive that God is no respecter of persons. But in every nation, he that feareth him and worketh righteousness, is accepted with him.' We affirm, says Dr. Paley, that as to the extent of our civil rights and obligations, Christianity hath left us where she found us, that she hath neither altered it nor ascertained it; that the New Testament contains not one passage, which fairly interpreted, affords either argument or objection applicable to any conclusions upon the subject, that are deduced from the law and religion of nature.—(*Mor. and Pol. Philos.*)

4. That Heaven makes no alteration in the obligations and political rights of any one or more than one person, in any country or age, from those of all the rest of his or their countrymen, or of all mankind; will further appear from considering, that all the duties of life, of what kind soever, in the intercourse of human beings with each other, are necessarily those of relation—*i. e.*, for example, those of husband and wife, parent and child, political governors and the governed. In the dealings of God with mankind, it is therefore obvious that he might have prescribed, either that—

1. One great law should govern all the relations of men, in all countries and ages:
2. Or that particular relations should be assumed in all countries and ages, the individuals between whom such relations were to exist being appointed mediately or immediately by Heaven:
3. Or that particular relations should be assumed in particular countries or ages; the individuals between whom such relations were to exist being named as has just been mentioned.

5. As to the first: had mankind never fallen from the state in which our first parents were created, we may consider, as we have just stated, that the divine law would have prevailed as to all mankind in all ages.

6. As to the second: the communications from Heaven to mankind are wholly silent; no particular relations having ever been appointed, as to all nations and ages.

7. As to the third: mankind not having kept their first estate, Heaven was pleased to establish particular relations in particular countries and ages, for especial purposes. Such, for example, among the Israelites, as the appointments of Moses and Joshua to be their political heads; and of the Levites throughout their generations to be ministers of religion to the same people.

8. The establishment of particular relations by the special

appointment of Heaven among the Israelites, having failed of the effect graciously intended—*i. e.* their regeneration, and through it, as may humbly be considered, that of all other nations of the world, the farther establishment of particular relations by the especial appointment of Heaven, as has just been intimated, altogether ceased at the Christian era.

9. Had it been the will of God that there should be among mankind a certain peculiar relation or relations, this or these must have respect to one or more than one nation, and for one or more than one age. If such peculiar relation or relations is or are to last in any nation or nations, for more than one generation, it does not follow that the holders in any age, must be succeeded by their heirs. Though Solomon, by divine appointment, came after his father David to the chief magistracy of the Hebrews, the son of Saul was not chosen after Saul. If, then, the succession as to any relation or relations, in any nation or nations, is to be hereditary; it must be so declared by God, as was the case with Aaron and his descendants among the Hebrews. And if such relation or relations is or are not to be hereditary,—on each demise of the holder or holders, a special revelation from Heaven is necessary for any nation or nations wherein such relation or relations may exist, to determine who shall succeed; as was the case with Joshua after the death of Moses. The divine commandments being made known in every case as to the relation or relations that is or are to subsist, and whether it or they is or are to be hereditary or not;—and if the latter, who on every demise is to succeed. But as nothing of this kind can be pretended to by any persons, in any country or age whatever;—whoever, as far as lies in him, her, or them—he, she, or they, is or are, that does or do cause any relations to exist among men or women, or men and women, in any nation or age;—other than those which arise by rigorously conforming to the divine law, is or are obviously guilty of high treason to the government of Heaven.

10. For the further illustration of our subject, holy writ may be thus divided:—

1. The book of Genesis.
2. The remainder of the Old Testament.
3. The New Testament.

11. The first relates to the divine dealings with men, from the creation;—to the settlement of the Israelites in Egypt.

12. The second contains an account of their departure from that country,—their establishment in Canaan,—their polity and some of their history; and brings us down to within about four hundred years of the Christian era.

13. The third part, or New Testament, contains an account of the abolition of the Mosaic polity, the establishment of Christianity, its doctrines, &c.

14. Of all three parts it may be observed, that no passage of the Scripture in them is of any private interpretation. And the third, or New Testament, contains the whole of the revealed will of Heaven, as to the whole conduct of all mankind, in all the ages after its promulgation.

15. We find certain portions of the New Testament addressed to all mankind, in all future ages, as the four gospels. Other portions to certain Christian communities, as the Romans, Corinthians, &c. Other portions again to certain individuals, as Timothy, Titus, &c. And although all the epistles to communities and individua's are invaluable; yet their contents are perhaps not perfectly understood in our times; some of them, particularly Paul's, being evidently replies to letters he had received. Unless, therefore, we have the letters addressed to him, we cannot perfectly understand his replies. The communications to Paul, however, are wholly unimportant, as the obscurities in no degree affect us: the sacred Scriptures informing all who study them aright, of every thing that is necessary for such writings to do, in reference to their temporal and eternal welfare.

16. In applying passages of Scripture, we must consider to whom they are addressed, and if to particular persons or communities; whether they are under all circumstances applicable to all mankind, or only to the especial case of the persons to whom they relate. If they are conditional, i. e., depending on the fulfilment of certain duties between the related parties. Lastly, what our application of some portions should be, in reference to the cases to which we refer, as compared with the cases referred to by the sacred writers.

17. And the divine will may be opposed, either as to certain relations existing among men, which are altogether unlawful, as between the parties between whom they exist; or though this is not so,—as to the manner in which they are sustained. The conduct which Heaven, or its faithful servants on earth, would pursue, may therefore obviously vary widely, according to the particular circumstance of any case.

18. Hence a maxim or rule, though addressed to particular individuals, may have reference to all men, as the following addressed by Paul to the Galatians:—'All the law is fulfilled in one word, even in this,—Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' This is imperative on the whole human race, in all generations, and in all the relations of men. Or a rule may have respect to some part of human duty only, and be binding on all men at all times; as the following, addressed to the Israelites:—'Thou shalt not commit adultery.' And as all human duties are matters of relation, a rule may be fully binding only whilst the related parties do their duty: thus, men ought 'to love their wives as their own bodies,' is obligatory only whilst

women obey the law in the last quotation. Or a rule may be binding under particular circumstances only, as Paul's injunction to the Corinthians: 'I say, therefore, to the unmarried and widows, it is good for them if they abide even as I:' i. e., unmarried. And an injunction addressed to some particular person or persons may refer to him or them only, as Paul's to Timothy. 'Drink no longer water, but use a little wine, for thy stomach's sake and thine often infirmities.' Or any thing written may be merely an abstract doctrine: i. e., without reference to any particular persons; as,—'Marriage is honourable in all.'

19. The preceding observations with those which will be made, may throw some light on the following passages of sacred writ. The Jews asked Jesus, saying: Master, 'is it lawful for us to give tribute unto Cæsar or no? But he perceived their craftiness, and said unto them, why tempt ye me? Show me a penny. Whose image and superscription hath it? They answered and said, Cæsar's. And he said unto them: Render therefore unto Cæsar, the things which be Cæsar's; and unto God, the things which be God's.'

20. Paul thus addresses 'all that be in Rome, beloved of God called to be saints:'—'Let every soul be subject unto the higher *powers*. For there is no power but of God: the powers that be, are ordained of God. Whosoever, therefore, resisteth the power, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For rulers are not a terror to good works, but to the evil. Wilt thou not then be afraid of the power?—do that which is good, and thou shalt have praise of the same. For he is the minister of God, to thee for good. But if thou do that which is evil, be afraid, for he beareth not the sword in vain, for he is the minister of God, a revenger to execute wrath upon him that doeth evil. Wherefore ye must needs be subject, not only for wrath, but also for conscience sake. For, for this cause pay ye tribute also, for they are God's ministers attending continually upon this very thing. Render, therefore, to all their dues—tribute to whom tribute is due, custom to whom custom, fear to whom fear, honour to whom honour.'

21. As to the first quotation—let us suppose the emperor of Russia to produce it to one of his subjects, as an authority for taxing him. To this it may be answered:—These words of Jesus were spoken to the Israelites, who, when they were first established in Canaan, God assured, if they conformed to his will, he would set them on high above all nations of the earth. By refusing to obey him they brought on themselves the most miserable calamities, and were at last subjected to the Romans, whose government was assuredly opposed to the divine will. It was, however, that—the majority of the governed chose to maintain over themselves, or it would have been superseded. Until

this was actually done, the only answer that could be given to any of them, is obviously the following:—"If you allow that Cæsar is now the master of your country, which you plainly do by submitting to the circulation of his coin, an evident proof of his sovereign power; you must allow that he has a right to some tribute or other, in that coin which bears his own image and superscription. He is now in actual possession, his government is peaceably established, it is the government under which you live and under which you are protected. Render, therefore, to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's."—*(As quoted in Dean Tucker's Treatise on Government.)* But though Jesus said the words under consideration to the subjects of the Roman government, he no where told them they were bound to have Cæsar for their chief magistrate. The most his language intends simply being, that while they allowed him to occupy this situation, they were bound to support his government.

22. Let it be imagined, Jesus had said,—Cæsar's is an unlawful government, and ought to be superseded by a lawful one, you are therefore only bound to pay taxes until this is done. It is quite clear such a declaration would either have been treated with contempt; or if it had excited a popular commotion, that the Roman government would probably have had no difficulty in suppressing it, though it might have cost the lives of thousands. And it is also evident, that the promulgation of a new religion, or a great change in an old one, is best effected in time of peace. Had Judea, therefore, been given up to all the horrors of a civil war, the designs of Heaven with regard to the promulgation of the gospel would have been to a considerable extent frustrated. But what sort of persons were they who put the question? They were the chief priests and scribes who had watched Jesus, 'and sent forth spies which should feign themselves just men, that they might take hold of his words; that so they might deliver him unto the power and authority of the governor.' Persons so actuated, were evidently some of the last that might be expected to regenerate their country, even had the opportunity been a favourable one. And so far from its being the intention of Heaven to assist the Israelites in the attainment of such an object, they were about to cease being a separate nation, or even a distinct province of a nation, for the unspeakable wickedness of which they had been and were guilty. Properly to appreciate the tendency of our Lord's words, three parties are to be considered—

His hearers;
Their fellow subjects;—and
The Roman government.

We thus see that Jesus addressed himself to an extremely small part only of an immense whole. Had he had occasion to address the entire population of the empire, very different language

might have been used. And even this would have been dependent on circumstances; for if such population were so demoralized as to be unable to establish over themselves a better government than Cæsar's, the advice might have been,—Render unto Cæsar, &c. If, on the contrary, they had been capable of appointing a righteous government, the advice we may expect would have been:—It is now time to leave off rendering to Cæsar the things which were Cæsar's, and to appoint over yourselves that form of government, which alone accords with the will of the Most High.

23. That nothing could be farther from our Lord's intention than to sanction the Roman government, or any of its lawless acts, thus appears. The sacred historian tells us, that 'Pilate, when he had called together the chief priests and the rulers and the people, said unto them' in reference to Jesus, 'Ye have brought this man unto me as one that perverteth the people; and behold, I, having examined him before you, have found no fault in this man, touching those things whereof ye accuse him. No, nor yet Herod, for I sent you to him; and lo nothing worthy of death is done unto him.' The principal part of the charge was as follows:—His accusers said, 'We found this fellow perverting the nation, and forbidding to give tribute to Cæsar, saying that he himself is Christ a king.' The very passage under our consideration, evinces the falsity of the accusation. Here are two principal magistrates consenting that an innocent person shall be murdered, for no other reason than because lawless men require it. Pilate and Herod of course perfectly knew the temper of the government at Rome, and that they might act as they did. One of these very respectable magistrates insults the accused, the other three times over begs his accusers to let him off. It has been recently observed, that the Gentile nations necessarily including the Roman nation, were at the Christian era governed by the law of nature. It cannot be imagined, that at the same moment the Lord Jesus was republishing such law (as the rule of conduct for the whole world;) and about to give it the most solemn sanction it could have, his own death;—he in any manner ratified the establishment or maintenance of the Roman government, upheld altogether in opposition to this holy law: and which allowed to be perpetrated under its rule, the deed just alluded to, the most unholy the annals of the world contain: it being remembered, that this is only an example of the whole conduct of the Roman government. Dr. Mosheim, speaking of the Roman people at the Christian era, says, though they had not lost all shadow of liberty, they were yet in reality reduced to a state of servile submission to Augustus Cæsar; who by artifice, perfidy, and bloodshed, had proceeded to an enormous degree of power: and united in his own person the pompous titles of emperor, sovereign, pontiff, censor, tribune

of the people, proconsul;—in a word, all the great offices of the state.—*(Eccl. Hist.)*

24. *The words of our Lord—Render unto Cæsar, &c.—were addressed to particular persons—related to them only—in the peculiar situation in which they were placed—and have therefore no reference whatever to all mankind; any more than has Paul's injunction to Timothy.* (18.)

25. If the emperor of Russia, not being yet satisfied, brings forward the quotation from Paul, it may be thus replied to him: —You can find nothing in the Bible that will support your pretensions. If you insist that every word of it, from the beginning of Genesis to the end of Revelation does support them, every adult male Russian can say the same thing. For any one or more than one passage to serve your individual purpose, there must be something in it of private interpretation. But not a single syllable of the kind is to be found.

26. Joshua producing the Book of Deuteronomy, and urging it as an authority for the Israelites being under his control, would have been unanswerable. But if any thing in the Bible can be produced as a warrant for your assuming and holding the chief magistracy, the dealings of Heaven with mankind would be as follow. In one part of the sacred volume a rule is laid down, by which every man, whatever relation of life he desires to attain, must be governed, i. e. the divine law. And, notwithstanding this, other rules are to be found, whereby any man, in any country or any age, can set the preceding at nought; and establish himself as the chief magistrate of his nation, if he has the power. That were this truly so, the great end mankind would attain by having a revelation from Heaven, would be to be set all over the world, and in all ages, quarrelling with each other;—as every man, in every nation and every age, might allege he had a right to be the emperor of his country, and thus there would be none to be governed. And thus much for the emperor of Russia.

27. Paul's words refer to *powers* and not to individuals, and obviously, therefore, signify no more than this:—Let every soul be subject unto the Roman government; not, therefore, to some individuals more than to others, but, as has been intimated, to certain individuals, *because they were allowed by the Roman people to constitute the government.* For there is no government but of God. The existing one, as well as all others that ever have been, are, or shall be, in the world, were, and are, ordained of God. A lawful government is that only which is sanctioned by Heaven:—those that are unlawful are only permitted by it, as are all unlawful acts. (vi. 175.) If a nation will not establish a government in the way Heaven has pointed out, it is its own fault. Paul, who says to the Romans,—'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers,'

says to the Ephesians, 'Let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself.—And the wife see that she reverence her husband.' These three commands are of universal obligation. As, therefore, it is incumbent for men collectively to appoint a righteous government and laws, so it is for them individually to choose fit wives, and for women to marry suitable husbands. But if men in any nation or age allow their rulers to be improperly appointed, or make a wrong selection of their wives, or women choose unsuitable husbands, the divine law is immutable; and says to the governed,—'Let every soul be subject unto the higher powers,' as it directs men to love their wives, and women to reverence their husbands. And thus, we see how government and marriage are ordained of God.

28. Suppose an adulteress to produce the following, just quoted, to her husband;—'Let every one of you in particular so love his wife even as himself;' the man's answer obviously may be,—It is undeniable that the general rule is for husbands to love their wives as themselves, but you have forfeited all claim to my love. If lawful rulers produce to those they govern,—'Let every soul,' &c., the answer may be,—It is undeniable that the general rule is for the governed to obey their rulers; but as the appointment of all rulers, in all countries and all ages, conformably with the will of God, is in the whole of the governed, we shall supersede you; not because you have failed to do the best in your power, but because we consider those whom we intend to appoint, more competent. Suppose unlawful rulers to produce the passage, the answer may be;—It is undeniable that you are our rulers,—equally so, that you have no right to govern:—all that we desire is, to establish that kind of government which alone accords with the divine will. To educe this glorious purpose, we shall be very glad of your co-operation. If you can convince us that we do not understand what is a lawful government, what are the lawful means of superseding you, or that you have any right to rule; we shall readily listen, being anxious only to do that which is lawful in the sight of Heaven.

29. It is not improbable that the Christian converts at Rome inquired, whether their profession of Christianity had in any manner released them, from the obligations they were under as subjects of the Roman government. Paul intimated to them, that the gospel, so far from lessening the obligation of the governed to their rulers, makes that, and all other parts of human duty, if possible, more imperative. The quotations from our Lord and Paul, were binding by the divine law so long only, as the majority of the governed chose to permit their rulers to hold the offices they did. The passage from Paul, like that of our Lord's, was addressed to particular persons,—

related to them only,—in the peculiar situation in which they were placed,—and it has, therefore, no reference whatever to all mankind.

30. Let us see what would be the consequence of applying Paul's language to the Romans,—generally. On such a supposition, those who can obtain the reins of government of a nation, by any deeds however iniquitous, have an equal right to obedience, as an administration deriving its authority in strict accordance with the divine will. Suppose the French to invade Spain: if the former can, at the point of the bayonet, establish themselves as the governors, every Spaniard is bound to yield obedience to them. If, again, certain of the Spaniards can supersede the French, and establish themselves as rulers exclusively, wholly regardless of the rights of the rest of their countrymen; the latter are bound to obey their new masters as they before were the French. And if, again, any party of these governed Spaniards can effect another revolution, and establish themselves exclusively as masters; those who lately governed, and all other Spaniards, are bound to obey the newly established government. But the bare statement of what is here advanced, carries with it its own refutation. The invasion of the French, and the two usurpations of the Spaniards, were utterly illegal. Under every imaginable combination of circumstances, all that righteous men have to do, is, if their government is lawful, to support it; if unlawful, to supersede it:—in the latter case, waiting only for a suitable occasion. All, however, that is requisite on the supposition we are combating, is, that by fraud, violence, or a union of these, any persons whatever, whether natives or foreigners, if they can only obtain the reins of government of any nation, in any age, may require obedience as a right; and to all who in any way oppose them, produce as their authority, words addressed under peculiar circumstances to particular persons; and which it may be right to apply to an existing government, or act in a way exactly the reverse; so that as to the same constitution, they should be rigorously obeyed on the 1st of January, and utterly opposed on the 1st of July. It may, says Dr. Paley, be as much a duty at one time to resist government, as it is at another to obey it: —to wit, whenever more advantage than mischief, will in our opinion, accrue to the community from resistance.—*(Mor. Philos.) If Paul's words are to be taken literally and as applicable at all times, it is obvious that an unlawful government could never be superseded.* Had it been said by Paul,—'Thou shalt not commit adultery,' this command, though addressed only to particular persons, applies to all human beings, and is irrespective of all contingencies; adultery being ever unlawful—ever a crime of great malignity.

31. Heaven directed the Israelites as follows,—'Both thy

bondmen and thy bondmaids which thou shalt have, shall be of the heathen that are round about you,—of them shall ye buy bondmen and bondmaids.' If any government may adduce what Paul said to the Romans, it may also what Moses said to the Israelites; and if one government may, another may, and consequently all governments. On this supposition, the whole populations of all the nations of the world, throughout all their ages, may enslave each other; who are to be masters, being only decided by one party being stronger than the other. Hence, the same authority which Louis Philip of France, or any other chief magistrate, may bring for holding a chief magistracy, may be brought for enslaving him.

32. What Paul thought of the chief magistrates who ruled the world in his day, and particularly the Roman emperor, may be seen from what he says to the Corinthians. 'Howbeit, we speak wisdom among them that are perfect, yet not the wisdom of this world, nor of the princes of this world, that come to nought; but we speak the wisdom of God in a mystery; even the hidden wisdom which God ordained before the world, unto our glory, which none of the princes of this world knew; for had they known it, they would not have crucified the Lord of glory!' (2).

33. The continuation of the passage under consideration, (20), demands particular attention. Paul, after dilating on the obligation of the governed to obey their rulers, thus goes on. —'Owe no man any thing but to love one another; for he that loveth another hath fulfilled the law. For this,—Thou shalt not commit adultery.—Thou shalt not kill.—Thou shalt not steal.—Thou shalt not bear false witness.—Thou shalt not covet:—and if there be any other commandment, it is briefly comprehended in this saying, namely,—Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself. Love worketh no ill to his neighbour; therefore love is the fulfilling of the law.' In this passage, expressions from which the whole of human duty may be drawn, are repeated no less than five times; consequently, as often how unrighteous legislatives and executives may be superseded, and righteous ones appointed. Any thing further on the subject of government in the sacred writings, would therefore have been almost a work of supererogation.

'Owe no man any thing, but to love one another.'

'He that loveth another hath fulfilled the law.'

'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'

'Love worketh no ill to his neighbour.'

'Love is the fulfilling of the law.'—(*Gal.* v. 14.)

34. Many seem to expect that something peculiar should be found in the New Testament, on the subject of government. A treatise composed by spiritual beings, not inhabitants of our world, would afford no more light than men may themselves

attain. If they will not be guided by the sufficient evidence Heaven has graciously furnished, 'neither will they be persuaded though one rose from the dead.' (vi. 200).

35. Job's case, may by some, be supposed to afford ground for engrossing the political right or the land. Whether the book of Job is a history penned by himself, or a dramatic poem composed by some one else, writers are by no means agreed. Let us suppose it was the former. Whatever Job possessed appears to have been granted to him immediately by God. Job's history, therefore, cannot be brought as a precedent, unless a similar authority is produced.—(*Job*, i. 10, 21;—xlii. 10, 12;—xxix. 11 to 16;—xxxi. 13 to 21.) The state of the country where Job lived, was probably similar to that alluded to by Abram.—(*Gen.* xiii. 9.) If we suppose there was abundance of land for all, and that the persons under the control of Job voluntarily so placed themselves; there was no infringement of the divine law by him, though what he possessed had not been especially assigned him from above. Whatever there is in his case must apply to the whole human race alike. If, then, any man in any age, following his example, can obtain and apply possessions equally extensive, without in any manner infringing the divine law, the conduct of such a man will not be objectionable in the sight of Heaven.

36. We are not aware that there are any objections which can be made to what has been elsewhere urged, unanswered. Should any take a different view of the matter, it may be further observed, that the divine dealings with men have reference to the chosen people of Heaven, or the rest of mankind. As to the former, it must be remembered, that when our Lord appeared on earth, the Mosaic polity was still binding on the Hebrews. In reference to it, God had affirmed,—'I gave them also statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live;'—i. e., in strict conformity with the divine will. And as to the Hebrews and all the rest of mankind, Paul tells us that Heaven 'in times past, suffered all nations to walk in their own ways,' 'and the times of this ignorance God winked at; but now commandeth all men every where to repent:' there being, according to the constitution of things then and now prevailing, only this course to adopt, or for him once more to decree that 'the end of all flesh is come.' Consequently, when we read such passages as the following,—Render 'unto Cæsar the things which be Cæsar's,'—Daniel said before the king, 'O thou king, the most high God gave Nebuchadnezzar thy father, a kingdom, and majesty, and glory, and honour:'—we are not to suppose the conduct of Cæsar or Nebuchadnezzar, or the subjects of either, was well pleasing in the sight of Heaven; nor that the allowing these two men to reign evinced this; but simply, that God could only alter the constitution of

human nature, deal with these nations in some such manner as he did, or altogether destroy them from the face of the earth. Instead of this, he was, as we see, graciously pleased to suffer all 'nations to walk in their own ways.' (vi. 175.) The Mosaic code, emanating from above, being opposed to what Heaven would have had it, if the state of the Hebrews would have admitted a better;—the establishment and maintenance of any other of those constitutions and codes of which we have any knowledge, never having been at all comparable to the Mosaic, must surely all of them be still more opposed to the divine will; for if the best was not in accordance with it, certainly every other must be far less so.

37. If any passage in sacred writ, as, our Lord's words to the Hebrews, Paul's to the Roman converts, or to Timothy, *is to be taken particularly, it of course does not refer generally.* And as the whole Bible *is to be taken generally, it cannot be applied particularly,* by any person or persons, in any country or age; no part of scripture being of private interpretation. The Divine Law being that alone binding on all men in their whole conduct; nothing opposed to it, that occurs in the conduct of individuals or nations mentioned in sacred writ, can be taken as a precedent; unless, indeed, the divine injunction, that 'all men every where repent,' is to be reversed; and not any man any where to do so: in other words, for all men every where in all ages to emulate each other as to one thing only; namely, how utterly they shall rebel against Heaven; a state of things for which we suppose none will be found to contend.

CHAP. XII.

TITLES OF HONOUR.

When government sets up a manufactory of nobles, it is as absurd as if she undertook to manufacture wise men. *Her nobles are all counterfeits.* This waxwork order has assumed the name of aristocracy, and the disgrace of it would be lessened if it could be considered only as childish imbecility. But the origin of aristocracy was worse than foppery. It was robbery. *The first aristocrats in all countries were brigands.*—(*Paine's Princip. of Government.*)

1. The three following modes of designating leading persons in nations have been and are adopted. The main distinction between the ancient and modern world is, that the third mode was almost or altogether unknown in the former. Titles of

honour almost or altogether arose on the ruins of the Roman empire:—the fall of which has been elsewhere noticed. (vii. 128 to 133.) The three modes are—

Names of office—as, emperor, secretary of state, &c.

Words denoting eminence—as, great men, principal men, grandees, chiefs, &c.

Titles of honour—as, the Duke of Bourbon.

2. It has been observed in the part of the Essay just referred to, that when the Roman empire declined, about five hundred years after the Christian era; the southern parts of Europe were overran by immense irruptions of men from the north and east. The generals who headed these forces, in many cases took possession of the countries they conquered. After hostilities had ceased, they retained their warlike titles. These have been continued down to our times:—

Emperor comes from the Latin imperator, in its primary signification, commander of an army.

Duke is also a general or leader, in the primitive sense. Among the Romans, dukes were such as led their armies, and they were appointed governors of provinces.

Marquis, introduced in later times, signifies a governor of the marches or frontier provinces.

Earl—Those who bore the title of earls, were anciently attendants or associates of their sovereigns in their councils and martial expeditions. They governed shires and had lieutenants under them.

Viscount, from vicecomes, or earl's deputy, was anciently the name of him who held the chief office under an earl. The earl being oftentimes at court, the viscount was deputed to look after the affairs of the county.

Baron.—This word, Menage derives as a term of military dignity.

King, is a contraction of the Teutonick cuning or cyning. In the primitive tongue it signifies stout or valiant; kings having been anciently chosen by their subjects on account of their valour and strength.

3. We thus see that our words—emperor, duke, marquis, earl, viscount, baron, and king, have a very bad origin: their primary signification being that the holders of them were the leaders or generals of armies;—that is, generally speaking, in the times we are considering, neither more nor less than ***wholesale robbers and murderers.***

4. Hence the connection, as far as titles are concerned, between possessing and presiding over the whole or part of a country, and being the commander or one of the generals of an army. The power to possess and govern was generally attained by the sword alone, and *wholly without right.*

5. The principal officers, after a country was subjugated, constituted themselves hereditary legislators, and finding it necessary to delude the ignorant by the assumption of titles, probably could find none better than those under consideration. That their continuance is absurd is sufficiently evident: for example, the title of the Duke of Bordeaux, signifies, in its primary acceptation, that the holder went at the head of a banditti, and

unlawfully wrested, by the power of the sword, Bordeaux and all the country round about it from its former possessors: himself engrossing the principal part, and giving the remainder to his officers and soldiers, reducing the previous occupants to a state of slavery. Titles of honour have therefore no conceivable meaning but one that is *dishonourable.*

6. As the conquerors of Europe, says Dr. Robertson, had their acquisitions to maintain not only against such of the ancient inhabitants as they had spared, but against the more formidable inroads of new invaders; self-defence was their chief care, and seems to have been the chief object of their first institutions and policy. Instead of those loose associations, which, though they scarcely diminished their personal independence, had been sufficient for their security while they remained in their original countries; they saw the necessity of uniting in more close confederacy, and of relinquishing some of their private rights in order to attain public safety. Every freeman, upon receiving a portion of the lands which were divided, bound himself to appear in arms against the enemies of the community. This military service was the condition upon which he received and held his lands; and as they were exempted from every other burden, that tenure, among a warlike people, was deemed both easy and honorable. The king or general who led them to conquest, continuing still to be the head of the colony, had of course the largest portion allotted to him. Having thus acquired the means of rewarding past services, as well as of gaining new adherents, he parcelled out his lands with this view; binding those on whom they were bestowed, to resort to his standard with a number of men, in proportion to the extent of the territory which they received, and to bear arms in his defence. His chief officers imitated the example of the sovereign, and in distributing portions of their lands among their dependents, annexed the same condition to the grant. Thus a feudal kingdom resembled a military establishment, rather than a civil institution. The victorious army cantoned out in the country which it had seized, continued ranged under its proper officers, and subordinate to military command. The names of a soldier and of a freeman were synonimous. Every proprietor of land, girt with a sword, was ready to march at the summons of his superior, and to take the field against the common enemy. During the rigour of feudal government, the great body of the lower people was reduced to servitude. They were slaves, fixed to the soil which they cultivated; and, together with it, were transferred from one proprietor to another by sale or by conveyance. The spirit of feudal policy did not favour the infranchisement of that order of men. It was an established maxim, that no vassal could legally diminish the value of a fief, to the detriment of the lord from whom he had received it. In consequence of this, manumission by the autho-

rity of the immediate master was not valid; and unless it was confirmed by the superior lord of whom he held slaves belonging to the fief, these did not acquire a complete right to their liberty. Thus it became necessary to ascend, through all the gradations of feudal holding, to the king, the lord paramount. A form of procedure so tedious and troublesome discouraged the practice of manumission. Domestic or personal slaves often obtained liberty from the humanity or beneficence of their masters, to whom they belonged in absolute property. The condition of slaves fixed to the soil was much more unalterable.—(*View of the Progress of Society in Europe.*)

7. The dukes or governors of provinces, the marquises employed to guard the marches or borders, and even the counts entrusted with the administration of justice; says Russell, all originally officers of the crown, had made themselves masters of their duchies, marquisates, and counties. The king indeed, as superior lord, still received homage from them for those lands which they held of the crown, and which, in default of heirs, returned to the royal domain. He had the right of calling them out to war, of judging them in his court by their assembled peers, and of confiscating their estates in case of rebellion; but, in all other respects, they themselves enjoyed their rights of royalty. They had their sub-vassals or subjects, they made laws, held courts, coined money in their own names, and levied war against their private enemies. The people, the most numerous, as well as the most useful class in the community, were either actual slaves, or exposed to so many miseries, arising from pillage and oppression; that many of them made a voluntary surrender of their liberty for bread and protection. What must have been the state of that government, where slavery was an eligible condition!—(*Hist. Modern Europe.*) That, says Paine, which is called aristocracy in some countries, and nobility in others, arose out of the governments founded in conquest. It was originally a military order for the purpose of supporting military government.—(*Rights of Man.*) This much will perhaps be considered sufficient, as to the origin of our titles of honour, or rather of dishonour.

8. With regard to the distinctions of rank mentioned in the Bible, the government of the Hebrews under the judges, was a democracy. Most of the other great nations of antiquity mentioned in sacred or profane history, were, as has already been intimated, despotic monarchies. The chief persons in nations alluded to in sacred writ, are in the original distinguished by their names of office;—thus, at the court of Pharoah, we read of 'the chief of the butlers' and 'the chief of the bakers.' And at the court of David, that 'Joab was over all the host of Israel, and Benaiah the son of Jehoiada was over the Cherethites and over the Pelethites; and Adoram was over the tribute; and

Jehoshaphat the son of Ahilud was recorder; and Sheva was scribe; and Zadok and Abiathar were the priests.' Persons are also distinguished by words denoting eminence, as the sacred historian tells us, that Ira the Jairite was a 'chief ruler' about David. The application of our words princes, dukes, lords, and nobles, being principally to those who among us are permitted to form a hereditary legislative; and such a body having been almost or altogether unknown among the nations alluded to in sacred writ; these terms are, therefore, wholly inapplicable to the chief men among them, and especially the Hebrews whilst their government was democratic. When speaking of these people or the modern North Americans, consequently, it is accurate to designate principal persons among them only by their names of office, as judges or presidents; or by words denoting eminence, as chief men, &c.

9. Every one conversant with languages, knows that there are words in the dialect of every people which are not capable of being translated into that of any other; who have not a perfect conformity with them, in the customs or sentiments which have given rise to those words. These observations scarcely apply to any word more forcibly than our word *king*. In the translation of the bible, chief magistrates, except the judges, however appointed, or whatever their power, are usually called kings. Thus, whether in reference to men, many of whom could only have had an inconsiderable number of retainers, as some or all the seventy kings, spoken of in the book of Judges; the chief magistrates of Israel, as David or Solomon, or the Roman emperors, as has been said, all are called kings. A similar thing occurs in the translation of the Bible into the Russian language, where we find the word czar instead of our word king. Thus we read of the czar Solomon, the czar David. The office of the British and Russian chief magistrates, and those alluded to in the Bible, being of a very different nature; the reader who is not acquainted with the Hebrew and the Greek, by substituting the word ruler for king wherever it occurs, will have a more accurate idea of the office of the person to whom allusion is made. Thus, we may speak of the emperor of Russia and the president of North America, as the rulers of their respective countries; but it would be improper to talk of an emperor of America, or a president of Russia. In scripture, says Watson, many persons are called kings whom we should rather denominate chiefs or leaders; and many single towns, or at most together with their adjacent villages, are said to have had kings. We find in Joshua, that almost every town in Canaan had its king,—and we know that the territories of these towns must have been very inconsiderable. Adonibezek himself, no very powerful king, mentions seventy kings

whom he had subdued and mutilated.—*(Bib. Dicty. Art. King.)*

10. The Hebrew word rendered in our Bible *prince*, primarily signifies to minister, and in the original is equally applicable to those who administered in religious and in secular affairs. The chief of the persons called the princes of Israel, heads of the houses of their fathers, were the lineal descendants of the twelve patriarchs; and had no more political power, than the whole nation chose to award them, nor were they distinguished by greater wealth. When arrived at old age, if of unexceptionable character, we may suppose they were usually appointed magistrates; and perhaps held office under the judges and kings. Our word prince gives, therefore, a most incorrect notion of them. The person whom we so designate, is in our translation called a king's son, and he is denoted in the Hebrew by an equivalent phrase. Here, therefore, our translators are correct. Hence we see their inaccuracy in designating the principal men among the democratic Hebrews as princes; because the reader of the Bible who understands no language but English, justly considers, that according to our phraseology, he only should be styled a prince, who is the son of a sovereign. The persons among the Hebrews, improperly called by our translators princes, were also called elders; a term, if we mistake not, applied to all the principal old men by the Hebrews. We also read of the *nobles* of the children of Israel. The word nobles should have been rendered select, or chief men; either being the proper translation of the Hebrew. These miscalled nobles were, of course, elders. The Hebrew word rendered *duke*, should have been translated chief, chieftain, or head man.

11. The application of our word *lord*, in reference to man, in our translation of the Bible, is incorrect. The original word usually translated into lord, is *adon* in the Hebrew, of the Old; and *kyrios* in the Greek, of the New Testament: words whose real signification is master. Sometimes our translators render adon and kyrios by our word *sir*. Whenever the term lord, as applied to man, is found in either the Old or New Testaments, it should be rendered by one of the three following modes:—master,—sir,—or a word denoting eminence. Thus, for example, we read that Jacob sent messengers to his brother Esau and commanded them, saying,—'Thus shall ye speak unto my lord Esau.' This should have been rendered—my master Esau. Elsewhere we read that Ephron answered Abraham;—'Nay, my lord, hear me.' This should have been,—Nay, sir, or nay, master, hear me. At the interview between Abraham's servant and Rebekah, '*the servant* ran to meet her, and said—Let me, I pray thee, drink a little water of thy pitcher: and she said, Drink, *my lord*.'—With what propriety can the phrase my

lord be applied to a servant? Had our translators put, Drink, sir, this would have been correct. Rebekah knew not to whom she spake, or she might have avoided any compellation. There is an account in Ezra of the king, his counsellors, and his lords. The word lords should here have been rendered, chief men or principal officers. Mark tells us of Herod giving a supper to his lords and other persons: here also the word lords should have been rendered chief men; or our word grandees gives perhaps the best idea. With the ancients the application of *kyrios*, or *adon*, being intended as a term of respect, it might have been applied between any two persons, however high, or any almost, however low; but the person adopting it applying it as a compliment to the person addressed, it was not used by a person of higher rank to one of lower. Among us it is different: any one who is entitled to be called my lord, is so addressed by his inferiors, equals, or superiors; thus the king, addressing his nobles, says,—My lords. Our word sir, may, however, be adopted between any two persons not having titles; the persons using it applying it as a term of compliment.

12. The reader will therefore recollect, that in reading the Bible, when the principal persons of nations are alluded to, they are in the Hebrew and Greek designated by names of office, or words denoting eminence; that the word which we render king, will be understood by supplying its place with the word ruler; the words princes, dukes, lords, or nobles; with words denoting eminence, or as to princes, the phrase ruler's sons. And when the word lord or lords is applied by one or more than one person, addressing another or others; the word master or sir, or the plural of these words, should be substituted: it being just as inaccurate to apply to the president of North America, the word emperor; as to the democratic Hebrews, our word, lord or lords. Any one desirous of further information, may consult the seventh preliminary dissertation of Dr. Campbell's Translation of the Four Gospels; from which are derived some of the preceding observations. It may be necessary to add, that all language whatever is, from the beginning, of human invention. (*Gen.* ii. 19—*Zeph.* iii. 91.)

13. When the infatuated Israelites cried out for a ruler similar to the surrounding nations, the Divine Being, by the mouth of Samuel, thus addressed them:—'This will be the manner of the king that shall reign over you: he will take your sons and appoint them for himself, for his chariots, and to be his horsemen, and some shall run before his chariots. And he will appoint him captains over thousands, and captains over fifties; and will set them to ear his ground, and to reap his harvest; and to make his instruments of war, and instruments of his chariots. And he will take your daughters to be confectionaries, and to be cooks, and to be bakers. And he will take your fields and your

vineyards, and your olive yards, even the best of them, and give them to his servants. And he will take the tenth of your seed, and of your vineyards, and give to his officers and to his servants. And he will take your men-servants, and your maid-servants, and your goodliest young men, and your asses; and put them to his work. He will take the tenth of your sheep, and ye shall be his servants. And ye shall cry out in that day because of your king, which ye shall have chosen you. And the Lord will not hear you in that day.'

14. In modern times, not only do chief magistrates do the things alluded to by Samuel, but in a less or greater degree, every hereditary legislator and his connections: that, instead of a nation having one chief and his parasites to satisfy, it has hundreds, and all their sycophants! who must in some way or the other, have their mouths stopped. The effect being, as we have seen, not simply to abstract from the wealth produced; but greatly to diminish this quantity, and then most unequally to divide what is produced! (v. 162.) In a state of things where the engrossing the political right, and the land, and taxing men as hereditary legislators please, are impracticable; titles become altogether valueless. They do even under an unrighteous constitution, unless those to whom they apply, are allowed through their instrumentality to enrich themselves. In proof of this, let any one ask ten Parisian day labourers, whether each would rather be nicknamed marquis, or duke; or have half-a-crown given to him; and it cannot be doubted, that all the sensible ones would choose the latter. Things which are the ordinary concomitants of titles—namely, an undue share of political influence, and through that an undue share of the land, and the miscalled rights of taxing men, have no necessary connexion. Men may be called dukes, though they are parish paupers; just as they may have political power, property in the land, or either the miscalled or real right of levying taxes; without being called dukes, or by any other titles. If titles did not serve the purpose of hoodwinking the ignorant, not only would they not be tolerated by those who have them not; but it is impossible to suppose that even those who have them would nickname one another, as schoolboys do, if there was nothing thereby to be gained.

15. Suppose a host of Spaniards were to invade France without the slightest lawful cause, sparing neither sex nor age, murdering many females, and worse than murdering others. That after having subjugated it, the Spanish chiefs were to divide the greater part of the land among themselves, and call their leaders, names designating them wholesale robbers and murderers; and that the principal leader was to constitute himself the chief magistrate; the other leaders becoming a hereditary legislative. That a century or two after, the descendants of these

leaders, in order that they might more easily tax the people of France, should allow part of them to return an elected legislative. And the descendants of the Spaniards, mixing themselves up with some of the descendants of the French, maintained this system of things for a thousand years: namely, an hereditary executive and legislative, and elected legislative emanating from part of the people. It is evident, that as the foundation of it was most iniquitous, the maintenance of it was equally so throughout. And so far from considering the leaders' names, or the names of any of those following them in subsequent generations, whether as chief magistrates or members of the hereditary legislative, as titles of honour; they ought to be regarded as precisely the reverse, and in the highest degree. *A system commencing in robbery and murder, and maintained throughout by robbery, assuredly can have in it nothing honourable!* Every man in France, whether a descendant of Frenchmen or the invading Spaniards, or both, who in any age accepted a title, would evince to all the world, that he was *a most dishonourable man;* in maintaining a system which violated the rights of his countrymen, by abstracting from multitudes their equal share of the political right; thus preventing them from appointing such a legislative and executive, as would supersede the unrighteous constitution under which they unfortunately groaned. This is a just view of those miserable nonentities called *Titles of Honour.* If to nonentities any names at all can be applied,—assuredly, they should be called TITLES OF DISHONOUR.

16. Let us imagine a king of the French under the circumstances we have been supposing, thinking one of those about him a cleverer fellow than ordinary, to determine to seek his assistance; and for this purpose to constitute him an hereditary legislator, and give him a title. Ostensibly, the king's determination is simply made known to the public in the usual manner. But what passes privately? or if it does not take place, it is so well understood, as not to be mentioned:—why obviously something to the following import. The king of the French thus addresses the person to be titled:—My ancestors and myself, a number of titled persons and others, have for ages engrossed the political right, and thereby much of the land, taxed the nation as we pleased, and done various other things; in opposition to all righteous law. You will be able to assist in maintaining the system, the principal means of which are, to keep the great body of the people as ignorant and debased as possible. If any of them get refractory, we, you know, silence them with the bayonet or the halter; or if the opposers become numerous, a less or greater quantity of grape, cannister, or other shot, usually does the business. If, however, the opposition becomes greater than can be withstood; and I, you, and the rest of our

party that lead the nation by the nose, find it impossible to do so any longer, and that our heads are in danger; we must cry out to each other,—"Save himself who can." The many may be left to dispute and fight with one another. Various symptoms have lately appeared, which evince that they do not intend to let things go on as they have done. It cannot be denied that, if all our party were at the antipodes, the country would be unspeakably better off: that is, if it had sense and virtue enough to supersede the wretched system we patronize, by a righteous one. But that matters not: if there are any new measures that you can think of to preserve things in their present state, they should be adopted. Your name, I believe, is John Nokes: you shall now be called Baron Munchausen, unless you prefer any other title; and as an encouragement, you may have more animals painted on your coach than any baron ever had. All the people about me, will call you by your new name, as they are all anxious to support the present system. Whether the generality of the nation will so designate you, it is impossible to say, until they are tried. My ancestors and myself have nicknamed several hundreds, and no difficulty has yet been found; but as I have intimated, it is doubtful whether these things will go on much longer as they have done. Those villanous printing-presses, will I fear, be the destruction of our whole class. I shall therefore dismiss you with a similar admonition the English quaker gave his son, on his going into the world:—"My son, get money; honestly if you can,—nevertheless get money."—So say I. As far as you are concerned, maintain the present system by gentle means if possible; nevertheless let it be maintained. And thus much for the address of the king of the French, to the new-made baron.

17. Let us consider in what way a country requires some of the services of the different members of its great family, for the common benefit. A nation is obnoxious to evils internally and externally. Hence arise what the world calls, or rather miscalls, great statesmen, as well as warriors. To the most conspicuous of these, are awarded the distinctions of titles, &c. With regard to the internal state of countries, he who will study history and the present state of the world with due attention; will, we believe find, that very much of the disorder that has affected, and continues to affect it, is to be traced to the conduct of the leaders of mankind themselves, as has been intimated. To prevent these disorders bursting forth—statesmen, legislators, and politicians of unusual ability, are we see, required. The necessity for these persons might never have existed, but for the conduct of themselves and their predecessors. Their ignorance, folly, and wickedness, put a whole nation into a less or greater degree of confusion. And then all the talents men can muster, with threats of the bayonet and the halter, and the occasional

use of them, are necessary to prevent tumults, civil wars, and revolutions. In addition to what has been elsewhere advanced, two examples will evince the truth of these observations. Lord Chesterfield, speaking of Sir Robert Walpole, says,—"When he found any body proof against pecuniary templations, which alas! was but seldom, he had recourse to a still worse art; for he laughed at and ridiculed all notions of public virtue and the love of one's country, calling them 'the chimerical school-boy flights of classical learning;' declaring himself at the same time 'no saint, no Spartan, no reformer.'—He would frequently ask young fellows at their first appearance in the world, while their honest hearts were yet untainted:—'Well, are you to be an old Roman? a patriot? you will soon come off that and grow wiser.'" The same author, speaking of Henry Fox, afterwards Lord Holland, says,—"He had not the least notion of or regard for the public good, or the constitution; but despised those cares as the objects of narrow minds or the pretences of interested ones, and he lived as Brutus died, calling virtue only a name."

18. That those who rule will be accounted worthy of double honour, is undoubtedly a sound maxim. And it is an equally sound one, that an extraordinary race of politicians are not necessary to conduct *righteously appointed* human governments. In every town are to be found men, who if they made a right use of their capacities, and humbly endeavoured to follow the example of the Most High, would be perfectly competent to carry on the government of a nation; and who would look down with utter contempt, on such miserable inventions as Titles of Honour. To deny what is here asserted, is to affirm that the Divine Being has so constituted things; that men can evince great ability, principally or only, when wickedness abounds. Hence we see, that rewarding those that are usually called great statesmen with titles and their concomitants, is one of the sad evidences of the wickedness of mankind. Official persons connected with the government of nations, are but the framers and executors of penal statutes;—in France the king being at the head, and the gentleman who works the guillotine, at the bottom of their class. If any honour is due to the former, some unquestionably is to the latter. As the occupation of a weaver who manufactures broad cloth is a commendable one, that also of the tailor who makes coats must be of the same character. Even under a righteous constitution of things, as the only object for which government is maintained, is to prevent men's infringing one another's rights; (thus evincing the depravity of mankind;) little ground is afforded for honourable distinction. The less the wickedness of human nature is obtruded on men, except as a warning, the better. This, then, being so with legislators under a righteous constitution, how much more must it be so under an unrighteous one; where the

legislators themselves are the prime causes of very much of the unrighteousness, that deluges the land they misrule!! (vi. 119.)

19. With regard to the rewards bestowed on eminent warriors, it may be observed as to every war that arises, there must be, on the part of one of the combatants at least, perhaps both, an utter ignorance of the rights of men; or where these are understood, an atrocious determination to violate such rights, on the part of those who provoke the war. Men do not stand up and fire at each other in sport. In every war one party must be an aggressor, and after it has commenced both are generally wrong-doers. With nations, however, who adopt Titles of Honour, stars, ribbons, armorial bearings, &c.,—these things are showered down on the successful generals of both sides; however atrociously wicked the conduct of either or both the belligerents may have been. Let it be supposed, it is agreed by virtuous men of all nations and ages, that for a man to ride in a coach, with an escutcheon containing the representation of a menagerie; is one of the noblest rewards a nation can confer on its most deserving sons. Let it also be supposed, that a nation—Spain, for instance, had been invaded in the most unjustifiable manner by the Portuguese; and that a certain Spanish general, at the head of his countrymen, drove the invaders out of his country, evincing himself to be among the bravest of the brave; and every way deserving all that a grateful country could do for him. And as one of the acknowledgments for his services, he is allowed to have the menagerie drawn on his coach. If, years after the termination of hostilities, the Spanish general goes in a friendly way to Portugal, or some Portuguese were thus to go to Spain; and in either case, the Portuguese, ignorant or forgetful of the particulars of that which might have occurred before they were born, were to ask,—Whence it happens that the Spanish general is so much distinguished above his countrymen? and were told the cause;—every one must see the gross indelicacy of parading before the eyes of men, for generations, the memorials of their ancestors' wickedness. Except finding a place in the page of the enlightened and honest historian, such matters should therefore be consigned to oblivion. Whether Titles of Honour, armorial bearings, or any other distinctions are adopted, they are all liable to the same objections.

20. Besides statesmen and warriors, titles are sometimes granted to quite a different class of persons. Thus, part of the oppressing system in some countries, is to restrict the members of the family that rule the nation, from marrying any but a few particular persons. Apart from those thus united, disliking each other from ordinary causes, the unnatural constraint to which they are liable, is frequently of itself sufficient to gene-

rate aversion. Hence arise separations and adulteries. The issue of such adulterous connections having to be provided for, titles, &c. are granted to them. Whether, therefore, we consider titles as conferred on such issue, on statesmen for enslaving their countries, on warriors that are amongst the most sanguinary monsters that ever disgraced human nature, or the bravest of men, they are altogether such as no virtuous man should accept. That concomitant of a title, a seat in a hereditary legislative assembly, only affording a man an opportunity of trampling on the rights of his brethren, and thus causing him to be guilty of high treason to the government of Heaven, obviously cannot be a suitable mode of rewarding a good man. And as such a man must be much more anxious about his own children, than about his posterity to be born ages after he has left the world; why, it may be asked—should not rewards be distributed among all his children, instead of bestowing them almost entirely on the eldest, who may be one of the most worthless of men? For as it would be a monstrous injustice to punish a son for the misdeeds of his father, it must be equally preposterous to bestow extraordinary rewards for the good deeds of a parent. If then, this would be so as to a man's own father, how absurd must it be to punish men for misdeeds of their remoter ancestors; and it is not more so, to punish a man for any and all the iniquity, committed by each of a hundred generations that have preceded him, than it is to reward him, by bestowing honours or immunities on his descendants, for a hundred generations that are to follow him. All the hundred may be the most abandoned of men. Whatever, therefore, may be the wretched inventions of men, it is not thus with the Most High. He rewards every man according to his own works, and not those of another.

21. All the men that ever came or ever shall come into the world, having but one thing to do—namely, with the utmost diligence to acquire the knowledge and practice of their duty in their several callings—all deserve reward if they faithfully discharge such duty. If, then, eminent warriors and statesmen should be distinguished, the same rule ought to be applied to every other class, and assuredly to none more so than the faithful preachers of the gospel. If they can pursue their avocations without titles of honour, it cannot be doubted that other callings can go on quite as well, though titles were never known. If any men in the world ever merited the highest rewards, those persons were the apostles; but we do not find any titles were ever conferred on them. It may indeed be said that our Lord, being unconnected with the Roman government, had not the means of affording these distinctions. There was nothing to prevent his instituting some badge, if he had thought proper. We indeed find he did institute a distinction. (*John* xiii. 35.)

It was one wholly in opposition to the things under consideration.

22. Paul speaks of journeying into Spain. Were he now there,—can it be imagined he would think it any distinction to be allowed to ride in a coach, with the head of a boar, or the tail of a dog, painted on it; or if part of an animal is not enough, a whole one, or a whole menagerie? Or to wear a diamond cross, or be nicknamed the duke of Madrid; or to participate in all the honours, or rather dishonours of the kind, that were ever heard of in all the ages and countries of the world. Let us hear this great Christian hero speak for himself. 'I determined,' says he, to the Corinthians, 'not to know any thing among you, save Jesus Christ, and him crucified.' To the Phillipians, he says, 'What things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ. Yea, doubtless, and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus, my Lord,—for whom I have suffered the loss of all things, and do count them but dung that I may win Christ.' And to the Galatians, 'God forbid that I should glory, save in the cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, by whom the world is crucified unto me, and I unto the world.' So far from this eminent servant of Heaven, allowing himself to be *dishonoured* with any miscalled titles of honour, or their wretched concomitants; to apply the language elsewhere quoted, (v. 117.) he would, we may suppose, much rather say to the Spaniards—'Mine eye runneth down with rivers of water.' 'Mine eye trickleth down, and ceaseth not without any intermission,' at the sound of such abominations. In them, I behold only a sad monument of the gross and general apostacy of mankind, from their Great Creator. At one age of the world, it was said to have been 'filled with violence,' and that 'all flesh had corrupted his way upon the earth.' At a far distant period, it was said, 'the whole world lieth in wickedness.' At this moment, eighteen hundred years after the last mournful truth was uttered, I am under the sad necessity of repeating that 'the whole world lieth in wickedness.' That it is in a less or greater degree 'filled with violence.' I want no other evidence to convince me, than the offer of a title of honour and its concomitants. For how could these exist, but by some of the members of the Spanish nation engrossing the political right, and thereby reducing multitudes to slavery, in utter contravention of the law of God; which, so far from permitting in any nation, the few to pauperize and enslave the many; declares, that if with one exception only, the whole human race of all generations were to combine to injure a single hair of that one's head, they would all be guilty of high treason to the government of Heaven? And thus much for Paul's address to the Spaniards.

23. When we recollect that the introduction of sin into the

world, was the cause of temporal death passing on all men; and when we consider the loathsomeness of a dead body fast returning to the dust from which it sprang—it might be supposed, that men would be desirous, with the least possible display, decently to put away from them that which must on every account excite mournful sensations. And that the inventions and abominations of the rich and miscalled great, would terminate with their lives; but we find even in death, the rage for still keeping up the little momentary superiority the defunct enjoyed through life, continues unabated in the survivors; and expensive funerals, monuments, &c. are among the inventions of men. The condemnation of expensive monuments may seem somewhat invidious; but let it be remembered, that whatever may be the belief of the reader as to the state of the soul after death, whether it goes into a state of happiness or misery, as men have deserved well or ill; or finds a refuge for a certain period in insensibility; these monuments will appear but miserable absurdities. Is it for a moment to be imagined, that the knowledge, that the pyramids of Egypt were building in commemoration of Lazarus, could in the remotest conceivable degree have added to his felicity, when reclining on Abraham's bosom? Or, on the contrary, would the rich man's being told they were designed for him, in any degree have alleviated one pang? If any suppose the soul to be insensible for a time after death,—building expensive monuments will in no degree revive its dormant consciousness.

24. But it may be argued, that monumental honours are due to the surviving relatives of those to whose memory they are erected. The merit of others is but a sad substitute for the want of it in ourselves. It may also be urged, that such honours are a necessary incentive to memorable actions to mankind in general. To this we reply, that he whose patriotism is so inert as to require them, will never be of much benefit to his country. Tacitus, speaking of one of the German nations, observes, that their funerals have neither pomp nor vain ambition. When the bodies of illustrious men are to be burned, they choose a particular kind of wood for the purpose, and have no other attention. The funeral pile is neither strewed with garments, nor enriched with fragrant spices. The arms of the deceased are committed to the flames, and sometimes his horse. A mound of turf is raised to his memory, and this, in their opinion, is a better sepulchre than those structures of laboured grandeur, which display the weakness of human vanity, and are at best a burden to the dead. Tears and lamentations are soon at an end, but their regret does not so easily wear away. To grieve for the departed, is comely in the softer sex. The women weep for their friends, the men remember them.—(*Manners of the Germans.*) Captain Snelgrave, in his account of some parts of Guinea,

speaks of preparations for a curious kind of monument at Dahome. The soldiers, says he, brought some thousands of dead people's heads into the court, hanging on strings; and as the officers received them, they paid the officers five shillings for each. Then several people carrying them away, threw them to a great heap of heads that lay near the camp, with which the linguist told them his majesty designed to build a monument.—(*Astley's Voyages and Travels*, 4 vols. 4to. Lond. 1745.)

25. When, says Addison, I look upon the tombs of the great, every emotion of envy dies within me: when I read the epitaphs of the beautiful, every inordinate desire goes out: when I meet with the grief of parents upon a tomb-stone, my heart melts with compassion; when I see the tomb of the parents themselves, I consider the vanity of grieving for those whom we must quickly follow: when I see kings lying by those who deposed them, when I consider rival wits placed side by side, or the holy men that divided the world with their contests and disputes; I reflect with sorrow and astonishment on the little competitions, factions, and debates of mankind. When I read the several dates of the tombs of some that died yesterday, and some six hundred years ago, I consider that great day when we shall all of us be contemporaries, and make our appearance together.—(*Spectator.*)

26. If freemen are fighting against the invaders of their rights, we doubt not that a hundred generals may be found to lead them on to victory. The well-earned thanks of their countrymen, the approbation of their own consciences, the conviction that the historic page will confer an unfading immortality on great deeds, and extend their fame to the remotest bounds of the earth; and the hope that their conduct is favourably regarded by Heaven, must be an ample recompence for the brightest deeds of valour. If this is not so, patriotism must indeed be at its lowest ebb; and all that is honourable to human nature, must be banished from among men. The absurdity of employing the means we are considering, and thus apportioning extravagant rewards to some, and leaving the many almost or altogether without, is obvious; it being impossible to question, that very many, if they had had the same opportunity, would have done as well, and perhaps surpassed those who are so highly rewarded. If the former in their particular stations have done their utmost, and could not do more from want of opportunity only, the merit being equal, so ought the reward. Not to insist, on the utter impossibility of any human beings, being able to judge as to great warriors; who, in the midst of the appalling conflicts which they encounter, have deserved best of their country. The folly of attempting to mete out rewards wholly disproportionate under any possible circumstances, and under an invincible ignorance of those who are most deserving, must be abundantly evident. No man doubts the bravery of

our common soldiers and sailors, and they never require the incentives we are considering; if indeed they can be so called. It is not the least argument in favour of titles and their concomitants, to affirm that good deeds have been performed by those who possessed, or have received them. Had the actors been truly virtuous men, they might have performed all such deeds, though such things had never been heard of among men. The connection of any thing beneficial with titles, &c. is, therefore, merely accidental, such connection not being in the slightest imaginable degree conducive to the good attained. A single example will be sufficient in illustration. Can any one suppose the American patriot, Washington, would have done more than he did for his country; if he could have had bestowed on him a waggon load of ribbons, crosses, &c., and as many titles as would fill a folio volume?

27. Could we accurately ascertain the various modes of publicly honouring men, that have been adopted in all ages and nations; and could we also procure lists of the names of all to whom such honours have been awarded; and compare the number with the whole aggregate of mankind:—assuredly, every thing that has been written by the most cynical of moralists of all nations and ages; every thing that is to be found in holy writ relative to the gross, universal, and ever existing immorality of mankind;—all that has emanated from men, with all that has emanated from Heaven, on this deeply interesting subject, would utterly lose all their poignancy; when compared with that most severe of all satires, the human honours, of what nature and kind soever, whenever, and wherever awarded:—if it can for a moment be imagined, that they have been truly bestowed on the deserving only, and that none who have merited well of their fellow men, have been forgotten; which ought to be the case in a right constitution of things, if such honours are of any real worth.

28. All human actions must have a motive, and the only pure one, is, with perfect singleness of heart, to love God and our fellow creatures. Whatever arises not from this, is unholy; to use the language of Paul, 'Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.' That men may be the authors, from unworthy motives, of what appear to the world great actions, is abundantly obvious. It is also manifest, that what is of nothing worth in the sight of Heaven, should be so in that of men. To the good man, praise and reward from those who must necessarily be ignorant of his real merits, are of little worth. And as we must necessarily often be wholly ignorant of the motives of each other, we should act much more properly, if we were not so forward to lavish rewards. The objects of them may be wholly without desert. A man in the humblest station may be highly esteemed by God, whilst he who is lauded to the skies by his fellow creatures, may

be most obnoxious to the divine indignation; and probably from *the very conduct to which he owes his elevation.* The iniquity of which, though hidden from human eye, cannot be concealed from Omniscience. 'Woe unto you,' says our Lord to his hearers, 'when all men shall speak well of you!' To such as love 'the praise of men more than the praise of God,' it is to little purpose to address any thing; but those of an opposite character, may be exhorted to remember; that he who endeavours to deserve the good opinion of the better part of mankind, the satisfaction of his own conscience, and the favour of Heaven, 'shall in no wise lose his reward.' The Divine Being has declared, *To me belongeth recompence!*

29. It is highly derogatory to him, who is the 'King eternal, immortal, invisible, the only wise God;' 'the blessed and only Potentate, the King of kings, and Lord of lords; who only hath immortality dwelling in the light, which no man can approach unto; whom no man hath seen nor can see, to whom be honour and power everlasting':—for any thing that has the least resemblance to the homage paid to him, to be shewn to a human being; as, whoever he may be, and whatever other men may say of him or to him, he is, in the sight of Heaven, on the strictest equality with other men. The Holy Spirit predicting that the Israelites would cry out for such a chief magistrate as the surrounding nations had, directs him diligently to study the Mosaic code; among other reasons, 'that his heart be not lifted up above his brethren.' And our Lord, though addressed by the simple title, 'Good Master,' declined it; saying to the person who so styled him, 'Why callest thou me good? there is none good but one,—that is God.' And on another occasion, our Lord said,—'I receive not honour from men.' Surely, if a nation cannot refrain from following the miserable example of the Israelites, it should have more consideration for its chief magistrate, than to endeavour to turn the unfortunate man's brain; by so far lifting him above his brethren, as to bow to and address him as they do the Lord God Almighty, applying to a mere mortal terms equivalent to the following,—My Lord;—Your Grace;—Our Gracious King;—Your Majesty, &c.—(*Ps.* xxxv. 23; *Heb.* iv. 16; *Jonah*, iv. 2; *Heb.* i. 3.) Mr. Finlayson, speaking of the audience given by the king of Siam, at Bankok, to the mission to which he was attached, says,—The whole multitude present lay prostrate on the earth, their mouths almost touching the ground; not a body or limb was observed to move,—not an eye was directed towards us,—not a whisper agitated the solemn and still air. It was the attitude, the silence, the solemnity of the multitude simultaneously addressing the great God of the universe, rather than the homage of even an enslaved people! Not even Rome, fertile in the race of tyrants, nor Dionysius himself, ever produced

any degradation to compare with this ignominy.—(*Mission to Siam and Hué*, 1826.) The heathens, says Paine, paid divine honours to their deceased kings; and the Christian world hath improved on the plan, by doing the same to their living ones. How impious is the title of Sacred Majesty applied to a worm, who, in the midst of his splendour, is crumbling into dust!—(*Common Sense.*)

30. The miserable absurdity of titles and their concomitants, is in nothing more apparent than the varying conduct of nations with regard to them. Whilst some countries have so justly regarded them, as almost, or altogether to avoid their introduction; others, as Niebuhr informs us, of the Bedouin scheicks, consider their nobility incommunicable, and not to be conferred by any sovereign prince.—(*Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels.*) In another nation, the opinion is so opposite, that we find nobility conferred not on one man only, but all his relations. In 1678, the emperor of China gave Verbiest, the Jesuit, the title of Ta-jin, or great man, by patent, extending it to all his kindred.—(*Astley's Col.*) Among the Siamese, nobility is not hereditary; and the useless, or corrupt subject, is deprived of those distinctions with which the country had rewarded the services of his ancestors.—(*Turpin in Pinkerton.*) In opposition to this, we find the emperor of China entails titles for five, six, eight, or ten generations.—(*Astley's Col.*) And still farther opposed to the Siamese, we find some European nations entailing titles on all succeeding generations.—The latter Grecians, says a celebrated writer, inquired into the nobility of the father only; thinking a king's issue by any concubine, as good as one by the noblest queen.—(*Selden.*) By an old custom of Paris, Orleans, &c., if a man were not noble from his father, yet were he so eighteen hundred generations on the mother's side,—such a one being suffered to be made a knight, his lord may cause his spurs to be cut off upon a dunghill. By a fundamental law of France, none but males are admitted to ascend the throne, excluding women and the males descending from them.—(*Favine's Theatre of Honour.*) In opposition to this, on the coast of Malabar, children were only capable of being noble by the mother's side; it having been allowed them to take as many husbands as they pleased, and to quit them when they thought fit.—(*Rees' Cyclopædia, Art. Nobility*). In Spain, nobility is hereditary in the female as well as the male line, provided the letters of creation do not express the contrary. (*Bourgoing's Modern State of Spain.*) Formerly, in some countries of Europe, a man could not be made a knight, without three generations of his ancestors having been noble, both on the father's and mother's side.—(*Favine.*) In opposition to this, and to the exclusion of females from the throne, we find in one European nation, that they are

eligible; and so far from any necessity for nobility existing in a man's ancestors, the sovereign may call his tailor a duke, and if such tailor marries a street-walker, they may be the progenitors of a race of dukes and legislators. The Polish nobility were all equal. In other nations we find four, or possibly more gradations of title,—if gradations can exist in nonentities.

31. Having thus seen some of the opinions of different nations as to who are accounted noble, let us next solicit the reader's attention to the mode, by which those considered the more illustrious among men have been distinguished. The selections are simply such as happened first to present themselves. Pains have been taken to avoid being tedious, and yet to afford sufficient to illustrate the subject. Of the nations alluded to, some are of great antiquity, others are of our own times. Some extracts relate to the greater nations of the world; others, to those which are less. Some to the most polished nations; others, to those of an opposite description. As all the distinctions are, in a less or greater degree, connected with the assumption of political power, so the possessors of them were all equally amenable to Heaven for the good or ill they educed. To all those that were to be governed, it was obviously equally important, that their rulers should have been appointed in conformity with the divine will.

32. Africa, West Coast of.—The kings on the Gambra wear, on state occasions, a red or blue coat, or doublet, hung about with the tails of elephants, or other wild beasts, and small bells, bugles, and coral; having on their heads bonnets made of osier, with little horns of goats, antelopes, or bucks. Africa, Gold Coast of:—The nobility have a fraternity amongst them selves, and keep an anniversary feast. On this day they paint their bodies red and white, and wear round their necks a collar of green boughs, the whole day, as a mark of their nobility. —(*Astley's Col.*)

33. Africa.—The Ibi, a negro race, are proud of a distinction which is only permitted to the grandees. They strip off the skin an inch in breadth, from one ear to the other, so as to take away the eyebrows.—(*Selections from Foreign Literary Journals.*)

34. Africa.—The Bachapins. Mattivi, the chief of the Bachapins, was ornamented round the neck with a thick necklace of twisted sinews. On his left arm, above the elbow, were five broad rings of ivory.—(*Burchell's Travels in Africa.*)

35. Asia.—Hippocrates speaks of a people in Asia, among whom long heads were regarded as a sign of nobility, and reckoned a great beauty. Accordingly, the mothers moulded the heads of their infants, so that they lost their natural form, and became long and pointed.

36. Assyrians.—Among the Assyrians, Egyptians, Medes, and Persians, the chain of gold for the neck, and the ring of gold for the finger, were the marks of nobility.—(*Favine.*)

37. The Birmans.—The tsloe, or chain, is the badge of the order of the Birman nobility, of which there are three different degrees, distinguished by the numbers of strings, or small chains, that compose the ornament. The strings are fastened by bosses where they unite. Three of open chain-work is the lowest rank. Three of neatly twisted wire is the next. Then of six, of nine, and of twelve. No subject is ever honoured with a higher degree than twelve: the king alone wears twenty-four. Almost every article of use, as well as ornament, particularly in their dress, indicates the rank of the owner. The shape of the beetle-box, which is carried by an attendant after a Birman of distinction, wherever he goes; his ear-rings, cap of ceremony, horse-furniture, even the metal of which his spitting-pot and drinking-cup are made, (which, if it be of gold, denote him to be a man of high consideration,) all are indicative of the gradations of society, and woe be unto him that assumes the insignia of a degree which is not his legitimate right! The women, likewise, have their distinguishing paraphernalia: their hair is tied in a bunch at the top of the head, and bound round with a fillet; the embroidery and ornaments of which, express their respective ranks.—(*Symes' Embassy to Asia.*)

38. British Isles.—The men of consequence or wealth among the Anglo-Saxons, usually had expensive bracelets on their arms, and rings on their fingers. Edward the Third created his son duke of Cornwall, by a garland on his head, a ring on his finger, and a silver verge. The three pinion-feathers of the native eagle, are the distinguishing badge of a Highland chief; two, of a chieftain; and one, of a gentleman. Our peers wear, on certain occasions, peculiar dresses and fanciful caps, with leaves and pearls. They paint on their equipages, and elsewhere, beasts, birds, fishes, parts of animals, and a variety of inanimate things.

39. Canada.—The chiefs, and principal warriors, wear breast-plates, consisting of large pieces of silver, sea-shells, or the like.—(*Weld's Travels in America.*)

40. China.—None but his Majesty, the princes of the blood of the male line, and some others to whom it is given as a special mark of favour, can wear yellow.—(*Astley's Col.*) On the 2nd Feb. 1832, there being an eclipse of the sun recorded in the almanack, his Excellency, Choo, the Lieutenant-Governor of Canton, went into mourning for that day; and to humble himself, plucked the knob of rank from his official cap.---(*English Chronicle, Oct. 30th to Nov. 1st,* 1832.) The Canton Register of the 15th of October states, that Le Hung Pin, is

on his return from Pekin, with the highest honours conferred on him by the emperor. He returns with a peacock's feather added to his cap.---(*Globe, 24th Feb.* 1832.)

41. Cochin China.—The Mandarins wear a cap of peculiar form; and on a square piece of silk, on the breast of their gown, was embroidered the badge of their order. That of the military chief, was a bear; and of the man of letters, a stork.—(*Crawfurd's Embassy to Siam and Cochin China.*)

42. France.—Agriculture having been considered an ignoble employment, the chase became gradually the favourite diversion, and thence a privilege of nobility. St. Foix tells us, the carrying of a hawk upon the thumb, was particularly the symbol of nobility; and the knights took hawks with them, as they did their swords, into church. In the fourteenth century, long shoes were the characteristic of high birth and dignity in France, and other countries of Europe: kings and princes wore shoes three feet and a half in length; barons and dynasts, shoes of two feet; and common noblemen, shoes a foot and a half long.---(*Selections from Foreign Journals.*) The Franks having made themselves masters of Gaul, assumed the same authority as the Romans: the bondsmen were expressly ordered to shave their chins; and this law continued in force, until the entire abolishment of servitude in France. In the time of the first race of kings, a long beard was said to have been a sign of nobilty. Anointing was also a mark of dignity. The kings of France were anciently anointed with holy oil in seven parts of their body, the queens in two places only, at their coronation. The kings only have sealed at all times with white wax. Lewis the Eleventh, in 1458, granted, by an especial privilege, to certain noble persons to seal with white wax; as well in the kingdoms of Jerusalem and Sicily, as in his lands in France. Anciently, knights wore cloaks large and deep, which were called cloaks of honour. To ride a white horse, was formerly an emblem of dominion. Manuel, emperor of the East, and Sigismund of Germany, who visited Paris in the reign of Charles the Sixth, although they were treated with respect and munificence, yet had only black horses allotted them.

43. Granada.—Herrera notices, that among the fierce tribe of the Panches, in the new kingdom of Granada, none but distinguished warriors were permitted either to pierce their lips and to wear green stones in them, or to adorn their heads with plumes of feathers.—(*Dr. Robertson's Hist. Amer.*)

44. The Greeks.—Among these, wearing grasshoppers in their hair was a badge of nobility.—(*Ency. Brit; Art. Nobility.*)

45. Guinea, Ivory Coast of.—The people here load their legs with thick iron rings. Barbot saw blacks at Cape la How, who had above sixty pounds' weight of such rings on one leg.

They much admire the noise those rings make when they walk; and therefore, the greater a man's quality is, the more rings he wears.—(*Astley's Col.*)

46. The Hindoos.—Among these, the Nair, or, in the plural, the Naimar, are the pure Sudras of Malayala, and all pretend to be born soldiers; but they are of various ranks and professions. The highest in rank are the Kirum or Kirit Nairs. On all public occasions these act as cooks, which is a sure mark of transcendant rank; for every person can eat the food prepared by a person of higher birth than himself.—(*Buchanan's Journey through the Mysore.*)

47. The Javans.—With these, a particular kind of dress is assigned to each different rank, and there are some patterns of cloth, the use of which is prohibited, except to the royal family. The Sultan on public occasions wears a velvet hat or cap, having a golden garuda affixed at the back, and two wings of gold extending from behind the ears. The part of the body left uncovered, and the arms, are covered with a bright yellow powder.—(*Raffles' Hist. Java.*)

48. The Koreans.—The badge of nobility among these, consists of a piece of embroidery before and behind, on a garment of black silk, with a very broad scarf.—(*Hamel. in Pinkerton's Col.*)

49. The Lewchewans.—Among these are nine ranks of grandees or public officers distinguished by their caps, of which four were observed. The highest noticed, was worn by a member of the royal family; which was of a pink colour, with bright yellow lozenges. The next in dignity was the purple, then plain yellow, and the red seems to be the lowest.—(*M'Leod's Voyage of the Alceste.*)

50. Mexico.—The highest rank of nobility in Tlascala, &c., was that of Teuctli; they bored the cartilage of the nose in order to suspend from it grains of gold, which was the principal badge of this dignity.—(*Cullen's Clavigero.*)

51. The Osage Indians.—When some of these visited the house of representatives at Washington in 1805; the face of the first chief was painted all over the colour of brick dust, that of the next in rank was half reddened, another a fourth part, others were half black.

52. Otaheite.—It is considered in Otaheite a distinctive mark of regal dignity, to be every where carried about on men's shoulders. The mode of carrying the king and queen, is with their legs hanging down before, seated on the shoulders and leaning on the head of their carriers; and very frequently amusing themselves with picking out the vermin which there abound. It is the singular privilege of the queen that she alone may eat them, which privilege she never fails to make use of. Pomarre the king, and his attendants, in the afternoon visited

the house, and partook of tea with us. One of his attendants poured the tea from the cup to the saucer, and then held it to his mouth. This is the way at every meal. His dignity will not permit him to feed himself. We were surprised to see so stout a man, perhaps the largest in the whole island,—fed.—*(Missionary Voyage in the Duff.)*

53. Pelew Islands.—Captain Wilson informs us, that investing with the Bone is here the highest mark of honour; and thus describes the ceremony when he received it. The king and nobles having retired to the shade of some trees, inquired of which arm he made most general use, which having found to be the right; they took a circular bone prepared for the purpose, through which, with a good deal of trouble, they compressed his hand. After it had been fairly passed over the joints and fixed on the wrist, the king addressed him nearly as follows:—You are now invested with our highest mark of honour; and this Bone, the signal of it, you will carefully keep as bright as possible, rubbing it every day. This high mark of dignity must always be valiantly defended, nor suffered to be wrested from you, but with your life.—*(Shipwreck of the Antelope.)*

54. Persia.—The band or cydaris which formed the essential part in the old Persian diadem, was composed of purple and white; any person below the royal dignity presuming to wear those colours unsanctioned by the king, was guilty of a transgression of the law deemed equal to high treason.—*(Burder's Orient. Lit.)* Chrysostom observes, that the kings had their beards wove or matted together with gold thread.

55. Peru.—The ancient knights wore, on great occasions, scarfs of odoriferous flowers, stretching from the right shoulder and under the left arm. The high priests also, on the day of the knights' creation, made upon their foreheads a streak of blood of the beasts sacrificed; and they were privileged to wear stockings of honour and red buskins, thickly powdered with flowers of gold and silver; stockings not being used by the common people.—*(Favine.)*

56. The Romans.—The characters, letters, &c., of the emperors were written with red ink; and it was not permitted to any to make use thereof under pain of being attainted of high treason.—*(Favine.)* The nobility, by way of distinction, wore a half moon upon their shoes.—*(Ency. Brit. Art. Nobility.)* The Romans had images made either of wood, brass, or wax painted, the better to represent the persons intended; and such images were dressed out according to the quality of the persons they represented, being adorned with the robes of the offices they had borne, the marks of their magistracy. He who had the privilege of using the images and statues of his ancestors was termed nobilis; he to whom it was permitted to have his own statue or image only, was called novus; and the person

who was not allowed to have the image or statue, either of his ancestors or himself, passed under the appellation of ignobilis; as do the common people among us, who have no right to any armorial bearings: the right of keeping and exhibiting the images and statues of their ancestors to which the Romans were entitled, being hereditary in their families; and those images and statues being the allowed tokens, proofs, and evidences of their nobility and ancient descent.—(*Edmondson.*) A practice similar to the above, prevailed in modern times. On the first Monday of the fast, 1789, the death of the Doge of Venice was made known over all the city by the bells of the churches; and his figure in wax full dressed, on a bed of state, of crimson velvet, laced with gold, with his escutcheon at the feet, and at each of the four corners the banner of the republic, was publicly exposed.

57. Russia.—The Empress Elizabeth would not permit any lady to wear the same stuffs, or the same patterns, she had chosen.—(*Life of Catherine II.*) In 1581 Yermak had gained a great victory, and was honoured with the fur cloak which the czar himself had worn; it being then considered the greatest mark of distinction in Russia.—(*Captain Cochrane.*) The privileged bourgeois, who are very numerous, make a near approach to the nobles; as they are entitled to travel with four horses.—(*Courier, Feb. 4th,* 1832.)

58. The Siamese.—Among these different parasols are used, and each rank has its own. Those like ours are for the lower class. They have some which look like so many parasols one above another, and the king only may use them. The Talapoins have them of different forms, which all show their rank. —(*Turpin in Pinkerton.*)

59. The Sumatrans.—These people dye their teeth black, and the great men sometimes set theirs in gold by casing with a plate of that metal, the under row.—(*Marsden's Hist. Sumatra.*)

60. The Tartars.—Red is the colour in great esteem with them, and how ill clothed soever their princes may be in other respects, they never fail to have a scarlet robe for state occasions.—(*Astley's Col.*)

61. Tibet.—Grueber informs us that the grandees of Tibet are very eager to procure the excrements of the Grand Lama, whom they consider a divinity. These they usually wear about their necks as relics.—(*Astley's Col.*)

62. Tonquin.—Here there are two orders of nobility. From the first are taken the governors of cities and provinces, the ministers and judges: they are distinguished by their gold box; those of the second order only carry a silver one.—(*Richard in Pinkerton.*)

63. The Turks.—Among these people and the Persians, emir is a title of dignity. The emirs are of the race of Mahomet,

who for distinction's sake wear about their heads turbans of a deep sea green.—(*Ricaut.*)

64. Washington Islands.—Among all the nations of the earth, none have carried the art of tattooing to so high a degree of perfection, as the inhabitants of these islands. We saw some old men of the higher ranks who were punctured over and over, to such a degree, that the outlines of each separate figure were scarcely to be distinguished, and the body had an almost negro-like appearance. This is, according to the general idea, the height of perfection in ornament, probably because the cost of it has been very great; and it therefore shows a person of superlative wealth. The king was tattooed all over.—(*Langsdorff's Voyages and Travels.*)

ORDERS OF KNIGHTHOOD.

65. We have next to consider of orders of knighthood; the marks being ribbons, crosses, stars, &c. These are most commonly conferred on men who have distinguished themselves as great warriors. War must ever be regarded by all good men as a most tremendous evil, even when just and necessary; and entered into by such persons with the profoundest consideration. The history of different nations of the world, affords us the most frightful picture of human nature, in reference to war. So far has the passion for wholesale butchering in some nations been carried, that Dr. Gillies informs us, the early Greeks were taught to regard it as the noblest employment of man. The French, at least many of them, under their late emperor, seem to have entertained a similar opinion. Dr. Robertson informs us, that even in the civil institutions of the Mexicans, may be discovered traces of that barbarous disposition which their system of war inspired. The four chief counsellors of the empire were distinguished by titles, which could have been assumed only by a people who delighted in blood. The first was called the Prince of the Deathful Lance;—the second, the Divider of Men;—the third, the Shedder of Blood;—the fourth, the Lord of the Dark-house. This ferocity of character prevailed among all the nations of New Spain.—(*Hist. Amer.*)

66. With what impatience, says Adam Smith, does the man of spirit and ambition, who is depressed by his situation, look round for some great opportunity to distinguish himself. No circumstances which can afford this, appear to him undesirable. He even looks forward with satisfaction, to the prospect of foreign war, or civil dissension, and with secret transport and delight sees (through all the confusion and bloodshed which attend them) the probability of those wished-for occasions

presenting themselves, in which he may draw upon himself the attention and admiration of mankind.—(*Theory of Moral Sentiments.*)

67. The biographer of Catherine tells us, that the Russian order of St. George could only be obtained by generals who had gained a victory; and that Prince Potemkin was desirous of a war with Turkey, as independently of the hope of again dismembering the Ottoman empire, he was desirous of war from a private motive;—a motive which rendered it necessary to him. Though in a manner burthened with titles, honours, dignities, and crosses of knighthood; he still wished to procure the grand ribbon of the order of St. George. For the obtaining of this, he must have the command of an army, gain a victory, and consequently cause the death of a multitude of soldiers. But in the sight of the ambitious, what are the lives of several thousands of men, in comparison of an ornament that flatters their pride!—(*Life of Catherine the Second.*)

68. It is not to such characters we solicit the readers' attention, but to men of an opposite disposition; those who enter on a just war alive to all its horrors, but impelled to engage in it, from a sense of duty to their country and to God! Let us suppose such men animated with this holy patriotism, friendly to all mankind, except the disturbers of the peace of the world:—and these gallant spirits prodigal of their blood, (like the Indian of whom Hunter speaks, to whom, when his country is to be benefitted by it, death has no terrors;)—returning to the bosoms of their families, hailed as the preservers of their native land. What, it may be asked, can it be to such heroic spirits, but the grossest of insults, to offer them a bauble,—a trinket with which a school-girl would hardly be pleased? Assuredly, such miserable inventions must be regarded with utter contempt by every wise and good man! Devoutly is it to be hoped, the time is not far distant, when these toys will be consigned to their only suitable place, the nursery; and that, in allusion to them, men will say, 'When I was a child, I spake as a child, I understood as a child, I thought as a child; but when I became a man, I put away childish things.'

> Behold the child, by nature's kindly law,
> Pleas'd with a rattle, tickled with a straw:
> Some livelier plaything gives his youth delight,
> A little louder, but as empty quite;
> Scarfs, garters, gold, amuse his riper stage:
> And beads and prayer-books are the toys of age.
> Pleas'd with his bauble still, as that before;
> Till, tir'd, he sleeps,—and life's poor play is o'er.
>
> POPE.

69. What, says Dr. Brown, shall we think of the mind of that man, who, endowed with a capacity of serving God by bene-

fitting the world, in which he is placed to represent him; can derive dignity from the thought of having placed a button where a button never had been placed before; whose face glows with pride as he walks the streets with this new dignity, and who derives from the consciousness of this button—I will not say as much happiness, for I will not prostitute the noble word—but, at least, as much self-complacency as is felt in the hour of his glorious mortality, by the expiring combatant for freedom, or the martyr?—(*Lecture* 62.)

70. Captain Snelgrave, already quoted from, tells us of a curious order. Alluding to himself and party, we were, says he, surprised with the sight at the king of Dahome's gate; of forty stout men ranked in file with fusees on their shoulders, and broadswords in their hands; they had about their necks strings of dead men's teeth reaching as low as their middle, both behind and before; in such quantites as might furnish all the barber's shops in Europe. The linguist told them these were king's heroes or worthies; who were allowed to string and wear their enemies' teeth whom they had killed. And he observed to them that some had more than others, which showed their degree of worth; since it was death by their law for any one of those gentlemen to string a tooth, unless proof be first made before the proper officer that it belonged to an enemy, slain with his own hand in battle.—(*Astley's Col.*) If what this writer states be correct, the court of Dahome must have had a very high sense of honour, in making it death to add a single tooth. And these knights of the Most Noble Order of the Teeth, as we suppose they must be called, must have been among the bravest of the brave!

71. There remains to be noticed a still more remarkable order. Kolben tells us, that the Hottentots have an honourable order amongst them; consisting of such as have singly encountered and slain a wild beast. The champion is summoned to the middle of the village, where all the men wait his coming, when one of the elders duly authorized marches up to him, and p****** upon him from head to foot; pronouncing certain words.—(*Astley's Col*) Some of our great European warriors may, perhaps, consider the gentleman knighted in the way Kolben mentions, as too highly rewarded in having honours so thickly showered upon him. But we may take the liberty of observing, that for men singly to encounter lions or tigers in their native wilds and slay them also; is probably a much more serious affair than some of those may be aware of, who never had an opportunity of so highly distinguishing themselves. (61.)

72. We have been in a certain royal chapel, in which are suspended the banners and insignia of an order of knighthood; the

upper part of which chapel, from a display of those miserable inventions, has very much the appearance of a toy-shop. Can any reasonable man doubt, that such a thing is a gross profanation? If men will say unto God,—'Depart from us, for we desire not the knowledge of thy ways;'—can no other place be found for their abominations, but that a temple devoted to him must be thus desecrated?

ARMORIAL BEARINGS.

73. The original invention of these, as we are informed by Edmondson, was to distinguish principal leaders in the field, and combatants in tilts and tournaments. With regard to the former, although there might possibly have been something beneficial in the way they were employed; whatever this may have been, it must have wholly ceased at the end of a war; and their use for this purpose, is now, as is well known, superseded; among some, and perhaps all nations. The keeping up a practice which had but a temporary purpose, and which even for that seems altogether gone out of use, is therefore absurd. But it may be alleged, that heraldic distinctions are necessary to assist in keeping accurate genealogies of families, that lands, &c., may rightly descend. We never heard that the families of the Hebrews had coats of arms, though they were the most exact genealogists the world has ever known. Nothing, therefore, can be more absurd, than to maintain that the right descent of lands is in any manner facilitated by the distinctions we are considering: if we mistake not, they have never been heard of in the way they are now applied, until latter ages of the world. Besides, we have seen that all are entitled to property in the land. All, therefore, require armorial bearings. Thus, they fail peculiarly to distinguish.

74. In their present application, we apprehend it to be impossible for all the powers of men to go beyond such a consummation of folly. They are assuredly the most wretched of all wretched contrivances; whereby a few imagine they lift themselves a little higher than their brethren. Let us see what men have chosen as the marks of distinction. They have ransacked the heavens, the earth, and the sea. They use beasts, birds, fishes, plants, the human body and skeleton, parts of these, the limbs also of animals; warlike implements, household utensils, parts of dress, letters of the alphabet, and various other things. And not content with things as they do exist, they have imagined monsters: as griffins, creatures supposed to be generated between the lion and the eagle. A traveller in Africa,

speaking of the charms used among the natives, says, it is scarcely possible to imagine anything that is not applied to this purpose. The same may be affirmed of European heraldic distinctions. Whether, therefore, we look at these, the whole system of incantation, or the mythology of the ancients; it seems difficult to decide which is the greatest reproach to the human intellect. So miserably have men perverted their understandings, about the surpassing absurdities to which we are directing our attention; that the books on the subject of heraldry, peerages, knighthoods, &c., would be sufficient to form a library; and Valdescius, a Spaniard, gravely tells us, that the arms of Spain were miraculously brought from Heaven by angels.

75. To those on whom the light of the glorious gospel of Christ shines with all its resplendence; and who are exhorted to seek for glory, and honour, and immortality; it is a mournful consideration that they should be allured from them by the pursuit of worldly ambition. But if they so far deviate from the path of true honour, it is beyond measure surprising that they should adopt as one of the means of enabling them to do so, the wretched expedient of painting upon their carriages, and elsewhere, the greatest incongruities conceivable. Is there any ingenuity, however acute—any learning, however recondite—any study, however profound—any labour, however persevering, that can discover the slightest conceivable advantage in these things? Any dignity or importance they can give to the man who adopts them? Any thing ornamental, agreeable, or useful? Any way in which they can be of the smallest conceivable benefit? If we suppose the adopters of them can for a moment imagine they impart any real dignity, how pitiably shallow must be their understandings! If, again, we suppose those who are only spectators, think more highly of a man for having an owl and a gridiron, an ass and a pair of spectacles, or a griffin and a fire-shovel; (and such, and if possible, greater incongruities may be found) painted on the coach in which he rides; how low indeed must their intellectual capacity be rated. That such as are here mentioned may come together, is evident from the mode of quartering. It is, indeed, impossible to find expressions sufficiently strong to evince the unspeakable folly of the things we are considering. One man may put the escutcheon on which the owl and the gridiron are painted between a bear and a goose, or a couple of bears or geese; whilst the man on whose escutcheon the ass and the spectacles are painted, can on no account be accommodated with either bears or geese, or indeed any beasts or birds whatever; and what is a yet greater oppression on the miserably unfortunate man, not even a couple of fishes! If a man had two infant daughters, and was to give the younger a wooden, and the older a waxen doll; these would be suitable to their infantine capacities. A commoner might as well have a

wooden and a peer a waxen doll, as the Romans had :—as the commoner a coat of arms without, and the peer one with, supporters. It cannot be doubted, that the dolls, the coats of arms, and the supporters, have just the same efficacy in assisting men in the knowledge and practice of the love of God and each other.

76. The emperor of China, says a writer before quoted, sometimes ennobles a man and his kindred. The relations who are thus honoured with titles, are exceedingly proud of them, causing them to be written in several places of their dwellings, and even on the lanthorns which are carried before them, when they walk in the night-time. On the Gold Coast of Africa, when a nobleman is created, an ox is distributed among the people; and the day of the festival being over, the head of the ox is carried home to the new nobleman's house, where being painted over with different colours, and stuck with many straw charms, it is hung up as a testimony and sign of his dignity; by which he acquires many privileges: such as that of buying slaves and trading for merchandize, which he could not do before. Each nobleman keeps an anniversary feast, to which he invites all his friends, at which time he paints anew the head of the ox with white, and adorns it with new charms, in remembrance of his promotion.—(*Astley's Col.*) A person got suddenly rich by the French Mississippi scheme, and ordered a coach,—on being asked what arms he wished to have on it, answered, "Oh! the finest by all means."

77. No man surely can imagine, if his house and carriage, inside and out, and his coat and hat, with every thing he uses, were covered with all the heraldic distinctions that were ever adopted, they could add anything to his real importance. And let not any vainly flatter themselves with the pride of ancestry. What have the great body of the powerful and rich in all nations been but necessarily the *oppressors* of their brethren? Armorial bearings should therefore be considered, as what they truly are, everlasting stigmas attaching to most of those who adopt them. And however unpalatable the truth may be to some, it would undoubtedly be as rational for the man who was descended from a long line of highwaymen, to adopt as an ensign of honour the mark for which his ancestors may have been branded; as for very many, the coats of arms they derive from a remote ancestry: each generation of which has been principally distinguished from other men, by unjustly appropriating to themselves that political influence, or that property in the land, or both;—to which the rest of the nation of which they were members, had by the divine law an equal right with themselves. Thus much, then, for heraldic distinctions.

78. As consistency is very much to be desired, we ask, what can be more opposed to it than that a nation should be taxed at

the same time, to support a herald's college; and a number of bishops with their inferiors, to preach that 'the pride of life is not of the Father, but is of the world;' 'the friendship of which is enmity' with him? Let not, therefore, the present generation be the contempt of future ones. If the 'pride of life' cannot be dispensed with, either let there be no ministers of religion, or against such pride let them be forbidden to preach. But if men really do consider the Most High worthy of being worshipped, let them act consistently, and vigilantly avoid every thing that is at enmity with his most holy nature.

79. We must ever contend, that in conflicting questions of a moral nature, not more than one determination can be right; and as there should exist some harmony between that which is intrinsically good, and its exterior ensign; it may be asked how could men have so variously deviated in indicating that which was good, supposing it really to have existed? The only reply to this can be, that as no such good exists, all the things we have been noticing are, from beginning to end, the foolish inventions of men. In one country we find riding upon a white horse; in another, wearing green stones in the lips; in a third, wearing yellow; in a fourth, acting as cooks, emblematic of dignity. What conceivable analogy is there in any of these things? Nay so little, that if we were to go to one of the countries and ask what was thought of the mode adopted in the others, it can scarcely be questioned that it would be almost difficult to find words expressive of the contempt that would be felt. And a similar feeling would doubtless be entertained, by every one of the four for the modes adopted in the other three respectively. As, therefore, the mode adopted in one nation must be considered by others as utterly absurd, and if the same thing can be affirmed of every nation towards every other, unless where they copy from one another; how conclusive against the inventions we have been considering, and all similar ones, is the universal condemnation of mankind. Each nation condemns all those things but what it tolerates itself. That the Romans should have imagined there could be any real dignity in using wooden, brazen, or waxen dolls; or the king of Otaheite, in allowing himself to be fed like an infant, seems scarcely credible; and it is hardly more so, that the French should have been of the same opinion with regard to wearing shoes three feet and a half long, the chief of the Bachapins a necklace of sinews; or the miscalled great in certain European nations, fanciful caps, or as they are otherwise called, coronets.

80. The utter inefficiency of titles, is evident from this consideration. As giving a man a title can in no manner benefit him, so no number of them can; for as a cipher in arithmetic is equivalent to nothing, so any number of ciphers, however great, will still amount to nothing. And not any thing whatever

can be gained by the uniting together of titled persons simply on account of their titles, even though every one of them so associating had all the titles that were ever heard of in the world. The nothingness of titles is thus farther apparent. Were we to try ten intelligent young persons, we might as well endeavour to get them to solve the most difficult mathematical problem, as to comprehend the difference between the titles,—marquis, baron, earl, viscount, and duke. One nonentity cannot possibly differ from another. That therefore which has no value, whether taken separately or in the aggregate, or at any time, or in any place; and which truly exists no where but in the disordered imagination of oppressors, can never be desired by the wise and good.

81. All those things which have reference to the mind of man, if there is any quality really valuable in the nature of them, it is immutable, and of equal worth in all places, in all times, and through all eternity. Or if its value ever ceases, men had it in order that they may attain something still more precious. And it is beneficial not only to the possessor, but to those with whom he is connected. Thus the divine virtue of love is of equal value every where, both in time and eternity. And not only to its possessor, but all that come within its happy influence. Again, faith which, when lost in fruition, will be no longer valuable, is here of the greatest importance to our well-being; as without the full assurance of the wisdom, power, and goodness of the Deity, we cannot believe that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him. And this faith, though not apparently of immediate benefit to others, is so; because we cannot truly possess it, without its influencing our practice, so as to become ready to do to every one all the good in our power.

82. With regard to those things which are eagerly desired by mankind, such as wealth, talent, personal beauty, strength, courage, &c.,—men can acquire wealth in all lawful ways, as well without those nonentities, called titles, as with them: as to the other things, no one imagines titles can be of the slightest degree availing; neither can they be in any great emergency, nor under any calamity, as of fire, shipwreck, bodily illness, a mind diseased, &c.; neither are titles of any avail to enable a man to perform any of the ordinary or extraordinary duties of life. They will not make him a better painter, lawyer, physician, or general; nor render him more capable of filling the legislative or executive offices of whatever degree. Thus of two men, one would not make a better legislator, nor the other a more efficient parish beadle, though either was called a duke. Our Lord has told us, that the really happy—that is, those who love their fellows and the Divine Being as they ought; are, the poor in spirit,—they that mourn,—the meek,—they which do hunger and thirst after righteousness,—the merciful,—the pure

in heart,—the peace-makers. It can hardly be imagined that titles of honour will in the least degree avail us, in our endeavours to attain any of the divine qualities.

83. Suppose a man certainly knew that his life was to terminate in a month. Can any one imagine, if he could be assured that all mankind, whenever they spoke of him, would affix to his name the following,—The most noble baron, viscount, earl, and duke of any place,—it would not appear to be as much folly to him, as to be called "Jack the giant-killer?" But could it be pointed out to him, how he could better love God and his fellow-creatures, an hour before his death; he would, if a wise man, exert all his remaining strength to practise it, because it is intrinsically and durably valuable. At the day of judgment, it will not be of the smallest conceivable benefit to a man, that all who knew him on earth were in the habit of calling him a duke. The only inquisition that will then be entered into with any man, will be, as to the degree in which he has loved God and his fellow-creatures. Consequently, as every thought, word, and deed, throughout a man's life, has reference to that day; it is clear, that what would be folly to a man who had but a month to live, will be valueless at the day of judgment; it must be, therefore, equally valueless at every period of his life.

84. It has been attempted to evince that the true philosophy of life consists in all educing nothing but the highest degree of good to each other. It has also been intimated, that in all nations and ages, the general conduct of men, whenever they have had opportunities, has been, and now is, to aggrandize themselves at the expense of their neighbours; in other words, to patronize the system of sacrificing the many to the few, that they might, or may, be one of the latter. *The great object of titles and their concomitants is to uphold this wretched system.* In those countries, therefore, where they are tolerated, they are eagerly sought after. In nations where the most absurd and wicked of them are discountenanced, such as are allowed are objects of ambition. One curious characteristic of the Viennese, says a contemporary writer, is a most inordinate and silly love of high-sounding titles, and forms of address; which, being conceived to give dignity and consequence to the person who assumes them, are therefore most scrupulously exacted. A clerk in a public office, perhaps on a salary of forty pounds a year, must not be styled a simple clerk, but an "Imperial and Royal Clerk," in such and such an "Imperial and Royal Office." The Baron Riesbeck, who travelled through Germany in the assumed character of a Frenchman, notices this practice when recounting the difficulties which he experienced, before he could provide himself with a suitable habitation. He says, "the first room I saw was up four pair of stairs; the looks

of it did not displease me; but as soon as I heard that the owner was a Gnädige Herr (Gracious Sir), I said in French to my lacquais,—Away, I will have nothing to do with a Gnädige Herr who has half of his hired habitation to underlet." The Baron did not succeed in his search, until he had had a plentiful choice of titled landlords, among whom, one bore the designation of—your Honour,—and another was styled an Excellence, or rather a Magnificence.—(*Saturday Magazine, No.* 112.) The reader will not have forgotten that these Magnificences, Honours, and Gracious Sirs, with all the rest of their countrymen, are a set of wretched slaves. (vi. 151.) The utmost extent, says Mr. W. R. Wilson, of the wish and vanity of the Sicilians, is to be placed in such circumstances as will enable them to keep a carriage, when it is ostentatiously displayed along the Via Toledo, especially at a particular hour. Even princes are found contented to live in a state of obscurity in the upper part of a house, and to limit their bill of fare to maccaroni, in order to save what they can to attain this distinction.—(*Travels in the Holy Land, &c.*) "There is," says an American writer, "perhaps no nation so fond of titles as our own. Every man in office, or who has been in office, is addressed by the appellation of it;—Mr. President, Mr. Constable, Colonel such-a-one, and Judge such-a-one;—though the colonel, out of commission, is working at his bench; and the country judge, out of court, is serving his customers in a tavern. This is universal, and we feel neglected if our title be forgotten. Yet we smile contemptuously at the weakness of nations by which titles are acknowledged."

85. When we remember that the most powerful men in various nations of the world, adopt the miserable inventions we have been considering, we are at a loss at which most to be astonished, those who adopt such inventions, or those who countenance the adoption! If we suppose the former alone sensible of their absurdity, how great must be the sum of their iniquity,—how amazing their assurance, so to delude their brethren out of their unquestionable rights! If, again, we suppose both the actors and spectators in the political drama, to have laboured under equal ignorance, what a melancholy view have we of mankind; how profound, how universal the darkness, under which so many nations, for so many ages, have laboured, and still labour! A few almost every where imposing on the many, the former employing, as one of the means of enabling them to do so, that which can, by no possibility, be of the least benefit to either; but, when rightly considered, can only excite astonishment, that the few should attempt such means, and the many allow them to succeed. The appropriators of high-sounding titles, mummeries, &c., well know that outward appearance makes the greatest impression on the unthinking.

Ornaments, says Buffon, are intended to excite the attention of spectators, to give them an idea of splendour and wealth, and to dazzle their fancies: how few have the capacity of distinguishing the person from the dress, or of estimating the man in any other manner! Every thing that is rare and brilliant, will, therefore, always be fashionable, while men derive more eminence from riches than virtue; and while the means of acquiring respect differs so widely from real merit.—(*Of Manhood.*) The generality of titled persons, conscious of not possessing superiority of any kind over those by whom they are surrounded, feel the necessity of investing themselves with some external mark of distinction, or assuming a title, or both; for if something of this kind is not had recourse to, the many could scarcely help perceiving there was no difference between themselves and the few that contrive to enslave them!

86. It has been elsewhere remarked, that there is no neutral ground in morality. Every man that comes into the world, must either be labouring with God in advancing all the best interests of humanity, or fighting against God in retarding them. (vi. 191.) Titles of honour, and all their concomitants, are things which fight against God! Their names of themselves indicate that the system they assist to uphold is *founded in robbery and murder, and maintained throughout by unrighteousness!* But for an unhallowed purpose, it cannot be imagined that even a small number of persons in one age, much less many in successive ages; would become parties to any folly so excessive, as to be in any manner connected with them. *The end that is unrighteous, cannot however be attained, by means that are wise and good.* The east is not farther from the west, than these distinctions are from every thing that really tends to benefit mankind; from all that truly ennobles human nature. The temporal and eternal happiness of mankind can only be educed in the way the wisdom and goodness of Heaven has appointed.

87. So far, therefore, from these distinctions being any ground for gratulation, let it never be forgotten, that they are only some of the signs of our wretched apostacy from our Great Creator, who to all the children of men thus saith,—'Let not the wise man glory in his wisdom; neither let the mighty man glory in his might; let not the rich man glory in his riches. But let him that glorieth, glory in this, that he understandeth and knoweth me, that I am the Lord, which exercise loving-kindness, judgment, and righteousness in the earth; for in these things I delight, saith the Lord.' Let men, then, not forget, 'that now it is high time to awake out of sleep.' 'The night is far spent, the day is at hand; let' them, 'therefore, cast off the works of darkness,' and put on the armour of light. Let us trust that they will consign to ever-

lasting repose, institutions which are sad reflections on human nature. May the day not be far distant, when men shall speak of them as the miserable absurdities of those times of darkness, from which they will then be happily emancipated; and that such absurdities will be held forth to the rising generations of future ages, as evils which experience has taught men religiously to guard against. Thus, the folly and wickedness of past and present generations, may be beneficial in the only way it can,—namely, to serve as a beacon to all succeeding ages. And were it practicable, it would convey no unimportant lesson to them, to build a temple and deposit therein an account of the various ranks and orders which have been invented by mankind, their styles, titles, &c.; also a collection of the insignia and other things, by which they have been distinguished; over the entrance of which temple the following inscription might be placed,—THINGS HIGHLY ESTEEMED AMONG MEN, BUT ABOMINATIONS IN THE SIGHT OF GOD.

CHAP. XIII.

INTERNATIONAL LAW.

1. INTERNATIONAL law, in common with all other, is entirely deducible from the divine law; the whole of the great family of mankind being brethren in the sight of the Most High.—(vi. 36.)

2. Nations who may hereafter have constitutions and codes in accordance with this holy law, in whatever part of the world they may be situated, should enter into a general alliance If a nation, having a righteously constituted government and laws, and its people obeying those laws, was attacked by another nation, it is the duty of all other nations (even if they have not righteous constitutions and codes) to aid as far as possible in repelling the attack. It is evidently the divine will, that either righteous individuals or nations should afford one another all possible support: but if either a nation or an individual chooses to be unrighteous in some respects, this affords no exemption to such individual or nation, from assisting a righteous individual or nation in any thing lawful. The unrighteousness of men as to some things, is assuredly no warrant for their being so in others. It is also the duty of righteous nations to afford assistance to those who have unlawful constitutions and codes,

when such nations are unjustly attacked. And as to any nation having an unlawful constitution, it is, if we mistake not, the duty of all those that may have lawful constitutions, to do all that lies in them that its unlawful constitution shall be superseded by a lawful one: and after every pacific measure has been tried, to apply force for the purpose, when there are *sufficient grounds for expecting that the application of violent measures will attain the end.* (viii. 22.)

3. The making war against *a whole nation,* and against *a lawless party* in it, therefore, must not be confounded. Suppose that the Russians had a lawful constitution, and the French an unlawful one; and that the former determined to assist the oppressed French to supersede their government; the Russians might thus address its members.—It is not against France we make war, but against *you,* a government emanating from part of the nation, and therefore the oppressors of your brethren, and the aliens of all the best interests of humanity. Our object is not to injure a hair of the head of a single Frenchman, but to do all in our power for the aggrandizement of France, by laying the only foundation for its solid and permanent greatness. The question before the reader is, undoubtedly, one of considerable difficulty. That nations have a great interest in the concerns of one another is indisputable: the safety, or indeed the very existence of any one, as an independent nation, may be endangered from disregard to them. In modern times, Russia has been allowed to aggrandize herself very greatly. Hence principally arose the dismemberment of Poland. No internal dispute of importance can now arise in any European nation, but foreign powers find some pretence to interfere. Nothing is more common than treaties of alliance between nations mutually to assist when unjustly attacked by a third party. As one nation is ready to aid a lawless government in another, to enable it to maintain the oppressing system over its countrymen; it seems difficult to suppose there can be any lawful objection to assisting the oppressed, that they may relieve themselves from the tyranny of their oppressors. Aid being granted under such circumstances, is, for example precisely analogous to one private individual unjustly attacked on the high road, being assisted by another. (vi. 229.) It cannot be questioned, that it is the will of God that universal righteousness should prevail on earth; and necessarily, therefore, that every individual of the human race should do all that lies in him that it may. With great humility, we apprehend that the conduct here pointed out of nations towards one another, is one of the lawful modes to attain the great end; and it may be said with Paul, 'I think also that I have the spirit of God.' Let it be supposed that, with one exception only, all other nations of the world had righteous constitutions and codes;—

Is it for a moment supposable, that a little junta of oppressors would be allowed to make their nation an exception to every other? But it must not be forgotten, that if only a small party in any nation, having an unlawful constitution, were righteous men, they would feel it their duty to do all that lies in them to supersede it for a lawful one; and as they would be assisted by the arm of the Most High, ever ready to support all righteous undertakings, there can be no doubt, if such party was at all numerous, they would succeed; and therefore not require foreign aid. Where, therefore, an unlawful constitution exists in a nation, it evinces its gross and general immorality, a state of things foreigners might find it very difficult to ameliorate.

4. With the exception of a nation whose lands are so fully peopled as not to admit of additional inhabitants, a country cannot lawfully prevent foreigners from domiciliating themselves in it. This is evident from considering, that as no man can possibly live out of association, the nation has no right either to the land, or to dictate to foreigners. (ix. 5 to 7 and 85.) It is advantageous to a nation to increase in power. (iii. 21.) Suppose a party of virtuous Russians, finding all their efforts ineffectual to arouse their countrymen to emancipate themselves from the oppression of Nicholas and his satellites: it surely cannot be maintained that they can lawfully be prevented by the North Americans, from migrating to their country. Would such conduct on the part of the Americans be obeying the divine law? All males who become permanent inhabitants of any country, are by this holy law entitled to an exact equality of rights with all its other citizens: any political association or nation, in any age, being unlawful in the sight of God, if not thus constituted.

5. Hence we derive an additional argument in favour of democracy. In a nation, two points present themselves for consideration,—

The land—and
Its inhabitants.

That all such inhabitants are entitled to an exact equality of rights is obvious from considering, that those who are despoiled may depart from their despoilers. And as among these gentlemen, it is, as has been said, only a scramble for that of which they rob their countrymen, (vi. 128.) the more humble despoilers may say to the greater ones. Land without associated labour is nothing worth. (v. 12.) If you are not disposed to participate with us all in an exact equality of rights, we shall unite ourselves to the nation where this order of things does prevail. Thus we see that a total dissolution of a political association or nation might arise: the greater despoilers being left alone. And as they could not live out of association, they would find it necessary to unite themselves with some foreign nation; or if

they founded a new one, to participate with all its citizens in an exact equality of rights.

6. It will not for a moment be supposed that we intend in the slightest degree to insinuate, that the oppressed should thus act towards their oppressors. The proper mode obviously is by lawful means to put an end to the oppression, thus superseding the necessity for expatriation. We have merely put a case, to evince that the more the subject is considered, the more obvious it will appear, that in any country or age, the abstraction of any of the three great rights from any man is utterly unlawful. That men migrate to relieve themselves from oppression, arises from a nation's being too demoralized to supersede it. That more migrations do not take place, arises from all the countries of the world having unrighteous constitutions and codes! Hence, in comparing one nation with another, the simple consideration is, whose constitution and code is least unrighteous! Thus we see how true it is, that the earth is 'filled with violence!' And whilst it must ever be remembered, that it is of the mightiest consequence to a nation, whether its constitution is lawful or unlawful; it must not be forgotten, that if it is the latter, the precise degree of its illegality is of less consequence than some may suppose. This is evinced in the North-American nation, where, though the privation of the political rights of men, is as little tolerated as in most nations; if the notice we gave of this people is correct, slavery exists among them in its most horrid form; evincing that all those who tolerate it must truly be most immoral. (vi. 149.)

7. From these considerations, a further argument is derived in favour of the democratic form of government. Seeing that a nation (and necessarily, therefore, all the individuals that compose it,) is liable to be prejudiced both from internal and external disorders, it surely can never be pretended that it is not the duty of every member, to do all that lies in him to secure himself and his neighbours from being thus acted on, by causing the will of God to be done as perfectly, and as extensively, as possible, both in his own and foreign nations. Nor can it, therefore, be alleged that he can lawfully be deprived of the only efficient means of accomplishing this great end,—namely, an exact equality of rights with all his fellows.

8. That the preceding observations are of more importance than some may perhaps consider, is thus apparent. If any nation had a righteous constitution and laws, and the lives of its members, were as to those matters of which human laws do not take cognizance, to approximate to the divine will; it cannot be questioned, that the prosperity and happiness of the nation would be so great, that, again to adopt the language of Bishop Butler, "it would plainly be superior to all others; and the world must gradually come under its empire, not by means of

lawless violence, but" by several other countries "submitting themselves voluntarily to it, throughout a course of ages, and claiming its protection one after another in successive exigencies:" "thus, for instance, the wonderful power and prosperity promised to the Jewish nation in the scripture, would be, in a great measure, the consequence of what is predicted of them; —thy people 'shall be all righteous; they shall inherit the land for ever.'" (iii. 36.)

9. If, then, it cannot be impugned, that no nation can refuse to admit any of mankind that choose to unite themselves with it, nor that it is the duty of nations to assist the oppressed in any one, to emancipate themselves from the misrule of their oppressors;—nor, that the aid of Heaven is ever ready to assist all men in every righteous undertaking:—it is obvious that the Most High has taken all possible measures, compatible with the free agency of man, for the universal prevalence of unspotted holiness. For, if the state of things adverted to in the last paragraph prevailed in any one nation, it cannot be questioned that to it, there would come people and the inhabitants of many cities. And the inhabitants of one city would 'go to another, saying, Let us go speedily to pray before the Lord, and to seek the Lord of hosts; I will go also; yea, many people and strong nations' would come to seek him. In those days it would 'come to pass, that ten men' out of all other nations, would 'take hold of the skirt' of a citizen of the nation, saying,—'We will go with you, for we have heard that God is with you.' And it seems probable that such would be the mighty power of the nation, that it would find little difficulty in compelling every other nation, to adopt a righteous constitution and code. Hence the prediction might be fulfilled,—'The Lord shall be king over the earth; in that day shall there be one Lord, and his name One.' (vi. 18.)

10. It not being our design to write an elaborate disquisition on international law, to some points in it brief allusion only is made. The sea which washes the coast of a nation, to the extent of a cannon-shot, or a marine league, is usually deemed to be a part of the territory of the nation, over which it may, for its own protection, exercise an exclusive jurisdiction. It has been inquired, Whether one nation can insist on a right of passage through another? For any lawful object, it undoubtedly can. It has also been asked,—Whether a nation can give judgment on property belonging to its citizens in other nations? To the tribunals of these it seems fit to remit them, as one nation cannot exact obedience in another, to the judgments of its courts of law. The question has also been put, —Whether one nation can lawfully harbour the criminals of another? To this we reply, it cannot: but it may be asked,— Can it lawfully deliver them up to any other than a lawful

government? Suppose men, by means in accordance with the divine will, fruitlessly to endeavour to supersede an unlawful government; however holy either the end or the means, if such government could get possession of the persons of its chief opponents, it would scarcely fail to wreak its lawless vengeance on them. Hence is further apparent the necessity of lawful constitutions and codes in all nations. And the general rule for the members of them in all their intercourse, is to treat each other as the children of the Universal Parent.

11. With regard to the question of what are justifiable grounds of war, scarcely any thing affords more cogent evidence of the wickedness of mankind, than that large armies are allowed by nations to be maintained, under unrighteous governments.—Those who compose such armies being always ready to prevent, as far as they can, their own countrymen from attaining their undoubted rights; or to attack, without the slightest justifiable ground, the rights of foreign nations. Could we have accurately detailed the causes of all the wars that have deluged the world with blood, what an unspeakably awful view of the depravity of human nature would be afforded! An important war, remarks an historian, broke out in 1087, between Philip the First of France, and William the conqueror of England. This was in consequence of a raillery. The king of England being excessively fat, was incommoded by his corpulency, and obliged for some time to keep his bed. Philip said one day to his courtiers,—"When will this big man be brought to bed?" William being apprized of this, was enraged:—"I will go," cried he, "and make my churching at Notre Dame in Paris, with ten thousand spears, instead of wax tapers."—(*Des Carrieres.*) Zingis fills the highest niche in the temple of sanguinary fame. Chinese historians tell us, that in the first fourteen years of his reign there were 1847 myriads or 18,470,000 persons slain by this inhuman conqueror. This number, however, seems utterly incredible, though all the historians of Western Asia concur with the Chinese, as to the prodigious amount of the slaughtered.

12. A nation having a righteous government and laws, and its sons living conformably with the laws, would have unspeakable advantages as to the matter under consideration, and all others, over unrighteous nations. Thus, a righteous nation would be little liable to attack, as it would make no aggression on the rights of its neighbours. And these would hardly venture to do so, as to its own; because, even though a small nation, as it would be unquestionably supported in an especial manner by Heaven, those who attacked it would soon have reason to repent their temerity. As to a righteous people, in any age of the world, it may assuredly be said, as once was to the ancient Hebrews,—'The Lord shall cause thine enemies

that rise up against thee, to be smitten before thy face; they shall come out against thee one way, and flee before thee seven ways.' Had it not been for the general immorality of the Poles, we apprehend all the powers of Europe could never have subjugated them. Of all the German nations, says Tacitus, the Chaucians are, beyond all question, the most respectable. Their grandeur rests upon the surest foundation, the love of justice; wanting no extension of territory, free from avarice and ambition, remote and happy, they provoke no wars, and never seek to enrich themselves by rapine and depredation. Their importance among the nations round them is undoubtedly great, but the best evidence of it is, that they have gained nothing by injustice. Loving moderation, yet uniting to it a warlike spirit, they are ever ready, in a just cause, to unsheath the sword. Their armies are soon in the field. In men and horses, their resources are great, and even in profound tranquillity their fame is never tarnished.—*(Manner's Germ.)*

13. Very many examples might be furnished, evincing that the issue of battles is determined more by the character than the number of the combatants. Without adverting to the Bible, we may mention as instances of this, in ancient history, the defence of the Pass of Thermopylæ by Leonidas; and in modern times, at the Battle of Vienna, 70,000 men under Sobieski defeated 200,000 Turks.—The following account of the close of this great battle, is so animated, that we shall make no apology for inserting it:—Five o'clock p. m. had sounded, says Salvandy, and Sobieski had given up for the day all hope of the grand struggle; when the provoking composure of Kara Mustapha, whom he espied in a splendid tent tranquilly taking coffee with his two sons, roused him to such a pitch, that he instantly gave orders for a general assault. It was made simultaneously on the wings and the centre. He made towards the Pacha's tent, bearing down all opposition, and repeating with a loud voice—"Not unto us, Lord God of Hosts—not unto us, but unto thy name, give the praise!" He was soon recognized by Tartar and Cossack, who had so often beheld him blazing in the view of the Polish chivalry; they drew back while his name rapidly passed from one extremity to the other of the Ottoman lines, to the dismay of those who had refused to believe him present. "Allah!" said the Tartar khan, "but the wizard* is with them, sure enough!" At that moment, the hussars, raising their national cry of "God for Poland," cleared a ditch which would long have arrested the infantry, and dashed into the deep ranks of the enemy. They were a gallant band; their appearance almost justified the saying of one of their kings,—"that if the sky itself were to fall, they

* The name given him by the Tartars, after a series of extraordinary victories had fully impressed them with a belief in his supernatural powers.

would bear it up on the points of their lances." The shock was rude and for some minutes dreadful, but the valour of the Poles, still more the reputation of their leader, and more than all the finger of God, routed these immense hosts: they gave way on every side, the khan was borne along with the stream to the tent of the now despairing vizir.—"Canst thou not help me?" said Kara Mustapha to the brave Tartar; "then I am lost indeed!" "The Polish king is there!" replied the other, "I know him well. Did I not tell thee, that all we had to do was to get away as quick as possible?"—(*Foreign Quarterly Review, No.* 14.)

14. The rights of a nation may be invaded as a whole, or only as to some of its sons. If one nation having received no injury invades another, the latter is obviously bound to repel such lawless invasion. If one nation appropriates to itself a greater quantity of land than it can reasonably require; this being an invasion of the rights of mankind in general, is, as we have intimated, a just ground for war: though, of course, one nation is not warranted in attacking another, if the quantity appropriated is inconsiderable. With regard to a foreign nation, exciting or assisting to maintain an internal opposition against the government of a country; where the constitution and laws are unrighteous, the great body of a nation allowing a few to oppress them;—such opposition may prevail to a considerable extent, but be put an end to by the establishment of a government and laws in accordance with the divine law. Where such are established, the attempts of foreigners to induce opposition will ordinarily be altogether unavailing; thus in either case there appear no legitimate grounds for war. As to wrongs committed on some of a nation's sons in foreign climes, the aggressor is, of course, bound to make restitution; and the aggrieved have a right to require the assistance of their own nation to obtain it. If, however, the foreign one refuses it, it seems scarcely possible to make it a legitimate ground of war; it must be vastly preferable for a powerful nation to indemnify the aggrieved, than to involve whole nations in war. As the words of our Lord to his Hebrew hearers,—('Ye have heard that it hath been said, an eye for an eye, and a tooth for a tooth; but I say unto you, That ye resist not evil; but whosoever shall smite thee on thy right cheek, turn to him the other also; and if any man will sue thee at the law, and take away thy coat, let him have thy cloak also; and whosoever shall compel thee to go a mile, go with him twain;')—are applicable between individuals, they must be much more so between aggregates of individuals or nations; the consequence of nations falling out, being so much more important, than for individuals to do so. A righteous nation need not apprehend, that from submitting to an injury of the kind we are considering, it will be thought incapable of de-

fending its own rights; as the contrary will be abundantly obvious, when it is compelled to enter into a just war.

15. A caravan of three ambassadors, and a hundred and fifty merchants, says Bell, sent by Zingis, to open a commercial intercourse with the most powerful of the Moslem princes, was arrested and murdered at Otrar by the command of Mahommed himself, or as others relate, by order of Gayer Khan the governor. The number of merchants thus massacred, is stated by some at 450. Only one escaped, to carry back the relation of the horrid deed to the Mongol emperor; who sent three ambassadors to the sultan to demand satisfaction; which was not only denied, but even the ambassadors themselves were murdered. It was not till after this denial, and fresh murder of persons, whose legantine character is held sacred among all civilized nations; till after he had prayed, and fasted, and wept three successive days on a mountain, that Zingis had resource to arms, and invaded Western Asia. Mankind have been doomed to suffer much from the ambition, the ingratitude, the injustice, the cruelty, and the oppression of princes; but no where in all the page of recorded events, did the human race suffer so much as did Western Asia from the conduct of Mahommed. (11.)—(*Bell's Geography, Glasgow*, 1831.)

16. When a country, with a righteous constitution and laws, and the people acting conformably thereto, has repelled a lawless invader, it may exact pecuniary compensation for any injury it has sustained. Where a powerful enemy violates the rights of its neighbours, and one or more of them, in repelling the attack, carry the war into the territory of the aggressor;—if the making peace would probably only afford an opportunity for a renewed attack, as one means of weakening the enemy, its fortresses may be destroyed; though this is obviously an extreme case.

17. Maritime powers allowing individuals to send vessels of war to sea for the purpose of making captures, seems a very improper mode of warfare. Vessels belonging to those individuals who were wholly averse to the war may be captured, and thus a great injustice is done to them. Vessels of war equipped by a government may perhaps capture merchantmen. But this is one of the necessary consequences of hostilities. The policy of privateering, says Mr. M'Culloch, is very questionable. It seems to be a remnant of that species of private war exercised by all individuals in early ages, but which gradually disappears as society advances. In wars carried on by land, the property of the peaceable inhabitants who take no part in the operations of the armies, is uniformly protected; and it is difficult to discover any solid grounds why the same rule should not be followed at sea. Privateers rarely attack ships of war. Their

object is merely to plunder and destroy merchantmen. They cause an infinite deal of mischief to individuals, and aggravate all the miseries of war without having the slightest influence on the result of the contest. Experience has also shown that it is not possible, whatever precautions may be adopted, to prevent the grossest abuses from being perpetrated by privateers. The wish to amass plunder, is the only principle by which they are actuated; and such being the case, it would be idle to suppose that they should be very scrupulous about abstaining from excesses. A system of this sort, if it be ever useful, can be so only to nations who have little trade; and who may expect to enrich themselves during war, by fitting out privateers to plunder the merchant ships of their enemies. In all other cases it seems to be productive only of mischief; though it is, of course, most injurious to those states that have the greatest mercantile navy. Instead, therefore, of encouraging the practice of privateering, we think that a due regard to the rights and interests of humanity, would suggest to the great powers the expediency of abolishing it altogether.—(*Dict. Art. Privateers.*)

18. The total subjugation of one nation by another, appears in no case allowable, as no lawful object would hereby be obtained. In the most extreme case, therefore, that the subjection of a nation can be supposed allowable, the conquered country can be held possession of but for a very limited time: as whatever may be the desert of any of the adult males who took an active part in the war, the youths contemporary with them and the unborn, are not to be punished for that of which they were innocent. And as the conqueror, it is to be supposed, would always have the means of repelling a fresh attack, the holding a conquered country in subjection to prevent this, would make no addition to the conqueror's means, and in a slight degree only curtail those of the enemy. If during the prosecution of a war, a portion only of an enemy's territories is taken possession of, it should be given up at the termination of hostilities. When an aggrieved party becomes the conqueror, it is bound at the end of the war not to require unfair terms from the enemy. And as war, under its most favourable aspect, is one of the most tremendous scourges that can afflict mankind, it obviously should never be entered upon, until after the most strenuous and repeated efforts to preserve peace, have proved utterly ineffectual. When hostilities are unavoidable, every individual of the aggrieved nation should use his earnest endeavour, that in their prosecution and all other matters connected with them, every thing should be done to the glory of God. The Hottentots seem to have had an excellent plan for sparing the effusion of human blood. Two nations fought one battle, and this determined the whole affair. This is yet better effected by single combat. The best of all modes is to leave off fighting altogether. Nothing

will tend to this great end more than the rights of men of the same nation, and of different nations, being properly understood and respected. Let us hope that the time is not far distant when both civil and foreign war will be unknown; and men 'shall beat their swords into plowshares, and their spears into pruning hooks: nation shall not lift up sword against nation, neither shall they learn war any more:' the motto of all countries being, 'GLORY TO GOD IN THE HIGHEST, AND ON EARTH PEACE—GOOD WILL TOWARD MEN.'

CHAP. XIV.

NATIONAL CHURCHES.

1. By these we mean such as are supported by unlawful governments. The ministers are therefore not appointed by those over whom they preside. They are consequently supported by compulsory taxation.

2. The right maintenance of families, and therefore of nations, being greatly concerned in the duties peculiarly due to the Most High, we may first consider what is incumbent on every man in his private capacity. There were certain practices among the Hebrews. (*Ex.* xxiii. 14.)—*Num.* xv. 37 to 40.—*Mat.* vi. 16 to 18.—*Deut.* vi. 7 to 9.) All such might be beneficial, if adopted in our times. Strict personal religion, or the humbly endeavouring to walk in all the commandments and ordinances of the Lord blameless, is obviously incumbent on all men; with a due anxiety, as far as lies in them, to maintain it in their families, and with proper discretion among their connections: Not forsaking the assembling of themselves together as the manner of some is, but exhorting one another; and taking especial care to elect a faithful minister of Christ; that as far as can be attained through his instrumentality, they may have, in a high degree, 'righteousness, and peace, and joy, in the Holy Ghost.' An eminent part of men's duty, also, is, to distribute as extensively as possible, even to *the remotest bounds of the habitable globe,* the bread of life to their poorer or more ignorant brethren. For if it be asked,—If the man who 'hath this world's goods, and seeth his brother have need, and shutteth up his bowels of compassion from him, how dwelleth the love of God in him?' how incumbent must it be, besides ministering to the corporeal wants of our brethren, to do so to their spiritual ones: every man in existence, it must be remembered, being in the sight of Heaven

the brother of every other man; and all good men standing in this endearing relation to their divine Master.

3. The lawful interference even of lawful governments must, as to religious matters, be restricted to that which is prohibitory. They may forbid such crimes as open profanation of the sabbath —taking the Lord's name in vain,—blasphemy,—that kind of idolatry which leads men publicly to worship graven images, &c. because things of this kind are manifest outrages against public morals, such only as would be tolerated by a professed atheist. Laws comprehend two things, an enactment and a penalty for their infraction. Nothing, therefore, can be more absurd than to endeavour to compel men to perform any act of worship by the authority of law, because no human power can discover whether the law is infringed, and so cannot award punishment to those who transgress it; without which, all laws must obviously be nugatory. All offences against religion, so far as they are remediable by law, are therefore easily defined.

4. All men should be righteous, but if some are more so than others, from such, as far as possible, should be selected the members of the legislative and executive. Men, cannot however, be questioned as to their faith, from the impossibility of knowing whether they declare truly the state of their own minds. But if some affirm they have no religion, as in the case of those miserable wretches called atheists—they may, on their own confession, be excluded not only from the legislative and executive, but from having a voice in appointing those who shall sustain these important offices. And from the performance of all duties of this kind, Jews in all countries should perhaps be excluded; seeing they almost or altogether, 'crucify to themselves the Son of God afresh, and put him to an open shame.' This, however, seems to be the extent of the disabilities under which any should labour, on religious grounds. They cannot, we apprehend, be deprived of their right to the land, which they possess in common with the whole human race: all deprived being, as we have seen, in a state of slavery, into which it appears quite incompatible with the divine law, that men should be placed, for any other cause, than the infringement of a penal statute.

5. The appointment of a church by the Divine Being, for the Hebrews under the Mosaic polity, cannot be brought as a precedent for the establishment of a national church in any nation: for this obvious reason, that alone which would make it valid is wanting,—namely, the selection by God himself of those who are to be the ministers of religion, throughout all the generations of a nation. If God appoints particular persons to perform peculiar offices in any nation or age, we may suppose he is graciously pleased in an especial manner to capacitate them for such offices: thus, on the selection of the seventy mentioned in Numbers, 'The Lord said unto Moses, gather unto me seventy

men of the elders of Israel;'—'I will take of the spirit which is upon thee and will put it upon them, and they shall bear the burden of the people with thee.' And so far from the divine appointment of a national church, under the Mosaic polity being urged as a precedent, it rather furnishes a conclusive argument against such an appointment; for, notwithstanding it emanated immediately from Heaven, we find from the infatuation of the wretched Hebrews, both ministers of religion and the people at large; that it was ineffectual in attaining the great object designed by God, the making the Hebrews an eminently religious people. I will not, says Blackstone, put the title of the clergy to tithes upon any divine right, though such a right certainly commenced, and I believe as certainly ceased, with the Jewish theocracy.—(*Com. on the Laws of England.*)

6. The utter unlawfulness of national churches is among other things apparent from considering, that in one nation, rulers require men to fall down and worship, 'the golden image that Nebuchadnezzar the king hath set up.' In a second, men are required to acknowledge that the religion of Mahomet is the true one. In a third, that the revelations contained in the Bible are the proper rules of faith. In a fourth, the same requisition is made, but in this country men are told such revelations are to be taken quite in a different sense, from what men of the other nation are required to receive them. And this not only happens to different nations, but to the same nation in different ages; so that what men are required to assent to in one age, they are burned to death for not denying in another. Hence, though the rulers of a nation may oblige the rest of the people to hear an exposition of the Bible to-day, after a particular manner, the latter have no security that it will not be altered to-morrow; or even the Koran exchanged for the Bible. And if they do not abjure the latter in favour of the former, that their rulers will not imprison, torture, or even murder them for refusing. Thus we see what is a national church.

7. Orthodoxy, says an eminent writer, is a Greek word, which signifies a right opinion; and hath been used by churchmen as a term to denote a soundness of doctrine or belief, with regard to all points and articles of faith. But as there have been amongst these churchmen several systems of doctrine or belief, they all assert for themselves, that *they only* are orthodox and in the right; and that all others are heterodox or in the wrong. So that what, at one time and in one place, hath been declared orthodoxy or sound belief; hath at another time and in another or even the same place, been declared heterodoxy or wrong belief. Of this there are numberless instances in ecclesiastical history; and we need only just take a transient view of the present Christian world, to perceive many more instances of it subsisting at this day. What is orthodoxy at Constantinople, is

heterodoxy or heresy at Rome; what is orthodoxy at Rome, is heterodoxy at Geneva, London, and many other places; what was orthodoxy here in the reign of Edward VI., became heresy in the reign of his sister Mary; and in Queen Elizabeth's time things changed their names again.—(*Dr. Robertson.*)

8. The following accounts will afford us examples of the conduct of churches, in England, in France, and also in Spain. England.—Henry the Eighth, with consent of parliament, had just enacted the law of the Six Articles, commonly called the Bloody Statute. This act denounced death against all who should deny the doctrine of transubstantiation, or that the bread and wine made use of in the sacrament, were converted after consecration, into the real body and blood of Christ. On this statute, Mrs. Askew was cruelly betrayed by her own husband. Strype, from an authentic paper, gives us the following short account of her examination before the king's council. Sir Martin Bowes, lord mayor, seeing her stand upon life and death:—I pray you, says he, my lords, give me leave to talk to this woman. Leave was granted. Lord mayor. Thou foolish woman, sayest thou, that the priest cannot make the holy body of Christ?—Mrs. Askew. I say so, my lord, for I have read that God made man; but that man made God I never yet read, nor I suppose ever shall read it.—Lord mayor. No! Thou foolish woman, after the words of consecration, is it not the Lord's body?—Mrs. Askew. No. It is but consecrated bread, or sacramental bread.—Lord mayor. What if a mouse eat it after consecration, what shall become of this mouse? What sayest thou,—thou foolish woman?—Mrs. Askew. What shall become of her, say you, my lord?—Lord mayor. I say that the mouse is damned.—Mrs. Askew. Alack, poor mouse! Perceiving that some could not refrain from laughing, the council proceeded to the butchery they intended before they assembled. Mrs. Askew having been put to the torture, her bones were so dislocated, that she was forced to be carried in a chair to the place of execution. Whilst she was at the stake, letters were brought to her from the lord chancellor, offering her the king's pardon if she would recant; but she refused to look at them, telling the messenger that she came not thither to deny her Lord and Master. Whereupon, the lord mayor ordered the fire to be kindled, and with savage ignorance, cried out, "Let justice take its course." The faggots being lit, she commended her soul with the utmost composure into the hands of her Maker; and like the great founder of the religion she professed, expired, praying for her murderers, on the 16th of July, 1546, in about the twenty-fifth year of her age.

9. France.—The judgment passed upon the massacre of St. Bartholemew, says a celebrated historian, by all reflecting persons, even least favourable to Protestanism; was, that no ex-

ample of any such enormous atrocity could be found in the national annals of all antiquity. Often have I with horror seen and heard Crucé, (truly worthy of crucifixion) boasting with tremendous ferocity, as he extended his bare arm, that with that he had himself slaughtered more than four hundred persons during the massacre.—(*De Thou.*)

10. Spain.—An immense building, says Mr. Wilson, was pointed out to me at Madrid, at the very name of which humanity shudders. These were the walls which enclosed the horrid Inquisition. I could not get access to view these dungeons, where acts of unparalleled barbarity and tyranny have been committed in private by the satanic rulers, so as to be able to give an account of them. The secrets of this horrible den of crimes, blasphemy, and outrage against the God of Heaven and his creatures, were however partly brought to light, when it was nobly thrown open by the Cortes; and twenty-one wretched prisoners were discovered, not one of whom knew the name of the city in which he was, or had been informed of the crime of which he was accused. One of them had been condemned to suffer death the following day by the pendulum, which mode of punishment may be thus described. The condemned person is fastened by his back in a groove upon a table, behind which a pendulum is suspended, having a sharp edge, and so constructed as to become longer every movement. The miserable culprit sees this implement of destruction swinging to and fro above him, and every moment the keen edge approaching nearer and nearer. At length it cuts the skin of his nose, and gradually goes deeper and deeper till life is extinct. Other dreadful engines in this pandemonium might be mentioned, did my limits permit, at which the very soul would shudder. Many details, shocking and appalling in the extreme, were imparted to me by an officer in the king's guard, who went over the spot. —(*Travels in the Holy Land, &c.*) According to a calculation which Llorente gives in his history of the Inquisition, the number of its victims from 1481 to 1808, amounted to the fearful number of 341,021. Of these, 31,912 were burned alive, 17,659 in effigy, and upon 291,456 severe penance was imposed. The tortures inflicted upon its hapless victims during their mock trials, for the purpose of extorting confessions, are too horrible for description.

11. We have seen that the perfect freedom of the will, is indispensably necessary to the right performance of any duty from men towards each other, or the Divine Being. Could we, therefore, think it right, for some men to render to others, that homage which is due to God alone, (for as the poet well says,

> "Man over men
> He made not lord: such title to himself
> Reserving;")

What would an earthly prince think of the fealty of the man, who would not yield it, without being dragged into his sovereign's presence? And passing from what is unlawful, to that which is lawful,—what, it may be asked, would a man think of another, he was in the habit of considering his friend, the brother as to his sister, the parent as to his child, or the husband as to his wife; if the miscalled regard respectively entertained by the former for the latter, was from constraint only? Nothing can be more obvious, than that such miscalled regard would be wholly valueless.

12. How little acceptable to the Most High, therefore, must be the worship of man, when such worship is unaccompanied with all the powers of the understanding and the will. Indeed, constraint and affection are as much opposed as light and darkness, holiness and sin, or any two things that can be imagined: their coexistence being an utter impossibility, and so not even in the power of Omnipotence to effect; because the instant irresistible constraint begins, love ends. We may be threatened with punishment for disobedience, or told that we shall be rewarded with unspeakable blessings for doing our duty; and it is undoubtedly within the compass of divine power, to operate on us by modes, of which we have no conception; but by any irresistible force to make us love God or each other, we may be assured is not one of them; for had it been otherwise, sin would never have entered into the world, nor consequently a necessity have arisen, for that manifestation of the love of God—the sacrifice of his only begotten Son, that we might live through him. Whence we cannot but see, that as public worship, when rightly performed, is an especial act of love, from created beings to their infinitely wise and benevolent Maker; if those who celebrate it are not altogether free, even from the slightest conceivable control, and do not only voluntarily, but joyfully devote their whole powers to such celebration; so far from its being acceptable to Heaven, it is nothing but iniquity, even the solemn meeting. It is thus obvious, that no power, human or divine, can make a man acceptably worship his Creator, whether he will or not.

13. Devotion, says a celebrated writer, is an act of the mind strictly.—In a certain sense, duty to a fellow creature may be discharged, if the outward act be performed; because the benefit to him depends upon the act. Not so with devotion. It is altogether the operation of the mind. God is a spirit, and must be worshipped in spirit: that is, in mind and thought. The devotion of the mind may be, will be, ought to be—testified and accompanied by outward performance and expressions; but without the mind going along with it; no form, no solemnity, can avail as a service to God. It is not so much a question, under what mode men worship their Maker:—but this

is the question, whether their minds, and thoughts, and affections accompany the mode which they adopt or not. I do not say that modes of worship are indifferent things, for certainly one mode may be more rational, more edifying, more pure, than another; but they are indifferent in comparison with the question, whether the heart attend the worship or be estranged from it.—*(Paley.)*

14. We find the psalmist thus humbly praying: 'Create in me a clean heart, O God; and renew a right spirit within me. Cast me not away from thy presence, and take not thy holy spirit from me.' And we are repeatedly admonished in the scriptures, carefully to avoid every thing which has the remotest tendency to deprive us of this divine guest. But can we expect its influence, if we do not seek it willingly? Will so precious a blessing be bestowed on those, who do not strive to obtain it with all their power? Can any extrinsic force compel us to seek it, whether we will or not? Or if we do seek it, but not aright, will such force avail any thing in obtaining it? When we implore a supply of blessings, both corporeal and spiritual how derogatory to the glory of God is it, for our hearts to be far from him!—we could not worse comport ourselves, if what we pray for were not worth having. When men utter a supplication for forgiveness, what consideration can be more painful to the faithful servant of God, than that, from the state of their minds, they are indifferent whether their prayers are granted? When we return thanks for the mercies of Heaven, but really feel no gratitude to the Great Author of all good, what must be our feelings? And when with our voices we praise his most holy name, but with hearts too insensible to be animated by so glorious a theme!—how can such worship be acceptable to him, from whom no secrets are hidden? If, when in his more immediate presence, we are as little impressed with it, as though we were in the theatre or the exchange; how truly will the words of Solomon apply to us, 'the sacrifice of the wicked is an abomination;' and all these things are too likely to happen, to those over whom a minister is appointed by others. Nor is it any answer to what is here asserted, to say, that the things we have mentioned may arise among those who have the choosing of their own minister, which is doubtless the case; what we contend for, is, the utter incapacity of the appointment of a National Church, to be of any conceivable benefit in itself. Whether there be any thing vicious in the constitution of an assembly of persons for religious worship, or not;—there will doubtless be something wrong in the celebration: for if this were not so, all the congregation must do their duty perfectly, which is not to be supposed. But it assuredly can never be contended, that a vice in the constitution, will tend to a purer celebration. *A compulsory contribution to the support of a minister cannot*

possibly be of any efficacy in saving the soul. There is no greater contradiction imaginable.

15. Whence we cannot but perceive, the utter uselessness of any constraint whatever; nothing but what is wholly free being of the slightest avail, in the sight of Heaven. This is truly so, even though a church whose faith is strict in accordance with the divine will, was established and maintained; and all its ministers were holy men. But as mankind have never yet determined what such a church is,—it is further obvious, that even under a righteously appointed government, no interference is lawful between men and their Creator. And if this is so under a righteous government, how much more forcibly does it apply under an unlawful one: as neither the nation at large, nor any part of it, has any security that its rulers will support such a church as is considered righteous; or that, so far from all its ministers being righteous, any one of them shall be so, or even think it necessary to profess that he is so. Hence we see in some nations, that if a person holding the ministerial office does but keep within the pale of the law; though he may be utterly contemptible in the eyes of the most worthless of his parishioners, they have no remedy. Ought such things to be tolerated—we do not say among those who are truly Christians—but among those that even do little more than profess to be so? Can any one doubt that a minister should be amenable to his hearers? Is it not an injustice done to himself to be deprived of so salutary a restraint? (vii. 63.) And what shall we say of one man filling an office, and another receiving almost the whole recompense of his labours? If this, in the common occupations of life, would be highly reprehensible;—to commit an office involving so unspeakably serious a responsibility, as the care of men's souls, to another; however it may be allowed among men, cannot but be a most crying abomination in the sight of God! Though those who profess to teach men the divine will, perform the office by *deputy*,—for, assisting to uphold a system founded only on unrighteousness, they must answer at the judgment seat of Christ in *person!*

16. Guthrie, speaking of the constitution of the Netherlands, says,—The government and laws had some features of what was formerly deemed freedom, but the decline of commerce having lessened the consequence of the citizens and burghers, this liberty became the monopoly of the nobles and *clergy;* who often opposed the will of the sovereign when exerted for the good of the community. In reference to the constitution of Denmark, this writer says,—It had many advantages, but unfortunately the balance of the government was never properly adjusted, so that the nobles soon assumed a dictatorial power, and greatly oppressed the people, as the national assemblies were not regularly held to redress their grievances; and when

the Roman Catholic *clergy* came to have a share in the civil government, their pride and ambition proved still more intolerable than that of the nobility. Also the despotism of the Spanish monarchy, which might, in the hands of an able and intelligent prince, be attended with great benefit to the nation, by the instantaneous extinction of abuses; was in Spain balanced by the power of the *church*, to which even the nobles were submissive devotees.—(*Guthrie's Geog. and Univ. Hist.*) (ix. 9.)

17. By far the largest majority of the ministers who officiate in National Churches, are, we fear, mainly influenced in supporting such establishments, by the emoluments therefrom derivable. Had these persons to encounter little else than poverty and the ill treatment of the evil-disposed; from very many of them, little would be heard of their anxiety for the care of men's souls. A life in which a constant renunciation of the good things of this world is required, would have few charms; and the pulpit would be often forsaken for the bar, the counting-house, or some other walk of life, more productive of wealth and temporal gratification.

18. A very large proportion of those who frequent National Churches, do it as they do most other things, almost, or altogether, without inquiry, and only because it is the fashion of the age and country in which they live. Such persons would go to a Catholic cathedral, a Jewish synagogue, or a Mahometan mosque, had they been accustomed to either from their youth. The number of the supporters of a National Church is, therefore, no argument whatever.—(*Ex.* xxiii. 2.) It may be urged in favour of all the different ones that have ever been maintained in the world; and nothing can be more obvious, than that there can never have been more than one, according with the will of Heaven, on the whole earth, in any age. How many thousands are there, who not only support National Churches, but regularly frequent them, that are among the most immoral of men? Look, reader, at the demoralization of the French people, as an example of the great benefits educible from supporting a National Church.

19. However unpalatable the announcement may be to some ears, the existence of a National Church, therefore, so far from being an evidence that a nation, where it exists, is a righteous one; is conclusive evidence that it is generally demoralized. Do you imagine it, reader, to be any evidence of the pure morality of the Turks, that they uphold the Mahometan imposture? A righteous man will not allow any constraint to be practised upon him as to the mode in which he shall worship his Creator: and as all the men of a nation should be righteous, so they should all be actuated by this feeling. In all nations that ever have existed, or do now exist, (except the Hebrew,) where National Churches have been supported, the constitu-

tions and codes of such nations, ever have been, and now are, unrighteous. If they were righteous in all other things, the existence of a National Church alone, necessarily implies such unrighteousness!—in some doing to others what they would not have done unto themselves, extracting money out of their pockets to support ministers not of their own appointment; and thus manifestly contravening the divine law.

20. Suppose we were to go to Constantinople, and were desirous of purchasing food or clothing, and found, on going to the vendors of those articles, that both the native Turks and foreigners were prohibited from buying of any but certain persons protected by the government; or with this alternative, that goods might be purchased any where, provided the purchasers paid the privileged class also the value of them. If we were surprised at this, how much more astonished should we be, or ought we to be, if, proceeding to public worship, we were told that we must pay the Mahometan mufti, as well as our own minister. What, it may be asked, would be thought, if some could so control others, as for each individual to be obliged constantly to wear a coat of a particular colour,—to dine off a particular sort of food every day,—to have a particular individual as a tutor for his children,—and beyond all these, a particular woman forced on him as his wife? If any, and all these, are manifestly absurd, it must also be so for some to choose a particular minister of religion for others. Travellers tell us, that in some countries in the East, the taking a wife must be done through the agency of others; and that the bridegroom is never permitted to see his bride until after the marriage has been celebrated. If this is intolerable in our eyes, so must it assuredly be in those of all considerate persons, that a minister should be forced on a congregation, of whom the latter know nothing but by report, until he appears in the reading-desk.

21. If there are some things more than others, that good men must desire sacredly to guard from invasion, assuredly one of them is, the having a voice in the election of the man who is to be their guide to immortality. Does it not evince an utter recklessness of what ought to be dear to every well-regulated mind, to be indifferent about it? How much must the man sink in the estimation of every virtuous person, who could thus act? Who, that rightly considered, would choose such a man as a friend? And even what mercantile man, one of a class of persons who generally 'are, in their generation, wiser than the children of light;' would prefer trusting with his property, the man whose moral principles must necessarily be so lax, that he must be considered unfit to perform any of the duties of social life as he ought? Indeed, if the matter is rightly considered, it is difficult to say which of the persons should be more lightly

esteemed,—the minister who forced himself on a congregation, or those who tolerated such a person! Nothing can be more clear, than that, to every faithful servant of the Most High, the mode in which he performs his private and public devotions, must ever be an object of the most intense solicitude; as, proportionably with the magnitude of an object sought, to attain it should be our endeavours. With how much force does this apply, to that which has been truly denominated, the one thing needful; which has the 'promise of the life that now is, and of that which is to come.'—'For what is a man profited, if he shall gain the whole world, and lose his own soul? or what shall a man give in exchange for his soul?'

22. Public worship, to be rightly performed, obviously infers a union between the congregation as a whole, the minister, and the Divine Being: and, as relates to each individual, the especial objects are, himself, the minister, and Heaven. Precisely, then, as such minister is exemplary for holiness, as to his conduct in general, and faithful as to his pastoral care; and as each member is convinced his teacher is truly the servant of the Most High, and endeavours to imitate the example the minister sets before him, will the church on earth flourish. Without insisting on the example of 'our Lord Jesus, that great Shepherd of the sheep;' let us mark the conduct of his faithful follower, Paul, who thus speaks of himself.—Are others 'ministers of Christ?' 'I am more; in labours more abundant; in stripes above measure; in prisons more frequent; in deaths oft. Of the Jews, five times received I forty stripes, save one; thrice was I beaten with rods; once was I stoned; thrice I suffered shipwreck, a night and a day I have been in the deep:—in journeyings often; in perils of waters; in perils of robbers; in perils by mine own countrymen; in perils by the heathen; in perils in the city; in perils in the wilderness; in perils in the sea; in perils among false brethren; in weariness and painfulness; in watchings often; in hunger and thirst; in fastings often; in cold and nakedness.' How must the great Paul have felt the force of John's observation:—"Because Christ laid down his life for us, therefore we ought to lay down our lives for the brethren." How truly might Paul have adopted the words of his Lord,—'I am the good Shepherd; the good Shepherd giveth his life for the sheep.'

23. And as the glorious gospel requires from ordinary Christians, a scrupulous regard to their minutest thoughts, words, and actions, what an exemplary holiness of life should distinguish all those who are to preach the kingdom of God to others! How, above all suspicion of being capable of doing any thing in the slightest degree derogatory to the Christian character, should those be who fill so sacred an office! How eminently should they be 'the light of the world,' and thus,

among those of whom it is said, 'they that be wise shall shine in the brightness of the firmament; and they that turn many to righteousness, as the stars for ever and ever.' But the principal thing which can render the union between a minister of a National Church and his hearers beneficial, if any benefit is derivable, will be to separate his conduct in the assumption and retention of his office, from the performance of his duties in it; endeavouring to extract whatever is good from such performance. But would not this destroy that which renders his ministry truly efficacious, that is, the conviction that he is a good shepherd?

24. Instead, therefore, of the most cordial union existing between the pastor and his flock, we may as well ask,—'What concord hath Christ with Belial?' Here is a sad stumbling-block in the shepherd's way, before he can enter on the pastoral office. Indeed, were it possible to suppose a teacher, otherwise equal to Paul, committed so great an outrage, as to suffer himself to be appointed in the way we are considering; that alone would, in the writer's mind, disqualify him from suitably filling the ministerial office. Eminent servants of Heaven may have appeared in National Churches, but it is conceived that their allowing themselves to be so appointed, must have arisen from erroneous views of their duty. Paul, before the commencement of his Christian ministry, thought with himself that he 'ought to do many things contrary to the name of Jesus of Nazareth.' And some holy men may have allowed themselves to occupy stations in National Churches, with a conviction, that though their appointment was opposed to the eternal principles of justice, they could be more beneficial to mankind in the situation they occupied, than in any other. In our times, a man may assume the pastoral office, without becoming a member of a National Church; and educe all the good in his power, without defiling himself with the evil. A minister, forced on a body of persons, and the amount of his temporal provision determined by others, who do not belong to that body; is therefore a most flagitious violation of the divine law, on the part of those who thus appoint the minister, and on the part of the minister himself.

25. There are three grand divisions of mankind:—The first, those who live in a total disregard of religion:—the second, those who are not altogether insensible of its importance; but, forgetting our Lord's admonition, that 'no man can serve two masters,' when these come in competition, neglect their duty to Heaven.—The third, are those happy persons who are ready to forsake all that they have, even life itself, rather than fail in the performance of their duty. Let us suppose that ministers of National Churches have to preach to any of these three classes;—Will the consideration, on the part of the hearers,

that their teacher (because he has the power *but not the right*) puts his hand into their pockets, and helps himself to their wealth, more powerfully tend to awaken in those that have no knowledge of religion, a sense of the imminent danger in which they stand? Will it arouse the lukewarm? or will it confirm the faith and practice of such as are truly devout? Will such a minister be the most probable instrument of causing frequent joy in the presence of the angels of God over sinners that repent?

26. A congregation of persons may possibly be found in any age or country, too little enlightened rightly to be able to choose their own minister. Let us suppose that a wise and good man could, by any human means, lawfully be forced on them: his great object must obviously be, with the least possible delay, to do all that lies in him to enlighten his hearers, as to every thing that makes both for their temporal and eternal welfare; and after a sufficient time has elapsed, to supersede his own appointment, by affording his people an opportunity of choosing for themselves, whether they will continue him during their pleasure, or appoint some one else. If men are never to be so far enlightened as to be able to perform this office for themselves, a minister might as well address so many of the beasts that perish. If they do become competent, it is, as we have said, an utter contravention of the law of God in any manner to interfere with them. Dr. Mosheim says of the Christians of the first century,—that the assembly of the people chose their own rulers and teachers, or received them by a free and authoritative consent, when recommended by others. The same people rejected or confirmed, by their suffrages, the laws that were proposed by their rulers to the assembly; excommunicated profligate and unworthy members of the church; restored the penitent to their forfeited privileges; passed judgment upon the different subjects of controversy and dissension that arose in their community; examined and decided the disputes which happened between the elders and deacons; and, in a word, exercised all that authority, which belongs to such as are invested with sovereign power.—(*Eccl. Hist. and Notes.*)

27. As ministers of National Churches are necessarily the supporters of unrighteous ruling, they do not inveigh against it, nor of the other vices which are its concomitants. Hence, the engrossers of the political right and the land, the greater mercantile competitors, and the opulent among the non-productive classes, hear little, if at all, from their ministers, of the evils they are the principal agents in bringing on mankind. Consequently, though in a certain country the preaching the gospel is very much talked of, *a most material part* of it is omitted to be preached. Our Lord's condemnation was exceedingly severe against the oppressors of their brethren, as

may be especially seen by one of his admonitions, elsewhere quoted. (v. 167.) The will of God obviously is, "that a man's acquisitions are in proportion to his labours." By the system ministers of National Churches support, "those who labour most enjoy the fewest things, and those who labour not at all, have the greatest number of enjoyments." (vi. 138.) Hence, instead of such ministers being incessant in their endeavours to banish all the ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, the great tendency of their conduct is, to banish that alone which can cause universal and unspotted holiness to prevail; namely, the maintenance of a righteous constitution and code, and men's lives being holy, as to those things of which human laws do not take cognizance. The latter is obviously unattainable if the laws are unrighteous. (vi. 251.) And we are sorry to be obliged to add, that these observations, to a certain extent, apply to ministers appointed by those over whom they preside: but this, we hope, arises from their not having clearer perceptions of their duty, rather than from a desire to uphold an iniquitous system. As long, says Volney, as it shall be possible to obtain purification from crimes, and exemption from punishment, by means of money, or other frivolous practices,—as long as kings and great men shall suppose that building temples, or instituting foundations, will absolve them from the guilt of oppression and homicide;—as long as individuals shall imagine that they may rob and cheat, provided they observe fast during Lent, go to confession and receive extreme unction, *it is impossible there should exist in society any morality or virtue.*—(*Revolutions of Empires.*) It must never be lost sight of, that there is no neutral ground in religion: all must labour with or against God. Those who support National Churches, we see do the latter. That which is truly the mode appointed by the Most High, for promoting universal holiness, we have elsewhere humbly endeavoured to evince. (vi. 201.)

28. As we refrain from saying any thing about the English Church, or, indeed, any of our institutions, in the ample manner proper for their consideration, we may observe as to such National Churches as the French and Russian, for example, that, except by an enactment according with the divine law, the extraction of a single farthing, by any government that may be maintained in France or Russia, from any person whatever, or for any purpose whatever, is incontrovertibly a robbery, and a robbery of a very heinous nature.

29. And the difference is precisely this, in these countries, between taxing a man to support the state and the church.—If, under a lawful constitution of things, he declines to attend a great electoral assembly, the fault is his; and he may be compelled to pay a proper amount of state taxation: but not a farthing can, under any circumstances whatever, be forcibly

extracted from him, to support a National Church; the appointment of the persons men will have to be their ministers of religion, or whether they will have any such ministers at all, being wholly foreign to the duties of their political governors.

30. The man who robs on the highway, if he does it unaccompanied by the infliction of personal violence, simply abstracts the wealth of another;—but the four pillars on which the French and Russian Churches are erected, are—

Lying!
Robbery!
Murder! and—
Blasphemy!

The French and Russian rulers are liars, in affirming that they are the lawful governors of their respective countries:—they are robbers, in taking the wealth of those they rule, without any lawful title:—they are murderers; for if the governed would not quietly part with such wealth,—to compel them, their rulers would use unlawful force, until it amounted to murder. Such rulers are also blasphemers, in asserting that their appointments are in accordance with the will of God. And the ministers of religion necessarily participate in *all the guilt* of these rulers, in deriving their appointments from them.

31. Certainly it is the most daring impiety for any men, and especially the ministers of religion, to pretend that a constitution, founded and maintained in subversion of all righteous law, and therefore only through the instrumentality of the bayonet and the halter, or, what is equivalent, the fear of them, emanates from Heaven. Those miserable wretches, the Spanish inquisitors, blasphemously affirmed that their execrable deeds were in accordance with its will.

32. Unlawful rulers maintain a National Church, principally as *a source of patronage,* to assist them in upholding their lawless power. If any interference can be supposed allowable between man and his Creator, are not the French and Russian governments the very last that ought to interfere? Are the men who are among the greatest rebels to Heaven of any in their whole nation,—the men whose power rears its unhallowed head on the ruins only of all righteous law,—the men, whose only lawful act would be to declare to the whole world, that their forefathers and themselves have been a set of miserable traitors, in contravening the will of the Most High, by establishing and maintaining an unrighteous constitution and code,—are these the persons, directly or indirectly, to choose for all the rest of their countrymen, who shall be their guides to immortality? Is the 'great power and stretched-out arm,' of 'the high and lofty One that inhabiteth eternity,' unable to effect his purposes, without the assistance of men trampling under their feet his law? Can this be attributed to him who is infinitely holy?

Can it be doubted that, to all ministers who allow themselves to be thus appointed, he speaks as follows:—'What hast thou to do to declare my statutes; or that thou shouldst take my covenant in thy mouth?' 'When ye come to appear before me, who hath required this at your hand, to tread my courts?' 'I hate, I despise your feast-days, and I will not smell in your solemn assemblies. Though ye offer me burnt offerings, and your meat offerings, I will not accept them: neither will I regard the peace offerings of your fat beasts. Take thou away from me the noise of thy songs, for I will not hear the melody of thy viols: but let judgment run down as waters, and righteousness as a mighty stream.'

33. Though all mankind were agreed, that the doctrines of the Church of Rome were truly in accordance with the divine will, yet even the promulgating these by compulsory taxation, can never be beneficial: all the good derivable from a Church being attainable without this great evil. Whether, therefore, any of the ministers of the National Churches of France and Russia, receive each a shilling or a million yearly, it is a *robbery*, differing only as to the amount; just as the highwayman is more criminal, if he robs another of all the money he has, than if he takes but a part.

34. Of all injustice, says Sir R. L'Estrange, that is the greatest which goes under the name of law.

35. We have already seen, that the French National Assembly declared on the subject of taxation, that "*every citizen* has a right, either by himself or his representative, to a free voice in determining" whatever relates to public contributions.—(vii. 103.)

36. Government, says Locke, cannot be supported without great charge; and it is fit every one who enjoys his share of the protection, should pay out of his estate his proportion for the maintenance of it. But still it must be with *his own consent;* i. e., the consent of the majority, giving it either by themselves, or their representatives chosen by them; for if any one shall claim a power to lay and levy taxes on the people, by his own authority, and without such consent of the people, he thereby invades the fundamental law of property, and subverts the end of government;—for what property have I in that, which another may, by right, take when he pleases to himself?—(*On Government.*)

37. It has never been successfully insisted on, even by the stanchest advocates for a National Church, that those who voluntarily support their own ministers, have less true religion than those who do not. If it is urged, that were there no National Churches, many would not perform public worship at all; it cannot be doubted, that had all men their equal share of the political right and the land, if some refused to support a minis-

ter voluntarily, they would be in no degree benefitted, by being forced to contribute to his maintenance.

38. If any deny that men are to be left wholly uncontrolled in matters of religion, they must affirm that there exists in every nation, a power in some, of setting up a mode of worship, no matter whether right or wrong;—there being no human authority to decide the question, and then of compelling others to adopt that mode, or at least, of paying in support of it. But that this is wrong, is thus apparent:—all that unlawful rulers can do, is utterly to supersede their own appointments; and if, under a righteous constitution of things, one man can have the right of interfering in any manner with his neighbour, as to the performance of public worship, another has the same right, and consequently all others, have towards all others, the political rights of all being equal; whence maybe perceived the manifest absurdity of any interference whatever.

CHAP. XV.

THE HEBREW AND BRITISH LAWS COMPARED.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE HEBREWS.

1. Some readers may perhaps be ready to ask,—What have men now to do with laws made three thousand years since, for people in Canaan? To this it is answered, that the laws of the Hebrews had for their Author the Divine Being, and they are the only ones ever known in the world so distinguished. They therefore must ever be held in the very hightest reverence by all good men.

2. The people, says Fleury, whom God chose to preserve the true religion, till the promulgation of the gospel, are an excellent model of that way of living, which is most conformable to nature. We see in their customs, the most rational method of subsisting, employing ones-self, and living in society; and thence may learn, not only lessons of morality, but rules for our conduct, both in public and in private life. For most of the difference betwixt us and them, does not proceed from our being more enlightened by Christianity, but from our being less guided by reason.—*(Manners of the Ancient Israelites.)*

3. The Hebrew Commonwealth, says Lowman, as a model of government of divine original, should more especially deserve our attention as Christians; who own the laws delivered by Moses to the Hebrew nation, to have been given by the oracle of God, and established by the authority of the Supreme Governor of the world: in which, therefore, we may expect to find a wise and excellent model, becoming the wisdom of such a lawgiver. However trifling some of the laws may appear at first view, and unworthy the wisdom of God to enact them; yet the case will appear quite otherwise, when they are considered as necessary provisions against the danger of idolatry.—(*Civil Government of the Hebrews.*)

4. The Hebrew institutions were intended to be instrumental in making the Jewish nation high above all nations in praise, and in name, and in honour; an holy people unto the Lord. That this great end was not attained, arose not from any thing defective in the laws, but the wickedness of those who refused to obey them. It must ever have been, and ever must continue to be, the will of Heaven; that not only the Jewish nation, but all others in ancient and modern times, should have been, or shall now, or hereafter be, an holy people unto the Lord. Will then, it may be asked, the laws of any nation the world ever heard of, or now knows, better effect this glorious purpose than the Hebrew? The state of all nations mentioned in history, during the whole period of their being, as well as that of all that now exist, is the answer to this question.

5. We may, therefore, further ask,—Whether ancient and modern legislators, of most, or perhaps of all nations, have not acted in a manner altogether derogatory to the Divine Being, in the disregard they have shewn to the Mosaic code. Let us take our own as an example, and comparing it with the Hebrew, instead of discovering that the latter has been treated with the profoundest veneration; we find that by every generation that has existed in this country, from its earliest history, to the present hour, the Mosaic code has been considered more as an idle tale, than any thing else. It is true, we have copied some of its enactments, such as,—'Thou shalt not kill'—'Thou shalt not bear false witness against thy neighbour.' But what government can tolerate murder or perjury? Justice and truth, says Locke, are the common ties of society; and, therefore, even outlaws and robbers, who break with all the world besides, must keep faith and rules of equity among themselves; or else they cannot hold together.—(*Essay on the Human Mind.*) In the Hebrew code, the penalty of death is awarded against all those who contemn its enactments. Those, therefore, of other nations and ages, who have disregarded, or who now do, or shall hereafter disregard, the divine institutions, surely cannot escape condemnation. If such of the decrees of Heaven as those, for

instance, which relate to the division of the land, are to be treated with contempt in any nation, and human inventions are to be set up and maintained, in utter opposition to them:—Why not carry the matter further, and instead of allowing the land to be engrossed by a few, let it be so only by ONE?

6. With the exception of the relaxations permitted by Heaven, the divine law was not only obligatory on the Hebrews three thousand years since, but without those relaxations it necessarily is on the people of the British Isles at the present day. And reasoning by analogy, as we have before intimated, we may humbly consider it is throughout the universe; and has been so from the moment the Divine Being commenced the work of creation, and will continue to be so to all eternity; unless it is the divine pleasure that its provisions shall be relaxed, in favour of any portion of the great family of intellectual beings.

7. The Mosaic code may be divided into two parts, the ceremonial and the moral. That neither of these is in strict accordance with the will of Heaven, is abundantly evident; and is so declared in holy writ. (*Ez.* xx. 25.) As to the ceremonial part,—How can the blood of a beast satisfy divine justice? Had the law of God never been violated, Heaven would never have had to require satisfaction for its infraction; and the sacrifice of 'the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sin of the world,' would have been unnecessary. All preceding sacrifices were, therefore, typical of this great one, all acknowledgments that the law of God had been infringed, and required satisfaction; either in the punishment of the guilty, or of some one on their behalf. 'O Lord,' says the psalmist, 'open thou my lips, and my mouth shall show forth thy praise. For thou desireth not sacrifice, else would I give it; thou delightest not in burnt offering. The sacrifices of God are a broken spirit; a broken and a contrite heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.' The tedious ceremonies of the Hebrew ritual were designed to keep the Hebrews ever in mind, of the unspeakable importance of their duty to God. As to the moral part of the code, the Hebrews being permitted to retain persons of other nations in perpetual servitude, could, we humbly imagine, never have been in strict accordance with the will of Heaven. The permission to divorce we have already noticed, and seen it was abrogated as to all mankind by our Lord; matters of this kind, though permitted, were never sanctioned by Heaven.

8. As God gave men the divine law, which, if obeyed, would have been productive of nothing but unmixed happiness; but they, through the hardness of their hearts, would not be guided by it:—the relaxing some of the provisions of this law, in favour of a portion of mankind, for a certain period,—must be considered an act of great mercy on his part, in thus affording men an opportunity of living, in a manner in some degree opposed to

his will, but yet without the loss of his favour. Hence the Mosaic code can never be taken as a whole by any nation. Its enactments may be divided into three classes :—

1. Those which arose out of the peculiar circumstances of the times, and which relate principally to the prevention of idolatry. Also some that could emanate from Heaven alone, as the sabbatical year.
2. Those which relate to relaxations of the divine law, as the two of perpetual servitude and divorce.
3. Those which are in strict accordance with the divine law, such as,—'Thou shalt not kill.' 'Thou shalt not not steal.'

9. As to the first. Though the worship of graven images, or any other idolatry, is, of course, utterly derogatory to Heaven —in a nation where the public profession of it is unknown, to pass a law against it seems unnecessary. As to the second.— As none can forgive sins but God only, so none but himself can permit any relaxation of the divine law; for this to be done by any human authority, might, we have seen, be equivalent to superseding all righteous law whatever. (vi. 41.) As to the third.—All nations ought to take so much of the Hebrew code, as is in accordance with the divine law, in the formation of their political institutions. Thus a reply is furnished to those who inquire,—What have men now to do with laws made three thousand years since for people in Canaan?

10. Among the Hebrews slavery was of two kinds, temporary and perpetual. The former applied to themselves, the latter to strangers. An Israelite might be placed in temporary slavery, or as it may be more properly called, servitude; by fathers thus placing their children, when at a suitable age, just as our young men are apprenticed. The Israelites might also be sold into servitude for debt; but this, among themselves, could not be for more than six years; unless with the consent of the person going into the servitude, who might, if he chose, so dispose of himself until the year of jubilee. (ix. 64.) If a Hebrew disposed of himself to a stranger, he could not be retained beyond this period; and might be redeemed at any time, his friends chose to purchase his redemption. The Israelites were allowed to purchase strangers and their descendants. Debts might be incurred among the Israelites in two ways,—namely, for money or other property had, or from inability to pay a fine, incurred by the violation of a penal statute. The law, limiting the time of servitude to six years, of course signifies it could not exceed this period, except as we have mentioned. Consequently, though it could not be more, it might be less; and must have been so, proportionably with the smallness of the debt.

11. A state of servitude does not necessarily imply one of excessive hardship. We have spoken of servants in another

place, (i. 31.), as we have said these should be treated, so we may suppose it was the divine intention, both classes of servants among the Israelites should. Some of their writers, alluding to an Israelitish servant, say,—"Let him be with thee in meat and drink, so that thou do not eat bread of fine flour and he of bran, nor thou drink old wine and he new, nor thou lie upon a soft bed, and he upon straw." And the Israelites having been repeatedly admonished to treat strangers with kindness, we cannot suppose, after they became their perpetual servants, and therefore stood in need of more regard, they were to be treated with less. If a man smote the eye or tooth of a servant, that either was lost, the servant was immediately emancipated. That the state of servitude among the Israelites, was not designed by Heaven to be rigorous, is further apparent from what has been already mentioned: namely, that an Israelite might voluntarily consign himself to it for many years. The law also contemplated that any Hebrew woman placed in a state of servitude, might become the wife or daughter-in-law of her master. Manstealing and selling was a capital crime. The Hebrews refusing to manumit their brethren at the time required by law, was one reason why God delivered the nation into the hands of its enemies.

12. The permission on the part of the Divine Being for the Hebrews to have perpetual servants, was unquestionably for some wise end, though possibly inscrutable to us. Men placed in the situation of the latter, were undoubtedly dealt with by Heaven accordingly; in the reward or punishment meted out to them, as they had done well or ill in this life. On this account, therefore, it was of less importance to them, whether they were masters or servants. Those who think there is any thing inexplicable, in the servitude among the Israelites, may also ask,—Why they were permitted to be Pharoah's bondmen? With regard to Egypt, God said to 'Abram, know of a surety, that thy seed shall be a stranger in a land, that is not their's; and shall serve them, and they shall afflict them four hundred years; and also that nation whom they shall serve, will I judge; and afterward shall they come out with great substance.' A reason of their not being allowed to possess the land of Canaan earlier than they did, being that 'the iniquity of the Amorites was not yet full.' It is well known to the students of sacred history, how truly the divine assurance, that, (as to the Hebrews), the 'nation whom they shall serve, will I judge;' was fulfilled.—Among the Israelites, he who hired servants instead of purchasing them, and was the husband of one wife only, in order to propitiate the divine favour; was not, we may presume, forgotten before God. When, therefore, it is considered, that the true religion was established only among the Israelites in Canaan; the permission to them to purchase servants from other

nations, must be considered a merciful dispensation of Heaven towards the latter. Hence we find the Israelites directed to harbour the servant, which escaped from his master unto them. 'He shall dwell with thee, even among you, in that place which he shall choose, in one of thy gates, where it liketh him best; thou shalt not oppress him.'

13. Had the Israelites acted according to the divine will, they might possibly have been made the instruments of publishing the true religion throughout the world. On this account, therefore, it is possible, that peculiar privileges were allowed them; that they might have every possible incitement to lead a holy life. They had groaned under the tyranny of the Egyptians, and were subsequently in a country flowing with milk and honey; with a constitution and code appointed by Infinite Wisdom. They had the advantage of having known adversity, and afterwards prosperity; and were thus placed in the most favourable situation for doing the will of God themselves, and teaching it to others: and the Divine Being designing to make the Israelites his peculiar people, to have allowed foreigners an equality of rights with them, would have almost or altogether defeated this object. It remained, therefore, only for Heaven entirely to exclude foreigners from settling in Canaan; or instead of this, allow the generality of them to be in one of the two states of servitude we have elsewhere mentioned. (v. 10.) Of these two, if the Israelites were kind masters, the servitude permitted in Canaan was assuredly the preferable one. The land being equally divided, one master could scarcely require many servants; and there was no such thing necessary by the Mosaic code, as for a man without land to have perpetual servants. An Israelite, therefore, had ample means of providing comfortably, for all those about him. It does not appear, says Fleury, that the Israelites had a great number of slaves, neither had they occasion for them; being so industrious, and numerous in so small a country, they chose rather to make their children work, whom they were obliged to maintain, who served them better than any slaves. The Romans found a great inconvenience at last, from that vast multitude of slaves of all nations; which luxury and effeminacy had introduced amongst them. It was one of the chief causes of the ruin of that empire.—(*Manners of the Ancient Israelites.*) The state of the Israelites, when compared with that of nations, where the land is engrossed by a few, and the selling and buying human beings is allowed; (as in these a mercantile competitor to enrich himself, may make the largest exactions for the smallest returns, and treat with other cruelties the unhappy slaves under him or his drivers;) is obviously widely different.

14. To the man, who impugns the wisdom and goodness of God, in allowing the Israelites to have perpetual servants, we

say.—'Nay but, O man, who art thou, that repliest against God? Shall the thing formed, say to him that formed it,—Why hast thou made me thus?' If there is any validity in the objection, in reference to slavery or servitude in Canaan—all orders of spiritual beings, except the highest, may complain they were not created as the latter; and possibly these again, that (unlike our Lord)—God giveth the spirit by measure unto them. We may humbly imagine, with regard to perpetual servitude, that it was not so from the beginning. For the Divine Being, to deal with those of his creatures, who will, and those who will not, do what he requires of them, a very different mode of treatment is obviously necessary. We may assign, as a last reason,—that the Israelites may have been allowed to have perpetual servants, to evince to the rest of mankind in all ages, that such a state of society, even when permitted by Heaven, is not the best adapted to promote the well-being of a nation;—nothing having saved the Israelites from falling. If the view here taken is a correct one, another powerful argument is afforded against the abstraction of the political right from any men.

15. To men's wickedness, arises the difficulty in discovering, that all the dispensations, and change in the dispensations of Heaven, perfectly accord with Infinite Wisdom and Love. 'If,' says the great apostle Paul, 'any man think that he knoweth any thing, he knoweth nothing yet, as he ought to know.' 'For now we see through a glass darkly,' but hereafter we shall see face to face. Now, says Paul, I know in part, but hereafter shall I know, even as also I am known. There may be some things in the divine dealings, purposely hidden for the exercise of our faith; which could not be effectually tried, if all things were alike laid open.—Those things to which the constitution of our nature lays us under an invincible obligation to assent, cannot be exercises of faith. If any are not satisfied with what is here adduced, it may arise from our inability to elucidate the subject, or perhaps their being unnecesarily querulous, or both these causes.—Such persons may be addressed in the language of the poet,—

> One part, one little part, we dimly scan,
> Through the dark medium of life's feverish dream;
> Yet dare arraign the whole stupendous plan,
> If but that little part incongruous seem;
> Nor is that part, perhaps, what mortals deem.
> Oft from apparent ill our blessings rise:
> Oh! then renounce that impious self-esteem,
> That aims to trace the secrets of the skies;
> For thou art but of dust—be humble, and be wise.
>
> BEATTIE.

16. Some have considered, that Christianity is not altogether

opposed to slavery: thus, in the New Testament, the word in the original translated servants, (*Col.* iii. 22,) would, perhaps, be more correctly rendered by our word slaves. Paul exhorts persons in this situation to obey in all things,—fearing God. But no such inference as the above can be drawn from any thing in the New Testament. Paul, in his epistle to the Corinthians, says,—'Ye are bought with a price, be not ye the servants of men.' The miserably demoralizing tendency of slavery will appear from considering of a whole nation so reduced to it, that any of its members, but the governors, could be sold and bought. Nothing can by possibility be more contradictory to oppression, than the benignant spirit of Christianity. The members of any nation, therefore, cannot reduce to a state of slavery either their own countrymen or foreigners, because they have not, as the Israelites had, the divine authority. And that slavery, in every nation of the world, is utterly unlawful, is evident, from the consideration that the divine law, being as we have seen, obligatory on all men, of all nations and all ages; —all that one man can urge, why he should reduce any other, of his own or a different nation, to slavery; can, with equal force, be retorted by the latter. Hence, therefore, the nullity of the first allegation is obvious. Consequently, for some to reduce others, either natives or foreigners, in any nation, to either of the two kinds of slavery, is a usurpation of the divine prerogative. It has already been remarked, that it was not the object of our Lord and his followers to interfere with Jewish or Roman politics. (xi. 2.)

17. The government of the Hebrews on the part of the Divine Being differed from his government of any other nation, inasmuch as he was pleased to allow them to have audible intercourse with him. The Hebrew polity has been exclusively styled theocratic. The government of all other nations antecedent to, contemporary with, and subsequent to the Hebrews, has however been, and necessarily now is, also theocratic: the principal difference being, that Heaven does not vouchsafe to them precisely the same kind of communication, it did to its chosen people. In directing our attention to the Hebrew constitution, we shall consider of it only as it came from the hands of Moses: an alteration afterwards made in it, by the infatuated Hebrews crying out for a chief magistrate, similar to the surrounding nations, having been in opposition to the divine will. (1 *Sam.* viii. 5 to 7.) Moses, says Michaelis, was so far from appointing a king over the Hebrews, that he merely gave a permission for this purpose at a future period; leaving it entirely at the pleasure of the Israelites, to choose one when they should find it expedient; so that the king among them was, with all his power, only the creature of the people.—(*Com. on the Laws of Moses, Art.* 2.) And even this choice as to every particular chief ma-

gistrate, could not be made by them, without the divine sanction. (*Deut.* xvii. 15.—*Hos.* viii. 4. xiii. 11.)

18. The Most High, purposing, as he had promised, to deliver the Hebrews from the Egyptians, and settle them in the land of Canaan, appointed Moses, and after him Joshua, for these objects. The appointment of these eminent persons was therefore entirely for a special purpose. And not only is sacred writ entirely silent about any appointment of a successor to Joshua, but it expressly and repeatedly acquaints us, that after his death, there was no chief magistrate in Israel; every man doing that which was right in his own eyes. With regard to the judges, of whom we read from Joshua's time to the Israelites crying out for a king, they were chosen by the Hebrews themselves, and also for special purposes. The constant phrase concerning the judges, says a commentator, is, "that the Lord stirred them up," that is, stirred them by an extraordinary motion, to undertake things beyond the reach of human wisdom and power.—(*Bishop Patrick.*) They were, says another writer, appointed by God, being however only marked out for the office by the gifts with which he invested them, and the exploits which he enabled them to perform.—(*Stackhouse.*)

19. Moses, says Michaelis, did not by any law unalterably determine for all future ages in what description of magistrates the supreme authority among the Israelites should be lodged. He did indeed commit it immediately into the hands of Joshua, but Joshua, who had given many proofs of courage and military skill, was only meant to be the leader who was to put them in possession of Palestine. He was, therefore, merely an occasional and extraordinary magistrate, who in peaceful times would require no successor; nor do we find upon his death that the Israelites chose any one in his room, but remained for some time without a head. The judges were not the ordinary and permanent magistrates of the Israelites, but in times when they happened to be oppressed by the neighbouring nations, that Israelite, whose valour and influence collected around him a sufficient number of the foes of slavery, became the deliverer of his country, and afterwards ruled it as long as he lived. It was generally some remarkable deed of valour that gained such a man popularity, and led his countrymen to put themselves under his guidance. In many cases particular tribes acted as distinct and independent republics, not only when there was neither king nor judge, but even in the times of the kings. In perusing the book of Judges, it has appeared to me as highly probable, that some of the judges therein mentioned, ruled not over all Israel, but merely over particular tribes. The Israelites frequently had general judges, and afterwards general sovereigns.—(*Com. on the Laws of Moses, Art.* 53 & 46.)

20. Dr. Russell, speaking of the judges, says, we applaud their

patriotism, admire their courage and talent in the field, and even share in the delight which accompanied their triumphs; yet when we return to their dwellings, we dare not inspect too narrowly the usages of their domestic day, nor examine into the indulgences with which they sometimes thought proper to remunerate the toils and cares of their public life. Divine Wisdom stooping to the imperfection of human nature, employed the instruments that were best fitted for the gracious ends, which by their means were about to be accomplished; though it does not appear to have been intended, that mankind should ever resort to the history of the Judges for lessons of decorum, humanity, or virtue.—(*Palestine, or the Holy Land.*)

21. That the appointments of Moses, Joshua, and the Judges, were considered in the way we have stated by the Hebrews, appears from the following passages. As to Moses, (*Ex.* xiv. 11, 12.—xv. 24.—xvi. 2, 3, 7, 8, 20.—xxxii. 1, 19, 23. *Numb.* xii. 1, 2.—xiv. 2, 4, 10, 36, 39 to 45.—xvi.—xx. 3 to 5, 10.—xxi. 5, 7. xxxi. 14. *Deut.* xii. 8. *Acts* vii. 39, 40.) As to Joshua, (*Josh.* i. 1, 2.—iii. 9 to 12.—xix. 49, 50.—xxii.) As to the Judges, (*Jud.* ii. 16, 17.—viii. 22, 23.—xi. 5, 11, 29.---xxi. 5. 1 *Sam.* viii. 5.)

22. Among the enactments in the Mosaic code, we find the following: 'Thou shalt rise up before the hoary head, and honour the face of the old man, and fear thy God; I am the Lord your God.' So inseparably connected are age and authority in early periods, that in the language of rude nations, the same word which signifies an old man, is generally employed to denote a ruler or magistrate. In a democracy, says Mr. Horne, where all are on an equal footing, the right discharge of official duties on the arrival of old age, are the only sources of rank. Hence the Mosaic statute will be found suitable to the republican circumstances of the Israelites, as well as conformable to the nature and wishes of the human heart; for no man has any desire to sink in honour, or be of less consequence than he was before; and to allow precedence to old age cannot be a matter that will ever affect a young man very sensibly.—(*Introduction to the Scriptures.*) Thus we find, the Hebrews did not have boys to rule over them, though a certain modern nation, from the hereditary system prevailing, may not only have to govern it very young men, but also very young women.

23. The lineal descendants of the twelve patriarchs who were advanced in life, were considered the principal persons among the Hebrews, and after them, those fathers who were elderly, and who were eminent for their wisdom and virtue: both these classes of persons were called elders. None of them, however, had greater political power than other adult males; except what they derived from the law quoted in the last paragraph, the concurring determination of the well-disposed to respect virtuous

old age; and appointments of them by the people at large to any official situations. We have seen, that the application of the terms princes and nobles in our Bibles to any of these elders, is quite erroneous. Prior to the Hebrews leaving Egypt, we find an assembly of the elders called, and others before they arrived in Canaan. It appears that Moses consulted the people generally, as to the appointment of these assemblies. The Jewish writers pretend that the assembly of the elders was a permanent and supreme court of judicature; but the sacred writers are totally silent concerning such a tribunal. That assemblies of the elders, however, were held during the whole period of the Jewish history, can scarcely be doubted. We read of the elders continually to the time of the captivity, and we find them again after the return. (*Numb.* xi. 16.) It appears from the appointment of the assemblies of the elders under Moses, that the Divine Being considered *one* senate sufficient for the Hebrews, who were not a small number, nor their existence of short duration; about fifteen centuries having elapsed, from the promulgation of the law to their ceasing to be a distinct people. But it is obvious, numbers make no difference herein; a few requiring to have as well constituted a government, as do many. And we may be sure, that could more than one senate have been beneficial for a nation, it would have been so ordered by God for the Hebrews.

24. Moses ordained that judges should be appointed in every city. And they were necessarily chosen by the people, the Mosaic code being addressed to all Israel. 'Judges and officers shalt thou make thee, in all thy gates, which the Lord thy God giveth thee, throughout thy tribes; and they shall judge the people with just judgment.' These judges were assisted by the priests and Levites. Antecedent to the death of Joshua, communications had been made either mediately or immediately, both by Moses and himself, to all the people. At the deaths of Moses and Joshua, their last exhortations are also addressed to all Israel. During the lives of these two eminent persons, we also find all the people taking part in judicial proceedings.

25. Heaven having declared that the law should be immutable, all that the Hebrews wanted, was an executive, and this we see was left to be chosen by themselves. Had the Divine Being appointed one, he must have declared the office should be hereditary in a certain family or families; or on the demise of the holders, on all occasions have specially appointed their successors. Not a syllable is mentioned of any thing of this kind, until the kingly form of government began; and the Hebrews were, as we have said, then only authorized to choose their rulers, under the divine sanction. In other nations, where the political right is engrossed by a few, it is, as we have seen, that the land may be engrossed, and that the few may also tax the

many at their pleasure, and do other illegal acts. That such a system, or any thing that has the slightest approximation to it, should emanate from Heaven, is not for a moment supposeable. By the Mosaic constitution, no one Hebrew had less or greater political rights than any other. No one could appropriate more land than was assigned to him under Joshua.

26. The wisdom of the Hebrew constitution is observable, says Lowman, as it provided against all ambitious designs of private persons, or persons in authority, against the public liberty; for no person in any of the tribes, or throughout the whole Hebrew nation, had such estates and possessions, or were allowed by the constitution to procure them, that could give any hopes of success in oppressing their brethren and fellow subjects. They had no riches to bribe indigent persons to assist them; nor could there, at any time, be any considerable number of indigent persons to be corrupted. They could have no power to force their fellow subjects [to the government of God,] into a tame submission to any of their ambitious views. The power in the hands of so many freeholders in each tribe, was so unspeakably superior to any power in the hands of one or a few men, that it is impossible to conceive how any such ambitious designs should succeed, if any persons should have been found so weak as to attempt them. The judges were without show, without pomp, without followers, without equipage; unless their own estates enabled them to have a number of servants, conformable to their dignity. But this would seldom happen, and the revenues of their office consisting in the presents that were made to them, they had no other settled revenue, nor did they raise anything from the people.—(*Civil. Gov. of the Hebrews.*)

27. Thus we see the great purposes to which the engrossing the political right is applied in other countries—namely, the engrossing the land, and unlawfully taxing men,—could have no place among the Hebrews. Hence there was no inducement for any to desire that any other than the democratic constitution should be maintained.

28. We find the Reubenites, Gadites, and half-tribe of Manasseh, having been sent by Joshua, to their home on the other side of the river Jordan; built an altar, which being considered a trespass against God, 'the whole congregation' of the children of Israel gathered themselves together at Shiloh, to go up to war against them: but first sent an embassy to the offenders, who affirming they meant not to rebel against the Lord, the affair was amicably arranged. In reference to this, observes a political writer, Joshua was then alive, the elders never failed; —but this was not transacted by him or them, but by the collected body of the people, "for they sent Phineas." This democratical embassy was democratically received. It was not directed to one, but to all the children of Reuben, Gad, and

Manasseh, and the answer was sent by them all.—(*Sydney.*) And we may add to what this writer states, that the princes or heads of houses were quite subordinate to the people: as the sacred historian tells us, that the children of Israel sent 'Phinehas, the son of Eleazer the priest; and with him ten princes, of each chief house a prince, throughout all the tribes of Israel; and each one was an head of the house of their fathers among the thousands of Israel.'

29. On another occasion, the Benjamites of Gileah abused the concubine of a Levite to death; he giving notice thereof, 'all the children of Israel' went out, the congregation being gathered together from Dan even to Beersheba, and inquired of the Levite the particulars; after which 'all the people rose as one man,' and sent to demand the offenders; that, said they, we may put them to death, and put away evil from Israel.

30. That the Hebrew constitution was democratic, is therefore evident from these concurring testimonies:—the total absence of every thing in the history of a contrary nature:—the positive and repeated assurances that it was a democracy;—the whole nature of its institutions preventing the possibility of its being any other. Could it lawfully have emanated from *part* of the Hebrews, the Most High would have *distinguished those who were to rule or appoint the rulers.* (vii. 43.) Thus the institutions, the history, and the divine character conform to one another. And that no other than a democracy could be of divine appointment, is further obvious from the considerations elsewhere urged,—namely, that by this form of government alone can the ends of righteous ruling be attained. (vi. 202.)

31. The constitution of the Israelites, says the Rev. G. R. Gleig, was as favourable to the maintenance of absolute freedom and equality, as any that has ever been invented. Possessing a law, upon which no human power was competent to effect the slightest innovation;—the people were accustomed to see its enactments carried into force, by individuals, whose claims to obedience rested entirely upon the rights which patriarchal institutions convey; but who, in the every-day occurrences of life, aimed at no superiority over those whom they justly regarded as brethren. In like manner, each tribe, though connected with the rest by the ties of a common origin, and a sense of mutual advantage, exercised on ordinary occasions absolute independence within itself; whilst all were united into one state, as often as circumstances required, by a judge or supreme magistrate raised up especially for the occasion.—(*History of the Bible, London,* 1830.)

32. We have seen that the *Law of Nature,* and the *Law of Revelation,* assign an exact equality of political right to every man that comes into the world. We now see that the *Mosaic Code* assigned an exact equality of such right to the Hebrews.

33. In addition to the other human testimonies, in support of an equality of right, to be found in this Essay, the following are presented :—

34. "What constitutes a state?
Not high-raised battlements or laboured mound,
Thick wall, or moated gate;
Not cities proud, with spires and turrets crown'd;
Not bays and broad-arm'd ports,
Where, laughing at the storm, rich navies ride;
Not starr'd and spangled courts,
Where, low-brow'd baseness wafts perfume to pride:
No! men, high-minded men,
With powers as far above dull brutes endued
In forest, brake, or den,
As beasts excel cold rocks and brambles rude;
Men who their duties know,
But know their rights, and knowing dare maintain!"

35. Demosthenes, speaking of certain free states, calls them their own legislators.—(*Demosthenis Opera Omnia.*)

36. Slavery is that by which one man is made subject to another according to the law of nations, though contrary to natural right. *All men* are by the law of nature born in freedom.—(*Harris's Justinian.*)

37. A popular state is where free men govern.—And an oligarchy where rich men rule.—(*Aristotle, as quoted in Filmer's Works.*)

38. Plato, in his Republic, says, that an oligarchy is big with many constant evils.—(*A Short Dissertation on Oligarchy,* 1748.)

39. No man that knows any thing, can be so stupid to deny that all men naturally were born free, being the image and resemblance of God himself, and were by privilege above all the creatures born to command and not to obey. And that they lived so, till from the root of Adam's transgression, falling among themselves to do wrong and violence; and foreseeing that such courses must needs tend to the destruction of them all, they agreed by common league to bind each other from mutual injury, and jointly to defend themselves against any that gave disturbance or opposition to such agreement. Hence came cities, towns, and commonwealths. And because no faith in all was found sufficiently binding, they saw it needful to ordain some authority, that might restrain by force and punishment what was violated against peace and common right: the authority and power of self-defence and preservation, being originally and naturally in every one of them, and united in them all for ease and for order. And lest each man should be his own partial judge, they communicated and derived either to one, whom for the eminency of his wisdom and integrity they chose above the rest; or to more than one, whom they thought of equal deserving. The first was called a king, the other magistrates. Not to be their lords and masters,—(though afterwards those names in some places were given voluntarily to such as had been authors of inestimable good to the people;)—but to be their deputies and commissioners, to execute, by virtue of their entrusted power, that justice which else every man, by the bond of nature and of covenant, must have executed for himself and for one another. *And to him that shall consider well, why among free persons one man by civil right should bear authority and jurisdiction over another, no other end or reason can be imaginable.* These for a while governed well, and with much equity decided all things at their own arbitrament; till the temptation of such a power left absolute on their hands, perverted them at length to injustice and partiality. Then did they who now by trial had found the danger and inconveniences of committing arbitrary power to any, invent laws either framed or consented to by *all,* that should confine and limit the authority of whom they chose to govern them, that so man of whose failing they had proof, might no more rule over them;—but law and reason

abstracted as much as might be from personal errors and frailties. When this would not serve, but that the law was either not executed or misapplied, they were constrained from that time, the only remedy left them; to put conditions and take oaths from all kings and magistrates at their first instalment, to do impartial justice by law, who upon those terms and no other received allegiance from the people,—that is to say, bond or covenant to obey them in execution of those laws, which they the people had themselves made or assented to. And this oftentimes with express warning, that if the king or magistrate proved unfaithful to his trust, the people would be disengaged. It being thus manifest, that the power of kings and magistrates is nothing else but what is only derivative, transferred, and committed to them in trust for the people, to the common good of them all; in whom the power yet remains fundamentally, and cannot be taken from them without a violation of their natural *birthright*. Hence Aristotle and the best of political writers have defined a king,—him who governs to the good and profit of his people, and not for his own ends. To say, as is usual, the king hath as good right to his crown and dignity as any man to his inheritance, is to make the subject no better than the king's slave, his chattel, or his possession, that may be bought and sold. To say kings are accountable to none but God, is the overturning of all law and government. It follows, that the king or magistrate holds his authority of the people, both originally and naturally, for their good in the first place, and not his own; then may the people, as oft as they shall judge it for the best, either chuse him or reject him, retain him or depose him, though no tyrant; merely by the liberty and right of free-born men to be governed as seems to them best. Since kings, and that by scripture, boast the justness of their title by holding it immediately of God, yet cannot shew the time when God ever set on the throne them or their forefathers, but only when the people chose them;—why by the same reason, since God ascribes as often to himself the casting down of princes from the throne, it should not be thought as lawful and as much from God, when none are seen to do it but the people, and that for just causes. For if it must needs be a sin in them to depose, it may as likely be a sin to have elected. And contrary, if the people's act in election be pleaded by a king as the act of God, and the most just title to enthrone him; why may not the people's act of rejection be as well pleaded by the people as the act of God, and the most just reason to depose him? So that we see the title and just right of reigning or deposing, in reference to God, is found in scripture to be all one, visible only in the people, and depending merely upon justice and demerit. Thus far hath been considered briefly the power of kings and magistrates, how it was and is originally the people's; and by them conferred in trust only to be employed to the common peace and benefit; with liberty, therefore, and right remaining in them, to reassume it to themselves, if by kings and magistrates it be abused; or to dispose of it by any alteration, as they shall judge most conducing to the public good.—*(Pro Populo Adversus Tyrannos*, 1689.*)*

40. All authority is fundamentally seated in the office, and but ministerially in the persons; therefore, the persons in their ministrations degenerating from safety to tyranny, their authority ceaseth; and is only to be found in the fundamental, original rise and situation thereof,—which is the people, the body represented. For all just human powers are but trusted, conferred, and conveyed by joint and common consent. To every individual is given an individual property by nature, not to be invaded or usurped by any. For every one, as he is himself, hath a self propriety, else could not be himself; and on this no second may presume without consent. And by natural birth *all men* are equal, and alike born to like propriety and freedom. If the trusted act not for the weal and safety of those who trust, they depart from their just power and act by another, which cannot be termed either human or divine, but unnatural and devilish, rendering such usurpers as monsters among men. The transgression of our weal by our trustees is an utter forfeiture of their trust, and cessation of their power.—*(Overton's Appeal from the Commons to the People*, 1647.*)*

41. Secular or civil power is instituted by men. It is in the people, unless

they bestow it on a prince. This power is immediately in the *whole multitude*, as in the subject of it. For this power is in the divine law, but the divine law hath given this power to no particular man. If the positive law be taken away, there is left no reason why, amongst a multitude who are equal, one rather than another should bear rule over the rest. Power is given by the multitude to one man, or to more, by the same law of nature; for the commonwealth cannot exercise this power, therefore it is bound to bestow it upon some one man, or some few. It depends upon the consent of the multitude, to ordain over themselves a king, or consul, or other magistrates.—(*Cardinal Bellarmine, as quoted in Sir Robert Filmer's Patriarcha.)*

42. In Grotius we find evidently these doctrines,—that civil power depends on the will of the people,—that private men or petty multitudes may take up arms against their princes,—that the lawfullest kings have no property in their kingdoms, but an usufructuary right only.—(*Filmer on Grotius.*)

43. Our author [of a Treatise of Monarchy] saith "The higher power is God's ordinance,—that it resideth in one or more, in such or such a way, is from human designment. God by no words binds any people to this or that form, till they by their own act bind themselves."—(*As quoted in Filmer, on the Anarchy of a Limited or Mixed Monarchy.*)

44. Since the time that school divinity began to flourish, there hath been a common opinion maintained, as well by divines as by divers other learned men, which affirms;—mankind is naturally endowed and born with freedom from all subjection, and at liberty to choose what form of government it please.—(*Sir Robert Filmer's Patriarcha.*)

45. All civil governments are derived from the deliberation, consultation, and consent of the parties concerned; and consequently the power of making laws belongs to the *body of the community.* And it is mere tyranny, for any prince to arrogate this power of imposing laws, except the same be exercised by virtue of divine authority, personally and immediately granted to the prince, (which never had place but in the kings of Israel;) or by the authority at first derived from the consent of the people.—(*An Examination of the Scruples of those who refuse to take the Oath of Allegiance*, 1689.)

46. Let any man try whether the text (ii. 20) will admit of a rebel or usurper. Then St. Paul's words run thus,—Let every soul be subject to a rebel, for there is no rebel but of God, the rebels that be are ordained of God. Whosoever therefore that resisteth a rebel, resisteth the ordinance of God; and they that resist shall receive to themselves damnation. For a rebel is the minister of God to thee for good (and so is the devil and the inquisition.) Whereby it is demonstrable, that St. Paul here describes a just and righteous government. If you put in any other into the text, it quite overthrows it, and turns it into blasphemy.—(*Johnson's Reflections on Passive Obedience.*)

47. "All civil authority is derived originally from the people."—"Birthright and proximity of blood give no title to rule or government."—(*As quoted in the Judgment and Decree of the University of Oxford*, 1683.)

48. I am fully satisfied in my own conscience, and will dispute the case with any learned and conscientious divine; that [government] can be justified no other way, but by the election of the people in convention.—(*Rev. T. Wilson's Justification of the Revolution*, 1692.)

49. A civil authority—that is, a mutual consent and contract of the parties, first founded the civil relation of king and subject, as we see it every day does that of master and servant; which is another civil relation. (i. 39.) The consent of a community or society is a law; and the foundation of all laws whatsoever.—(*Sherlock against Sherlock*, 1690.)

50. Self-preservation is a natural law; and for the fulfilling of that law, men have always chosen to be embodied into civil societies, by which means they might meet with one another's mutual assistances; and then the good of the whole including the good of *each individual*, they were obliged, by the greatest law that could be laid upon mankind, that they should use their utmost united care to prevent public detriments: and this being the greatest law, all laws

lose their force that stand in competition with it. I can conceive but two ways by which men may be said to govern by divine right.—By an immediate appointment of God Almighty;—by an uninterrupted succession to those who had God's designation to them and their successors. (vii. 45.)—(*True Notion of Passive Obedience stated*, 1690.)

51. "The law of nature has put no difference or subordination among men, except it be that of children to parents, or of wives to their husbands; so that, with relation to the law of nature, *all* men are born free." "The true and original notion of civil society and government, is, that [it] is a compromise made by such a body of men, by which they resign up the right of demanding reparations, either in the way of justice against one another, or in the way of war against their neighbours, to such a single person, or such a body of men, as they think fit to trust."—(*As quoted in Vindiciæ Juris Regii*, 1689.)

52. In reference to Hooker's sentiments on government, elsewhere quoted, (vi. 93), says Hoadley, I have gone through all the objections which I have met with against Mr. Hooker's judgment, concerning the immediate original of civil government, and of the authority of magistrates. I might produce *a long catalogue of as great names as ever were known* for sense and learning, in favour of what I have here defended.—(*Hoadley's Original of Civil Govt. discussed.*)

53. A written word cannot be alleged for the endowing this or that person or stock, with sovereignty over a community. They alone [the Hebrews,] had the privilege of an extraordinary word. All others have the ordinary and mediate hand of God to enthrone them. They attain this determination of authority to their persons, by the tacit and virtual, or else express and formal, consent, of that society of men they govern. — (*Treatise of Monarchy, London*, 1689.)

54. "Men did not originally unite into civil communities by any command from God; but voluntarily, and from the experience they had, that separate families were alone unable to resist any foreign force. From hence grew civil power, which Peter therefore calls a human ordinance, though elsewhere it is called a divine ordinance, because God did approve thereof, as suitable and convenient for the good of mankind; but when God approves of a human law, he must be supposed to do it as human, and after a human manner." In this paragraph, our author [Grotius] traces a lawful empire to its originals. He finds it, then, to reside in the people; and derives it, together with the reasons thereof, from them, to such person or persons, in whom it is, by their act and sanction, placed and confirmed.—(*The Proceedings of the Present Parliament justified*, 1689.)

55. Creatures of the same rank and species, born with the same faculties to live in society, and to partake of the same advantages, have, in general, an equal and common right. We are, therefore, obliged to consider ourselves as naturally equal, and to behave as such; and it would be bidding defiance to nature not to acknowledge this principle of equity, which by the civilians is called *æquabilitas juris*, as one of the first foundations of society. It is on this the *lex talionis* is founded, as also that simple, but universal useful rule, that we ought to have the same dispositions in regard to other men, as we desire they should have towards us; and to behave in the same manner towards them, as we are willing they should behave to us in the like circumstances. There can be neither sovereignty, nor natural and necessary dependence between beings, which, by their nature, faculties, and state, have so perfect an equality, that *nothing can be attributed to one, which is not alike applicable to the other.* In fact, in such a supposition, there could be no reason why one should arrogate an authority over the rest, and subject them to a state of dependence, of which the latter could not equally avail themselves against the former. *The appellations of sovereigns and subjects, masters and slaves, are unknown to nature.* Nature has made us all of the same species, all equal, all free, and independent of each other; and was willing that those on whom she has bestowed the same faculties, should have *all the same rights.* It is, therefore, beyond all doubt,

that, in this primitive state of nature, no man has, of himself, an original right of commanding others, or any title to sovereignty. There is none but God alone that has of himself, and in consequence of his nature and perfections, a natural, essential, and inherent right of giving laws to mankind, and of exercising an absolute sovereignty over them. The case is otherwise *between man and man; they are of their nature as independent of one another, as they are dependent of God.* This liberty and independence is, therefore, a right naturally belonging to man, of which it would be unjust to deprive him against his will. Sovereignty resides originally in the people, and in each individual with regard to himself. When, therefore, we give to sovereigns the title of God's vicegerents upon earth, this does not imply that they derive their authority immediately from God; but it signifies only, that, by means of the power lodged in their hands, and with which the people have invested them, they maintain, agreeably to the views of the Deity, both order and peace, and thus procure the happiness of mankind. *The only lawful foundation of all sovereignty, is the consent, or the will, of the people.*—(*Burlamaqui's Princip. Pol. Law.*)

56. [Men] being of God created free, without subjection, and having free will, and being of a sociable nature; do freely, for the conservation of themselves, and for the peaceful administration of their commonwealths, choose unto themselves what manner of government or governors is best liking to their disposition; which governments and governors being elected, they are approved and ratified by God so absolutely, that whosoever resisteth the same, withstandeth the ordinance and institution of God.—(*Priest's Oath of Allegiance*, 1611.)

57. Certainly, the peace, safety, and prosperity of the people, are things superior to governments and rulers themselves, and more inviolably to be observed, than the injunctions of any men in authority whatsoever. Answerable hereunto, is the known principle,—"The safety of the people is the supreme law." The end is more excellent than the means. When magistrates shall, under colour of that authority which they are lawfully possessed of for the good of men, do, or command things to be done, heterogeneal to that authority, and which are of an open and manifest tendency to public prejudice; the people themselves not only stand clear of any engagement of submitting thereto, or of being aiding or assisting therein, but they also both may, and ought to, endeavour the prevention of such mischief.—(*The Grand Informer*, 1697.)

58. A free man can never be made another's subject but by his own consent. —(*Their present Majesties' Govt. proved to be settled*, 1691.)

59. There is not any thing the nature of man more abhorreth, or can less bear, than absolute power or government, introduced and exercised over him, without, or against, his own free and voluntary consent; especially by his fellow-creature, that hath no higher a title to it by nature than himself, all of us equally rising out of the dust, and returning to it again. As the good and safety of societies or public bodies are the right object and true end of government, so societies, in and of themselves, as soon as once they come to be, are the root and natural rise, the immediate cause and occasion, of introducing the exercise of supreme power over themselves, as that which is a necessary means, not only for their well subsisting, but for their preservation and being. As God is the institutor and propounder of government, or supreme power to be exercised and used amongst men, for the good and safety of human societies; so the ordinary and natural means God useth to bring this into act and exercise, in relation to this or that particular body or society, is the free and voluntary choice and consent of that body; put forth not only in relation to what hands it shall be placed in, few or many, but also in relation to what form it shall be exercised in, and upon what conditions and terms to be agreed upon; between those that shall be appointed for governors, and those that shall remain under government.—(*Brief Discourse on the End of Civil Govt., London*, 1648.)

60. "All men are born free and equal!" They are *born*, but do they so *live?*—(*Frances Wright's Popular Lectures.*)

61. By the state of nature, we are *all* equal, there being no superiority or subordination one above another. There can be nothing more rational, than that creatures of the same species and rank, promiscuously born to all the same advantages of nature, and the use of the same faculties, should also be equal one amongst another; without God, by any manifest declaration of his will, had set one above another, and given him superiority or sovereignty. Were it not for the corruption and viciousness of degenerate men, there would be no need of any other state, (vi. 8); for every one in that state is both judge and executioner of the law of nature, which is to punish according to the offence committed. Men being partial to themselves, passion and revenge is very apt to carry them too far in their own cases, as well as negligence and unconcernedness, makes them too remiss in other men's. This makes every one willingly give up his single power of punishing to one alone, or more, as they shall think most convenient; and by such rules as the community, or those authorized by them to that purpose, shall agree on; with intention, in every one, the better to preserve himself, his liberty, and property. *Rational creatures cannot be supposed, when free, to put themselves into subjection to another, for their own harm, which were to put themselves in a worse condition than in the state of nature;* wherein they had liberty to defend their lives and properties against the invasions of any man or men whatsoever; whereas, by giving up themselves to the absolute arbitrary power of any man, they have disarmed themselves, and armed him, to make a prey of them when he pleases!—(*Political Aphorisms, or the True Maxims of Govt. displayed: London*, 1691.)

62. The only way to erect such a commonwealth, as may be able to defend men from the invasion of foreigners, and the injuries of one another, and thereby to secure them in such sort, as that, by their own industry, and by the fruits of the earth, they may nourish themselves and live contentedly; is to confer all their power and strength upon one man, or one assembly of men, that may reduce all their wills, by plurality of voices, unto one will. This is more than consent or concord; it is a real unity of them all, in one and the same person, made by covenant of *every man with every man;* in such a manner as, if every man should say to every man,—I authorize, and give up my right of governing myself, to this man, or this assembly of men, on condition that thou give up thy right to him, and authorize all his actions in like manner. This done, the multitude so united in one common person, is called a commonwealth; which, to define it, is, one person, of whose acts a great multitude, by mutual covenant, one with another, have made themselves every one the author; to the end he may use the strength and means of them all, as he shall think expedient for their peace and common defence.—(*Hobbes' Commonwealth.*)

63. Several families uniting themselves together, to make up one body of a commonwealth, and being independent one of another, without any natural superiority or obligation; nothing can introduce amongst them a disparity of rule and subjection, but some power that is over them; which power none can pretend to have but God and themselves. Wherefore, all power which is lawfully exercised over such a society of men, (which from the end of its institution we call a commonwealth); must necessarily be derived either from the appointment of God Almighty, who is supreme Lord of all and every part; or from the consent of the society itself, who have the next power to his, of disposing of their own liberty as they shall see fit, for their own good. This power God hath given to societies of men, as well as he gave it to particular persons. And when he interposes not his own authority, and appoints not himself who shall be his vicegerents, and rule under him; he leaves it to none but the people themselves to make the election, whose benefit is the end of all government. Nay, when he himself hath been pleased to appoint rulers for that people which he was pleased particularly to own; he many times made the choice, but left the conformation and ratification of that choice to the people themselves. Much more might we say, if it were a less manifest truth, that all just power of government is founded upon these two bases, of God's immediate command, or the people's consent. And, therefore, whosoever arrogates to himself that power,

or any part of it, that cannot produce one of these two titles, is not a ruler, but an invader. And those that are subjects to that power are [not governed, but oppressed.—(*Killing no Murder, by W. Allen, reprinted* 1689.)

64. "Princes derive their power and prerogative from the people, and have their investitures merely for the people's benefit." "If the prince fail in his promise, the people are exempt from their obedience, the contract is made void, and the right of obligation is of no force."—(*As quoted in Considerations and Proposals in order to the Regulation of the Press, by Roger L'Estrange,* 1663.)

65. Let us conceive in our mind a multitude of men all naturally free and naturally equal, going about voluntarily to erect themselves into a new commonwealth. Here it will be necessary, first of all, that they covenant *each with each* in particular, to join into one lasting society, and to concert the measures of their welfare and safety by the public vote; though in a compact of this nature, it is the most usual way for particular persons to reserve to themselves the liberty of departing if they shall see fit. It is then farther necessary that a decree be made, specifying what form of government shall be settled amongst them. They who joined themselves in the society upon absolute terms, shall, if they design to continue longer in the place where the society is fixed, be bound by the agreement of the majority. After the decree hath passed to settle the particular form of government, there will be occasion for a new covenant, when the person or persons on whom the sovereignty is conferred shall be actually constituted: by which the rulers, on the one hand, engage themselves to take care of the common peace and security; and the subjects, on the other, to yield them faithful obedience.—(*Puffendorf's Law of Nature and Nations.*)

66. The commonwealth hath power to choose their own fashion of government, as also to change the same upon reasonable causes. As the commonwealth hath this authority to choose and change her government, so hath she also to limit the same with what laws and conditions she pleaseth. When men talk of a natural prince or natural successor,—if it be understood of one that is born within the same realm or country, and so of our own natural blood, it hath some sense. But if it be meant as though any prince had his particular government or interest, to succeed by institution of nature, it is ridiculous.—(*A Conference about the next Succession to the Crown of England,* 1681.)

67. Such rights as kings have had, they never justly came by it, but by force and flattery have obtained it; and have usurped upon the birthright of the people, to whom it belongs to choose them that must rule over them. And kingdoms with their appurtenances were never intended for particular men's advancement, to lift up such families in glory and greatness; or that the hereditary right of any should be in them.—(*Vindication of the Oath of Allegiance,* 1649.)

68. "The people are the fountain of all just power."—(*As quoted in Arguments to prove the Unlawfulness of taking the New Engagement.*)

69. The people are bound in respect to their own safety and the good of those they employ, in so great a matter as government is, not only to provide good laws for themselves to be governed by, but also due bounds for them to keep within, who are to act in the execution of the laws.—(*Pennington's Word for the Commonweale,* 1649.)

70. The right of being subject only to such laws to which men give their own consent, is so inherent in *all* mankind, and founded on such immutable laws of nature and reason, that it is not to be aliened or given up by any body of men whatever. All men are by nature in a state of equality, in respect of jurisdiction or dominion. On this equality of nature, is founded that right which all men claim of being free from all subjection to positive laws, till by their own consent they give up their freedom, by entering into civil societies for the common benefit of all the members thereof. *On this consent depends the obligation of all human laws. I have no other notion of slavery, but being bound by a law to which I do not consent.* If one law may be imposed without consent, any

other law whatever may be imposed on us without our consent.—(*Molyneux's Case of Ireland*, 1698.)

71. Though paternity or conquest may in fact have given occasion and opportunity to exercise a civil authority, yet they are far from giving a *right* to it. *That can be derived only from the consent of the party governed.* For no man can claim either a divine or natural right to control another, since God hath neither expressly declared by revelation, or by any means marked out or designed, any particular persons for governors; but hath made *all* men by nature equal.—(*An Essay on Civil Gov., London*, 1728.)

72. Under the supreme will of a despot, nothing prevails but terror, meanness, flattery, stupidity, and superstition. This intolerable situation ceases either by the assassination of the tyrant, or by the dissolution of the empire, and *democracy* is raised upon its ruins. It is then for the first time that the sacred name of one's country is heard. It is then that man, bent down to earth, raises his head and appears in his dignity. Then the annals of the nation are filled with heroic deeds. Then there are fathers, mothers, children, friends, fellow citizens, public and domestic virtues. Then the empire of the laws is established, soars to its extremest height, the sciences arise, and useful labours are no longer degraded.—(*Abbé Raynal's East and West Indies, Book* 19.)

73. As government is a transaction in the name and for the benefit of the whole,—*every member* of the community ought to have some share in its administration.—(*Godwin's Political Justice.*)

74. When in the course of human events it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth the separate and equal station to which the laws of nature and of nature's God entitle them; a decent respect to the opinion of mankind requires, that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation. We hold these truths to be self-evident,—that *all* men are created equal,—that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable rights,—that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed; that *whenever any form of government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the right of the people to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new government; laying its foundation on such principles, and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their safety and happiness.*—(*Declaration of Independence, United States, America*, 1776.)

75. The act by which a people profess submission to their chiefs or governors, is in fact nothing more than the conferring a simple commission on the said chiefs: an employ, in the discharge of which they act as mere officers of the [nation]; exercising, in its name, the power which it hath placed in their hands, and which it may limit, modify, or resume, whenever it pleases; the alienation of its right so to do, being incompatible with the very nature and being of society.—(*Rousseau's Social Compact.*)

76. That *all* men are naturally equal is a position which we cannot deny. Each is alike the creature of his God, and each is composed of a soul and body generically the same. But though thus essentially equal, individuals differ from each other in relative circumstances, as one man is tall, and another short; one is as far transcendant in his abilities, as another falls short of mediocrity; persons varying in their intellectual powers, no less than in their shape, their size, or their countenance. As men are naturally, so also are they politically, equal. —(*Watkins' Reflections on Gov.* 1796.)

77. G. Suppose that a multitude of men, assembled in a town or city, were to choose a king or governor, might they not give him high power and authority?—F. To be sure, but they never would be so mad, I hope, as to give him a power of making their laws.—G. Who else should make them?—F. The *whole nation or people.*—G. What if they disagreed?—F. The opinion of the greater number, as in our village clubs, must be taken and prevail.—(*Sir W. Jones's Princip. of Gov., in a Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Farmer.*)

78. "*That law which is to bind all must be assented to by all.* And that is not law but servitude, for the people to be held to that, to which they have not consented."—(*As quoted in Dean Tucker's Letters to the Earl of Shelburne.*)

79. "*Every man* has a natural and unalienable right to consider himself as being equal *to every other man* whatsoever."—(*Idem*)

80. "*The people are the fountain of power.* Ye are the people: kings and parliaments, and justices of the peace have no authority, but what you give them. They ought not to act but as you shall direct, or continue longer in commission than during your will and pleasure."—(*Idem.*)

81. One may easily discover the principal, and indeed the only rule, by which we are to judge whether a government be a free or slavish government. It is not the society's having a body of laws, which are called the standing laws of the land. It is not their having a wise and just king or governor. It is not the people's having the sole power of making their own laws, that constitutes them a free people. But it is the people's having reserved to themselves, not only the sole power of making laws, but a power of enforcing the observance of those laws; by a legal and effectual method of prosecuting and punishing whosoever shall dare to transgress them. This power, as I have said, must be a legal and effectual power. That is, the people must not only have the power of calling their governors and rulers to an account, and punishing them for their misdemeanors; but by the constitution of their government, some method must be established, by which the people may exercise this power in a regular and legal manner.—(*The Fatal Consequences of Ministerial Influence, London*, 1786.)—(i. 46.)

82. The laws only can determine the punishment of crimes, and the authority of making penal laws can only reside with the legislator, who represents the *whole society* united by the social compact. (i. 39.—vi. 10.) If *every individual* be bound to society, society is equally bound to him, by a contract, which from its nature equally binds both parties.—(*Beccaria on Crimes and Punishments.*)

83. As in a free state, *every man* who is supposed a free agent, *ought to be his own governor;* so the legislative power should reside in the *whole body* of the people. But since this is impossible in large states, and in small ones is subject to many inconveniences, it is fit the people should act by their representatives what they cannot act by themselves. The judiciary power ought not to be given to a standing senate.—(*Montesquieu's Spirit of Laws, Book XI. c.* 6.)

84. What can appear so contradictory as the natural freedom and equality of mankind, and the introduction of slavery by the law of nations? It is infallibly true that the laws of nature are the laws of God, with whom is no variableness nor shadow of turning; and if it is impossible that God should ever alter his will, it is absurd to think that the positive and arbitrary dispositions of mankind should be able to change it or dispense with it.—(*Dr. Taylor's Elements of the Civil Law.*)

85. The principle of security, producing the greatest possible degree of happiness, is absolutely incompatible with any other species of government [than the representative.] It is the touchstone of all just legislation;—real *bona fide* representation of every person possessing or producing wealth, of *every adult person* capable of engaging in rational voluntary transactions, and of course of being influenced by the laws made. All pretended right to govern without delegation from the governed, assumed by a single person, or by many, under whatever name; in as far as it presumes to interfere with the product of labour or the direction of labour, stands in hostility to security, to the natural laws of the distribution of wealth. Representation and election alone are compatible with it.—(*Inquiry into the Distribution of Wealth, by W. Thompson*, 1824.)

86. All lawful authority, legislative and executive, originates from the people. Power in the people is like light in the sun: native, original, inherent, and unlimited by anything human. In governors it may be compared to the reflected light of the moon, for it is only borrowed, delegated, and limited by the intention of the people; whose it is, and to whom governors are to consider themselves as responsible, while the people are answerable only to God;—themselves

being the losers, if they pursue a false scheme of politics.—(*Burgh's Political Disquisitions.*)

87. As the end of society is the common interest and welfare of the people associated, this end must of necessity be the supreme law or common standard, by which the particular rules of action of the several members of the society towards each other, are to be regulated. But a common interest can be no other than that which is the result of the common reason or common feelings of all. Private men, or a particular order of men, have interests and feelings peculiar to themselves; and of which they may be good judges,—but these may be separate from and often contrary to the interests and feelings of the rest of the society; and therefore, they can have no right to make, and much less to impose laws on their fellow citizens, inconsistent with and opposite to those interests and those feelings. Therefore, a society, a government, or real public truly worthy the name; and not a confederacy of banditti, a clan of lawless savages, or a band of slaves under the whip of a master; must be such a one as consists of *freemen* choosing or consenting to laws themselves, or since it often happens that they cannot assemble and act in a collective body, delegating a sufficient number of representatives. To watch over such a system, to contribute all he can to promote its good, is the duty, the honour, the interest, and the happiness of *every citizen.* As the people are the fountain of power and authority, the original seat of majesty, the authors of laws, and the creators of officers to execute them; if they shall find the power they have conferred abused by their trustees,—their majesty violated by tyranny or by usurpation,—their authority prostituted to support violence or screen corruption,—the laws grown pernicious through accidents unforeseen or unavoidable, or rendered ineffectual through the infidelity and corruption of the executors of them; then it is their right,—and what is their right is their duty,—to resume that delegated power, and call their trustees to an account;—to resist the usurpation and extirpate the tyranny,—to restore their sullied majesty and prostituted authority,—to suspend, alter, or abrogate those laws, and punish their unfaithful and corrupt officers. Nor is this the duty only of the united body; but every member of it ought, according to his respective rank, power, and weight in the community, to concur in advancing and supporting those glorious designs.—(*Fordyce's Elements of Moral Philosophy.*)

88. Laws, strictly speaking, can be framed, altered, or abrogated, only by the will of the people. Individuals can have no power over them.—(*An Essay on Gov., London,* 1828.)

89. Men equal amongst each other are born for God only, and whoever says to the contrary is a blasphemer. Let him who would be the greatest amongst you, be the servant. And let him who would be the first amongst you, be likewise the servant of all. (*Luke* xxii. 26.) The law of God is a law of love, and love vaunts not itself above others, but sacrifices itself for others. He who says in his heart, I am not as other men, but other men are given to be subject to me, that I should dispose of them after my pleasure,—this man is the child of Satan. And Satan is the king of this world, for he is the king of all those who think and act thus; and those who think and act thus, have made themselves, by his counsels, masters of the world. God made neither small nor great, neither masters nor slaves, neither kings nor subjects. *He made all men equal.* Nevertheless, they who profit by the slavery of their brethren, will practise every art to prolong it. For that end they will employ falsehood and force. They will say that the arbitrary dominion of some, and the subjection of all the rest, is an order established by God. And to maintain their tyranny, they will not fear to blaspheme Providence. The law of justice teaches, that all are equal before their Father, who is God, and before their only master, who is Christ. The law of charity teaches them to love and help each other, as children of the same [Father.] And then are they free, because no one rules over the others, if he have not been freely chosen by all to rule over them. And their liberty cannot be taken from them, because they are all united together to defend it.—(*L'Abbé De La Mennais,* 1834.)—(vi. 273.)

90. Exclusion from suffrage, although not discernible by corporeal vision, is yet, to the mind's eye, as truly a slave-mark, as the brand of ownership on a plantation negro, or on an English sheep. *The rights of man* and of nations are not the grants of usurping mortals, but *the gift of God*, and according to the law of nature. On the self-evident principle of its being essential to freedom, that a people make their own laws, their legislature must be elective, deputed by *the whole of the adult males*, equally and annually sharing in the act; that each successive legislature may, in the strict and honest sense of the word, be in reality a representative, fairly qualified to speak the sentiments of *each successive generation*. Its precise form, its number of members, its denomination, and other circumstances, must be discretionary.—(*Cartwright's English Constitution Illustrated.*)

91. How is it more fitting and right that one man should govern another, than that another should govern him? How can we discover this in any source of fitness or rectitude? Might not all men pretend the same fitness?—and then it would be a perpetual clashing of claims, a mutual annihilation of pretensions, which would *extinguish the right* in the very beginning. *If once you exclude, you may go on from exclusion to exclusion, till you bring it to despotism.* (vii. 5.) What rule would exclude *one*, that would not exclude twenty, or a thousand, or a million, or *any number*, if so needed? Neither, then, upon a natural nor an artificial ground, can there be any pretence to superiority at the moment of forming governments: by consequence, all must be determined by a majority; for when all are equal, there is no other way of establishing any predominance or prevalence. If a government be arbitrary, or of will, that is, the will of any one man, or set of men, or description of men, it will consult the interests of that one man, or set of men, or description:—that is human nature. We need not go about to prove this: we might as well attempt to prove that a bowl has a bias, or any other the propensity of nature.—(*Cunninghame's Princip. of the Cons. of Govts.*)

92. "Kings and aristocrats, do what they will, must found their rights,—

On a commission from the Deity; or—

On the choice of the people.

In the first case, I shall willingly acknowledge their independence, on the indispensable condition that *they show me their delegation* from on high. In the other case, they are no more than the *delegates of a democracy*. But they have at all times held this last title in such dread and abhorrence, that they have spared no pains to assume the other,—and for greater surety herein, they have always connected *God* and the *sword*, (vi. 168.) *These two words contain a complete history of the human race, from the most ancient annals to our own day.* And the armed theocracy, striving against the indestructible sentiment of *natural equality*, offers an abridgment of all the revolutions of empires."—(*As quoted in Cooper's Reply to Burke's Invective*, 1792.)

93. There is not a completely free nation on the face of the earth. The English have long boasted of freedom, and have become great and powerful, with the portion they possess. They, however, do not possess entire freedom of conscience;—they do not possess equal political rights.—(*Political Economy founded on Justice and Humanity,—Washington*, 1804.)

94. If, in the instance of *any one* individual of the whole body of the people, it be right that the power be possessed and exercised, of contributing to the choice of a person, by whom, in the representative assembly, his interest shall be advocated; how can it be otherwise than right, in the instance of *any other* such person? *In the impossibility of finding an answer to this question, will be found contained the substance of the argument in support of universal suffrage.* If, in the instance of any one individual, it be right that he should possess a share, of a certain degree of magnitude, in the choice of a person, to form one in the body of the representatives of the people; how can it be right that, in the instance of any other individual, the share should be either less or greater?—(*Bentham, as quoted in Carpenter's Political Text-Book.*)

95. Government, under every form, must be considered as a trust; but that

must be the most just and legitimate government, which is founded on the universal consent of the people; and the more authentically that consent has been given and declared, the more certain and indisputable must be the foundations of that government. The majority of the inhabitants of any country have a right to establish that mode of government which they conceive to be best calculated to promote the common benefit; and any forcible attempts, by whomsoever made, to continue a form of government, which the majority of the people do not approve, or which they believe to be pernicious, can only be considered as unjust attempts to perpetuate an usurpation. — (*Dr. Towers' Vindication of Locke*, 1782.)

96. Wherever any political government is not constituted and exercised, in conformity to this grand maxim, that "*all power is derived from the people;*" and the evident consequences deducible from that maxim, the governed are injured, and deprived of rights which may be proved belong to them. So that *the people, in every nation upon earth, may justly demand that the government under which they live, be altered, in conformity to that maxim,* wherever it is not so already. Whenever any alteration in the form of government, or change in the officers of government, appears eligible to the majority of the people, they have a right to insist on such alteration or change.—(*Cooper's Reply to Burke's Invective*, 1792.)

97. The excellency of a government is when the constitution is so framed, that the governing power can have no interest, advantage, or safety, separate or distinct from the governed. Men who, by consenting or submitting to orders or laws, constitute government, seem naturally to be equal. Orders or rules amongst *equals* would be but of short continuance, were men left at their own discretion, to submit or not. For this reason, it becomes necessary, in all civil societies, that there should be some established authority or power, lodged or committed to some man or men; whereby he, or they, may be enabled to execute what they have agreed may be for the common advantage.— (*A Treatise concerning the Nature of Government*, 1703.)

98. Daines Barrington informs us that, in the year 1514, Henry the Eighth manumitted two of his villains, in the following form;—"Whereas God created *all* men free; but afterwards, the laws and customs of nations subjected some under the yoke of servitude, we think it pious and meritorious, with God, to manumit Henry Knight and John Herle," &c. — (*As quoted in Dr. Towers' Vindication of Locke*, 1782.) As such a man as Henry the Eighth admits that "God created all men free," and that it was an invention of man to reduce his fellows to "servitude;" few, we imagine, will be disposed to deny it. Those that do, are obviously bound to submit to be enslaved, or evince by what title they enslave others.

99. *All* the members of society are naturally equal.—(*Ency. Brit. Art. Law.)*

100. In the great machine of state there are found three principal powers.—
The first is the power of the people.
The second, the power of the constitution.
The third, the power of the law.
As from the people then is derived the constitution, so from the constitution is derived the law.— (*Lord Abington, as quoted in Cartwright.*)

101. Want of property is no proof of wanting industry, talents, or virtue. Then why should a deficiency of fortune annihilate a man's political consequence? If an individual be without property, and not supported by public or private benefactions, he must, unless a robber, be considered industrious. But a man of property has no such assurance in his favour. A poor man so circumstanced, has therefore a much better right to vote than a rich man, on the mere account of contributing to the state. A labourer, according to his means, contributes more by paying the duty on salt or soap, than a nobleman by paying the taxes on carriages and servants. He does more: he not only exceeds the grandee or the opulent commoner by his relative, but by his positive contribution; and to such extent, that the labourer is for the most part the whole con-

tributor; while the principal proprietors do little more than hand over to the state, part of what they, luxurious and idle, have derived from the thrift and activity of the industrious. Then *is it not most unjust to disfranchise this poor industrious man*, whose life is dedicated to the pleasures of the opulent; and whose assiduity and exertions establish the strength, and adorn the magnificence of the state?—(*Ensor, as quoted in Carpenter's Political Text-Book.*)

102. God having never given the whole world to be governed by one man, nor prescribed any rule for the division of it, the whole is for ever left to the will and discretion of man. We may enter into, form, and continue in greater or less societies, as best pleases ourselves. There is no such thing, therefore, according to the law of nature, as *an hereditary right* to the dominion of the world, or *any part* of it. All just magistratical power is from the people. All magistrates are equally the ministers of God, who perform the work for which they were instituted. The people which institutes them, may proportion, regulate, and terminate their power, as to time, measure, and number of persons, as it seems most convenient to themselves, which can be no other than their own good. This shows the work of all magistrates to be always and every where the same; even the doing of justice, and procuring the welfare of those that create them. If nature does not make one man lord over his brethren, he can never come to be their lord; unless they make him so, or he subdue them. *If he subdue them, it is an act of violence contrary to right, which may consequently be recovered.* I deny any power to be just, that is not founded upon consent. I affirm that the liberty which we contend for, is granted by God, to *every man* in his own person. When a people is by mutual compact joined together in a civil society, there is no difference as to right, between that which is done by them all in their own persons; or by some deputed by all, and acting according to the powers received from all. Filmer is graciously pleased to confess, that "when men are assembled by a human power, the power that doth assemble them, may also limit the manner of the execution of that power. But in assemblies that take their authority from the law of nature, it is not so; for what liberty or freedom is due to any man by the law of nature, no inferior power can alter, limit, or diminish; no one man or multitude of men can give away the natural right of another."—*How can it be possible for one man, born under the same condition with the rest of mankind, to have a right in himself, that is not common to all others; till it be by them or a certain number of them, conferred upon him*—or how can he, without the utmost absurdity, be said to grant liberties and privileges to them, who made him what he is? Though every private man, singly taken, be subject to the commands of the magistrate, the whole body of the people is not so; for he is by and for the people, and the people is neither by, nor for him. The obedience due to him from private men, is grounded upon and measured by the general law; and that law, regarding the welfare of the people, cannot set up the interest of one or a few men against the public. The whole body, therefore, of a nation cannot be tied to any other obedience than is consistent with the common good, according to their own judgment. To magistrates they owe no more than seems good to themselves, and who are nothing of or by themselves, more than other men. The people for whom and by whom the magistrate is created, can only judge whether he rightly perform his office or not. The equality in which men are born, is so perfect, that no man will suffer his natural liberty to be abridged, except others do the like. *Dominion equally divided among all is universal liberty.* Notwithstanding our author's [Sir Robert Filmer] aversion to truth, he confesses "that Hayward, Blackwood, Barclay, and others, who have bravely vindicated the right of kings in most points; do with one consent admit as an unquestionable truth, and assent unto the natural liberty and equality of mankind; not so much as once denying or opposing it."—(*Algernon Sydney on Government.*)

103. Legitimate government consists "only in the dominion of equal laws made with common consent, or of men over themselves;—and not in the dominion of communities over communities, or of any men over other men."—(*As quoted in Dr. Price on Civ. Lib.*)

104. What is government more than the management of the affairs of a nation? It is not, and from its nature cannot be, the property of any particular man or family, but of the *whole* community, at whose expense it is supported; and though, by force or contrivance, it has been usurped into an inheritance, the usurpation cannot alter the right of things. Sovereignty, as a matter of right, appertains to the nation only, and not to any individual; and a nation has at all times an inherent and indefeasible right to abolish any form of government it finds inconvenient; and establish such as accords with its interest, disposition, and happiness. As no man can have any natural or inherent right to rule, any more than another; it necessarily follows, that a claim to dominion, wherever it is lodged, must be ultimately referred back to the explicit or implied consent of the people. Whatever source of civil authority is assigned different from this, will be found to resolve itself into mere force. As *the natural equality of one generation is the same as that of another*, the people have always the same right to new model their government, and set aside their rulers. This right, like others, may be exerted capriciously and absurdly, but no human power can have any pretensions to intercept its exercise.—(*Robert Hall, as quoted in Carpenter's Political Text-Book.*)

105. Civil right includes the protection which individuals demand, and should receive from society, and the ratio of influence, which as individuals, they are entitled to exercise on the institutions of the community in which they exist. As *every man* contributes to the support of such community, and as he is affected immediately or more indirectly by the laws which are enacted for its regulations, he has an incontestible claim to create or modify the general legislation, according to his judgment; through the medium of the established representation. Governments should therefore be the express image of popular opinion, —a reflected concentration of national mind.—(*Carpenter's Political Text-Book.*) "To have no share in the government, is to be a prey to those who have." —(*As quoted in Burgh.*)

106. A government by law, is or is not liberty, just as the laws are just or unjust, and as the body of the people do or do not participate in the power of making them. Civil liberty is the power of a civil society or state, to govern itself by its own discretion, or by laws of its own making, without being subject to the impositions of any power; in appointing and directing which, the collective body of the people have no concern, and over which they have no control. The community, that is governed not by itself, but by some will independent of it, wants civil liberty. This it is, I think, that marks the limit between liberty and slavery. As far as, in any instance, the operation of any cause comes in to restrain the power of self-government, so far slavery is introduced. Nor do I think, that a preciser idea than this of liberty and slavery can be formed. Without religious and civil liberty, man is a poor and abject animal, without rights, without property, and without a conscience; bending his neck to the yoke, and crouching to the will of every silly creature, who has the insolence to pretend to authority over him. Nothing, therefore, can be of so much consequence to us as liberty. It is the foundation of all honour, and the chief privilege and glory of our natures. *Jesus Christ has established among Christians an absolute equality.* All civil government, as far as it can be denominated free, is the creature of the people. It originates with them. It is conducted under their direction, and has in view nothing but their happiness. All its different forms are no more than so many different modes, in which they choose to direct their affairs, and to secure the quiet enjoyment of their rights. In every free state *every man* is his own legislator. All taxes are free gifts for public services. All laws are particular provisions or regulations, established by common consent, for gaining protection and safety. And all magistrates are trustees or deputies for carrying these regulations into execution. Though all the members of a state should not be capable of giving their suffrages, on public measures, individually and personally, they may do this by the appointment of substitutes or representatives. They may entrust the powers of legislation subject to such restrictions, as they shall think necessary, with any number of

delegates; and whatever can be done by such delegates within the limits of their trust, may be considered as done by the united voice and counsel of the community. All delegated power must be subordinate and limited. If omnipotence can with any sense be ascribed to a legislature, it must be lodged where *all legislative authority originates*—that is, *in the people* For their sakes government is instituted, and theirs is the only real omnipotence. Neither can any civil societies lawfully surrender their civil liberty, by giving up to any extraneous jurisdiction their power of legislating for themselves, and disposing of their property. Such a cession being inconsistent with the unalienable rights of human nature, would either not bind at all, or bind only the individuals who made it. (vii. 101.) *This is a blessing which no one generation of men can give up for another, and which, when lost, a people have always a right to resume. All the nations now in the world, who in consequence of the tameness and folly of their predecessors are subject to arbitrary power, have a right to emancipate themselves as soon as they can.* In order to determine whether a state is free, no more is necessary than to determine *whether there is any will different from its own, to which it is subject.* When we speak of a state, we mean the whole state, and not any part of it; and the will of the state is therefore the will of the whole. Civil liberty (it should be remembered) must be enjoyed as a *right derived from the Author of nature only,* or it cannot be the blessing which merits this name. If there is any human power which is considered as giving it, on which it depends, and which can invade or recall it at pleasure, it changes its name and becomes a species of slavery. *Internal slavery, therefore, takes place whenever a whole community is governed by a part. And this perhaps is the most concise and comprehensive account that can be given of it.* All have the same unalienable right to liberty, and consequently, no one has a right to such a use of it, as shall take it from others. *If a people would obtain security against oppression, they must seek it in themselves, and never part with the powers of government out of their own hands.* It is only there they can be safe. A people will never oppress themselves, or invade their own rights. *A free government is the only government which is consistent with the ends of government.* Men combine into communities, and institute government, to obtain the peaceable enjoyment of their rights, and to defend themselves against injustice and violence. And when they endeavour to secure these ends, by such a free government, improved by such arrangements as may have a tendency to preserve it from confusion, and to concentrate in it as much as possible of the wisdom and force of the community; in this case, it is a most rational and important institution. But when the contrary is done, and the benefits of government are sought by establishing a government of men, and not of laws made with common consent, it becomes a most absurd institution. *It is seeking a remedy for oppression in one quarter, by establishing it in another; and avoiding the outrages of little plunderers, by constituting a set of great plunderers.*—It is, in short, the folly of giving up liberty, in order to maintain liberty; and in the very act of endeavouring to secure the most valuable rights, to arm a body of enemies with power to destroy them! All civil government being either the government of *a whole by itself,* or of *a whole by a power extraneous to it,* or of *a whole by a part,* the *first alone is liberty,* and *the two last are tyranny.* The maxim that "all men are naturally equal," refers to their state when grown up to maturity, and become independent agents, capable of acquiring property, and of directing their own conduct; and the sense of it is, that *no one of them is constituted by the Author of nature, the vassal or subject of another; or has any right to give law to him without his consent.* This equality or independence of men is one of their essential rights. Mankind come with this right from the hands of their Maker. But all governments which are not free, are totally inconsistent with it. They imply that there are some of mankind, who are born with an inherent right of dominion, and that the rest are born under an obligation to subjection; and that civil government, instead of being founded on any compact, (i. 39.) is nothing but the exercise of this right. Some who maintain this doctrine concerning government, overthrow their own system, by acknowledging the

right of resistance in certain cases. For if there is such a right, the people must be judges *when* it ought to be exercised; a right to resist only when civil governors think there is a reason, being a gross absurdity and nullity. The right of resistance, therefore, cannot mean less than a right in the people, whenever they think it necessary, to change their governors, and limit their power. And from the moment this is done, government becomes the work of the people, and governors become their trustees or agents.—(*Dr. Price on Civil Liberty.*)

107. I think we had found the first appearance of *a compact to be at the commencement of civil society*, and that the compact then was, not between parties whose interests were opposite or essentially different, but were one and the same, and united and centered in one point, which was the defence of their natural rights.—When such civil laws as may be judged adequate to defence are agreed on, the manner of putting them into execution becomes the next object of consideration, and produces *another sort of compact;* which is entirely relative to the execution, and *hence originate all the various powers and authorities of the magistracy.* Now, what must we understand the compact to have been between the people and the magistrates in this case? Could it be, that the people surrendered themselves to be governed at the discretion of the magistrates, or were the magistrates chosen simply to execute the determinations of the people?—Undoubtedly, the latter.—The power of the magistracy in itself is nothing. That force which arises from the general concurrence and consent of the people, is absolutely necessary to give it stability. The people, therefore, compact or agree to exert that force, (which is always ultimately supreme) in support of the power of their magistrates; and the magistrates agree to exercise their power, in the modes prescribed and for the ends proposed by the people. The compact then, as explained above, does not give the magistrates any power independent of the people, or independent of the ends proposed by the people to be accomplished by that power. It does not fix them as lords and masters of the people: it only constitutes them executors of the laws or determinations of the people, to which they with the whole community are equally subject. The people, therefore, always retain in themselves, as an inherent and unalienable property, the right of delegating power to their magistrates; and consequently, the right of prescribing the particular modes of exercising such power, and also of recalling that power whenever it may be found necessary so to do: that is, whenever it shall be exercised contrary to the ends proposed, or even when it shall have been exercised strictly according to the ends proposed; and proves not adequate, or not satisfactory.-(*Three Dialogues concerning Liberty.*)

108. Mankind may be considered as one great aggregate of *equal* and independent individuals, whom various natural and moral causes have been contributing, for above four thousand years, to disperse over the surface of the earth. That the earth has never yet, since the deluge, been stocked with a third part of the inhabitants it is able to sustain, has been chiefly owing to the ravages of war, excited in opposition to the principle of natural equality here advanced. For what else almost is the history of our species, but the history of its destruction? It is blotted in every page with the blood of millions, who have either nobly fallen, in asserting the great rights of nature, against the encroachments and abuses of civil society; or else of those who have stupidly suffered themselves to be sacrificed, in supporting that reproach to human nature, which derogates equally from the honour of those who suffer it, and from the glory of those who use it;—Despotism. Every individual of our species is endowed with an aptness and ability of injuring every other with whom he has any intercourse; hence is derived the expediency of forming civil societies, that each individual may avail himself of the common strength in resisting private oppression. But this expediency can never become a reason why a few men of like passions with others, and no better than the rest of their kind; should be permitted, in any age or country, to tyrannize over their fellows by nature, to lift up their hearts above their brethren. (*Deut.* xvii. 20.) With respect to the great blessings of our being, God, as an impartial parent, has put us all upon a level;—we are

all sprung from the same stock,—born into the world under the same natural advantages,—the earth nourishes us all with the same food,—pours forth the same general beverage for us all,—defends us all from the intemperature of the seasons with the same coverings;—we all breathe the same air,—enjoy the same light,—are warmed by the same sun,—refreshed by the same rains,—recruited by the same sleep. This equal distribution of natural good, is accompanied with an equality of natural faculties, by which we are enabled to enjoy it. The same equality is observable in our intellectual endowments; civil culture, indeed, puts a distinction between individuals, which the state of nature is a stranger to; but even this distinction, great as it may seem in some instances, is in all greater in appearance than in reality. The faculties of perceiving, retaining, discerning or comparing, compounding, and abstracting our ideas, are as quick and as extensive in the lower classes of life, as in the highest: the difference consists in their being exerted upon different objects. Some disparity, it is true, with respect to corporal strength and intellectual ability may be observed, when we compare together the most perfect of our species with the most imperfect; yet this difference not only becomes less and less, as we increase the numbers compared together, ceasing entirely when we take in the whole; but cannot, even where it does subsist in the extremest degree, induce amongst free agents any natural dependence or inequality; any right to dominion on the one hand, or obligation to subjection on the other. The analogy of nature leads us to the same conclusion. Amongst the various orders of beings which rise by inperceptible gradations from unanimated matter to man, not one has yet been discovered, in which the equality and independence of individuals is not preserved. We may observe many whole ranks of creatures contributing, at the expense of their own existence, to the support of that of others; but this general subordination of different classes has no relation to the subjection of one individual to another in the same class. We may observe, moreover, in some particular classes, many individuals uniting into a kind of community; feeding and sleeping in herds and flocks, assembling themselves together at stated times, and in particular places, and making their migrations in large companies: but this disposition for society, whether you ascribe it to the timidity, the affection, the mechanism of their respective natures;—from whatever principle you derive it, certainly does not seem to proceed from the superiority of any one individual, or of any number of individuals, over the rest. An inferiority of one species of beings to another, and an equality of individuals in the same species, are general laws of nature, which pervade the whole system. Nor has God, in the particular revelations which he hath made, delivered any thing subversive of the conclusion here drawn, from the contemplation of the general system of nature which he hath formed. The natural equality and independence of individuals here contended for, is not only the great source from which that part of the system of natural law, which explains the duties of all men towards all in their individual capacity, and of all independent states towards each other in their collective capacity, is derived; but is also the surest foundation of all just reasoning, concerning the origin and extent of civil government, in every part of the world. For this principle being admitted, that antecedent to all voluntary compact, *every individual is equal to every other*, it follows, as an easy consequence, that the just superiority of any one man, or of any order and succession of men, in any community, over the other members which compose it, must spring from their express appointment and free consent:—that no one individual can have a right to give his consent for any other, nor any one generation of men, a right to establish any form of government, which their children will not have an equal right to alter or abolish as they think fit; that as no individual can be compelled to give his consent to become a member of any civil community; it may be doubted whether he can be compelled to continue a member, unless in cases of his delinquency against the laws of nature, or against such laws of society, as he himself has either explicitly assented to, or tacitly acquiesced in; or unless a perpetual continuance in the community, made part of the compact by which he entered

into it;—that the authority of the supreme magistrate to restrain natural liberty, and to dispose of personal property, may be circumscribed in its extent, defined in its quality, and limited in its duration, according to the mere good pleasure of those who entrust him with it:—that when a civil governor violates the constitution of his country, or in other words, the compact made between himself and those who have condescended to be governed by him; he forfeits all title to the distinction which his equals had, for certain ends and purposes, thought proper to confer upon him.—(*Bishop Watson's Sermon, University, Cambridge*, 1776.)

109. In countries where every member of the society enjoys an equal power of arriving at the supreme offices, and consequently of directing the strength and the sentiments of the whole community, there is a state of the most perfect political liberty. On the other hand, in countries where a man is by his birth or fortune excluded from these offices, or from a power of voting for proper persons to fill them; that man, whatever be the form of the government, or whatever civil liberty or power over his own actions he may have, has no power over those of another. He has no share in the government, and has therefore no political liberty at all. Nay, his own conduct, as far as the society does interfere, is in all cases directed by others. It may be said, that no society on earth was ever formed in the manner represented above. I answer, it is true, because all governments whatever, have been in some measure compulsory, tyrannical, and oppressive in their origin. But the method I have described, must be allowed to be the only equitable and fair method of forming a society. And since *every man retains* (and can never be deprived of) *his natural right, founded on a regard to the general good, of relieving himself from all oppression—that is, from every thing that has been imposed upon him without his own consent;* this must be the only true and proper foundation of all the governments subsisting in the world; and that to which the people who compose them, have an unalienable right to bring them back. Every government, in its original principles, and antecedent to its present form, is an *equal republic;* and consequently *every man*, when he comes to be sensible of his natural rights, and to feel his own importance, *will consider himself as fully equal to any other person whatever.* The consideration of riches and power, however acquired, must be entirely set aside, when we come to these first principles. The very idea of property or right of any kind, is founded upon a regard to the general good of the society, under whose protection it is enjoyed; and nothing is properly a man's own, but what general rules, which have for their object the good of the whole, give to him. To whomsoever the society delegates its power, it is delegated to them for the more easy management of public affairs, and in order to make the more effectual provision for the happiness of the whole. Whosoever enjoys property and riches in the state, enjoys them for the good of the state, as well as for himself. And whensoever those powers, riches, or rights of any kind, are abused to the injury of the whole; that awful and ultimate tribunal in which every citizen has an equal voice, may demand the resignation of them. And in circumstances where regular commissions from this abused public cannot be had, every man who has power, and who is actuated with the sentiments of the public, may assume a public character, and bravely redress public wrongs. In such dismal and critical circumstances, the stifled voice of an oppressed country, is a loud call upon every man possessed with a spirit of patriotism to exert himself. And whenever that voice shall be at liberty, it will ratify and applaud the action, which it could not formerly authorize.—(*Priestly on Govt.*)

110. The dominion of error over the minds of men is almost boundless. We find whole nations for ages assenting to the grossest absurdities; but this arises not from inability to discover truth, but either from no trouble whatever, or that only which is insufficient, being taken for its attainment. Some truths

there are, the evidence of which is but obscure—such, for example, as to the state of the soul after death. But as to all those truths, the acquisition of which is necessary for our well-being, the most unquestionable evidence is attainable. This may assuredly be affirmed of every thing relative to the rights of men.

111. If then the doctrine propounded in this Essay, that all the members of the whole human race throughout its generations are in a strict equality as to their political rights, is erroneous; we believe we may venture to challenge all the living generations of men to point out any other error, the evidence as to which is so conclusive,—that since the creation of the world has ever been assented to by so many minds (who have sought the truth), as are presented in this Essay, all concurring as to the great point: it being of course remembered, that more extended researches would greatly augment the number. But this would perhaps be only unnecessarily augmenting these pages. And it will not be forgotten, that as to the authors of some of the quotations, the distance both as to time and space is considerable.

112. It can scarcely fail to strike the discerning reader, that though the authors of all the citations arrive at the same conclusion, each expresses himself according to the particular idiosyncrasy of his own mind: thus affording genuine evidence, that he did not arrive at such conclusion, until after an examination of the great subject.

113. To the evidence here adduced, may be added, that of *every one* of the opponents of the doctrine. *If it is capable of confutation, why has it never been refuted by any one of them?*

114. As far as the contradiction is supposable, of an enlightened and virtuous man being ignorant of the equal rights of all men, and the true principles of government; for such a man to be fully satisfied of such doctrines, it is only necessary for him to read *the works of those that impugn them.*

115. The rebellion of men to their Great Creator, in the assignment of rights, perhaps cannot be better designated than as 'THE MYSTERY OF INIQUITY.' And seeing 'we are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses,' let us now direct our attention to

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE BRITISH NATION.

There is a truth which ought to be made known—I have had the opportunity of seeing it—which is, that notwithstanding appearances, there is not any description of men that despise monarchy, so much as courtiers. But they well know, that if it were to be seen by others, as it is seen by them, the juggle could not be kept up. They are in the condition of men who get their living by a show, and to whom the folly of that show is so familiar, that they ridicule it.

But were the audience to be made as wise in this respect as themselves, there would be an end to the show and the profits.—(*Paine's Rights of Man.*)

There is not a problem in Euclid, more mathematically true, than that hereditary government has not a right to exist. When, therefore, we take from any man the exercise of hereditary power, we take away that which he never had the right to possess; and which no law or custom could or ever can give him a title to.—(*Paine's Princip. of Gov.*)

The heart of this people is waxed gross, and their ears are dull of hearing, and their eyes have they closed;—lest they should see with their eyes, and hear with their ears, and understand with their heart, and should be converted.—(*Acts* xxviii. 27.)

116. At the conclusion of the seventh and commencement of the twelfth chapters, it was stated in what manner the feudal system arose in Europe. We saw that hereditary legislatives, and the application of titles of honour, were founded on wholesale robbery and murder, in later ages of the world.

117. Prior to the mighty inundations of the barbarous nations, Britain had been subject to the Romans. On the appearance of the Goths, Vandals, &c., the Roman legions, with the flower of the British youth, were withdrawn from Britain for the defence of the capital and centre of the Roman empire.

118. In the course of the fifth century, the Visigoths took possession of Spain, the Franks of Gaul, the Saxons of the Roman provinces in South Britain, the Huns of Pannonia, the Ostrogoths of Italy, and the adjacent provinces.

119. New governments, laws, languages; new manners, customs, dresses; new names of men and of countries prevailed, and an almost total change took place in the state of Europe.

120. By the introduction of vassalage, all immoveable property, excepting what little belonged to the free inhabitants of cities and towns, came into the hands of the nobles; five sixths of all the European nations were thus plunged into slavery; where the lord had the miscalled right of driving away, selling, plundering, and even of killing, his vassals with impunity; and the nobility rose in the same proportion as the former free men were debased. The nobles were lords over the property, the honour, and the lives of their vassals; and these latter were indebted for whatever they possessed or enjoyed, entirely to the favour of their lord. The whole system of landed property, says Burke, is feudal. It is the distribution of the possession of the original proprietors, made by a barbarous conqueror to his barbarous instruments.—(*Reflections on the Revolution in France.*)

121. The Normans, a piratical people of Denmark and Norway, in 853 got possession of some cities in France, and established themselves in that country, under Rollo, surnamed the Great Duke of Normandy, in 912. Robert, the sixth duke from Rollo, had an illegitimate son called William, by Herleva, the daughter of an officer of his household, who succeeded his father

in the dukedom. William having landed with his army in England, gained a victory over the English sovereign, and thereby subjugated this country. (October 14, 1066.) Shortly after which, partly by grant and partly by usurpation, almost all the lands in the nation were transferred to the Normans. William, for instance, gave to one of his barons the whole county of Chester.

122. When William the Conqueror, remarks Dr. Jennings, parcelled out the lands of England, he reserved a certain small rent, to be annually paid out of every estate to the crown, as an acknowledgement that it was received from, and held under him. This rent is paid to this day from all freehold estates, under the name of chief rent; or if there be any estates that pay it not, it is because they have been purchased out of others; of which purchase it was made a condition, that they should be clear of this incumbrance, those other estates paying it for them. —(*Jewish Antiq.*)

123. Earl Warrenne, being called upon by the commissioners of Edward I. to produce his titles to the lands he inherited from his ancestors, he unsheathed his sword, and produced that as his title: saying, "My ancestors came in with William the Bastard, and won these lands by the sword, and by the sword I will defend them. William did not conquer for himself, nor was it for such an end that my ancestors lent him their assistance." In reference to which, it may be truly said, that "Laws are silent in the midst of arms." The grand principle of the Celtes, and which they transmitted to their descendants, was, that "MIGHT MAKES RIGHT." This, also, was evidently the principle of the Normans.

"The good old rule
Contented them; the simple plan—
That they should take, who have the power,
And they should keep, who can."

124. The miserable state to which this country was reduced by the Norman banditti, is feelingly described by historians. We have elsewhere seen that about fifty years after the conquest, it was declared unlawful to sell slaves openly in the market. (v. 24.) The people of Bristol, says an author of veracity, were cured of a most odious and inveterate custom, by Wulftan, bishop of Worcester, at the Norman conquest,—of buying men and women in all parts of England, and exporting them for the sake of gain. The young women they commonly got with child, and carried them to market in their pregnancy, that they might bring a better price.—(*Anglia Sacra, Vol.* 2.) By the following law, enacted by William, we perceive the mode by which slaves were enfranchised.—"If any person is willing to enfranchise his slave, let him with his right hand deliver the slave to the sheriff; in a full county proclaim him exempt from the bond

of servitude by manumission; show him open gates and ways, and deliver him free arms:—to wit, a lance and a sword, after which he commences a free man."

125. During the times of the Saxons, the new monarch was elected by the witan or council, as these people could not comprehend how a freeman could become the dependent of another, except by his own consent; but the election rendered the cyning the lord of the principal chieftains, and through them of their respective vassals. The swords of the Normans, however, taught the people of this country a different lesson: as, simultaneously with the seizure of the land, and as a measure necessarily connected with it, they seized also the whole political right; as we are told by Dr. Lingard, that the conqueror's council hardly contained a single Englishman, but was constituted of the principal landed proprietors, the immediate vassals of the crown. And William, having installed himself chief magistrate, some of his posterity have since held the office; our present ruler, William the Fourth, being descended from him. The establishment of the conqueror's government in 1066, must therefore be considered the foundation of our present political institutions. It is unnecessary to waste the time of the reader with discussing the pretended rights asserted by this robber and murderer; as nothing can be more evident, than that the only thing he could make a lawful title to, was a gibbet. Our House of Lords has been preserved alive, from the conquest to the present time, by the persons appointed by the conqueror and the descendants of those persons; and by others, chosen by succeeding sovereigns, and the descendants of those so chosen.

126. It is no answer to what is here advanced, to affirm that William's predecessor had no right to the chief magistracy of England;—which was doubtless the case. Suppose the Turks a month hence were to invade England, and do precisely as the Normans did; and a month after that, the Prussians were also to invade this country and deprive the Turks of their possessions, again doing as the Normans did. If the English complained that the Prussians acted in contravention of the law of God, it would assuredly be no valid answer for the latter to affirm, that the Turks had no right to what they possessed: and, consequently, that they, the Prussians, had taken their possessions from them. Nothing being more clear, than that whilst the English violate no international law, neither the Turks nor the Prussians have any right to interfere with them; and that the only lawful grounds for the interference of the Prussians, would arise out of an application from the English, for assistance to enable them to recover that of which the Turks had unlawfully possessed themselves. Consequently, the only lawful grounds for William the Norman's interference, were to subvert the government of his predecessor, for the purpose of affording the

whole people of England an opportunity of establishing a government conformably with the law of God.

127. As to usurpation, no man, says Paine, will be so hardy as to defend it; and that William the Conqueror was an usurper is a fact not to be contradicted. The plain truth is, that the antiquity of English monarchy will not bear looking into. A French bastard landing with an armed banditti, and establishing himself king of England, against the consent of the natives, is in plain terms a very paltry, rascally, original.—(*Common Sense.*)

128. It is very well known, says this writer, elsewhere, that the great landed estates now held in descent, were plundered from the quiet inhabitants at the conquest. Blush, aristocracy, to hear your origin, for your progenitors were thieves. They were the Robespierres and the Jacobins of that day. When they had committed the robbery, they endeavoured to lose the disgrace of it, by sinking their real names under fictitious ones, which they called titles. As property honestly obtained, is best secured by an equality of rights, so *ill-gotten property depends for protection on a monopoly of rights.* He who has robbed another of his property, will next endeavour to disarm him of his rights, to secure that property; for when the robber becomes the legislator, he believes himself secure. That part of the government of England that is called the House of Lords, was originally composed of persons who had committed the robberies of which I have been speaking. *It was an association for the protection of the property they had stolen.* It is an excrescence growing out of corruption, and there is no more affinity or resemblance between any of the branches of a legislative body, originating from the rights of the people, and the aforesaid house of peers; than between a regular member of the human body, and an ulcerated wen.—(*Princip. of Government.*)

129. Cowel observes, that William divided the land among his followers, in such manner, that every one of them should hold their land of him *in capite;* and they again distributed parts thereof among their friends and servants, who for the same were bound to do them suit and service, in their courts. The chief of these were called barons, who thrice every year assembled at the king's court, viz. at Christmas, Easter, and Whitsuntide; amongst whom the king was wont to come in his royal robes, and his crown on his head, to consult about the public affairs of the kingdom.—(*Cowel's Dictionary.*) It may be collected from the Magna Charta, that originally, all lords of manors, or barons that held of the king *in capite*, had seats in the great council or parliament. The right of peerage thus appearing to have been originally territorial—that is, annexed to lands, honors, castles, manors, and the like; the proprietors and possessors of which, being allowed, on account of their estates, to be peers of the

realm; but afterwards, when alienations became frequent, the peerage was confined to the lineage of the party ennobled, and instead of territorial became personal. And men, seeing that the state of nobility was but casual, and depending on the reigning sovereign's pleasure, obtained letters-patent to them and their heirs male. These were called barons by letters-patent, or by creation.

130. In the reign of John, the conflux of the barons became so large and troublesome, that the king was obliged to divide them, and summon only the greater barons; leaving the smaller ones to be summoned by the sheriff, and to sit in another house. This appears to have given rise to the separation of the parliament into two distinct houses. Henry the Third seems to have determined who should sit in each house; it being generally agreed that the present constitution of parliament was marked out in his reign, or about the year 1220. With regard to the lower house, we may add the following from Dr. Lingard:—In the year 1206, the subsidy was collected under the inspection of the itinerant judges, but the method was accompanied with inconvenience and delay; and in 1220, we find writs to the sheriff, appointing him the collector, in conjunction with two knights, to be chosen in full court of the county, with the consent of all the suitors. When, however, they had advanced thus far, it required but an additional step to introduce them into the great council, as the representatives of their electors, vested with the power of granting money and petitioning for redress. During the lapse of two centuries, the cities and boroughs had silently grown out of their original insignificance, and had begun to command attention, from their constant increase in wealth and population. Whenever the king obtained an aid from his tenants in chief, he imposed a tallage on his boroughs, which was levied at discretion, by a capitation tax on personal property. Though the inhabitants did not dispute this right of the crown, they bore with impatience the grievances, which on such occasions they experienced from the despotism of the royal officers; and frequently offered in place of the tallage, a considerable sum under the name of a gift; which, if it were accepted, was assessed and paid by their own magistrates. This was, in reality, to indulge them with the liberty of taxing themselves; and when the innovation had been once introduced, it was obviously more convenient in itself, and more consistent with the national customs, that the new privilege should be exercised by deputies assembled together, instead of being entrusted to the discordant judgment of so many separate communities.—(*Dr. Lingard's Hist. of England.*)

131. De Lolme speaks to the same effect.—It must be confessed, says he, that the deputies of the people were not at first possessed of any considerable authority. They were far from

enjoying those extensive privileges, which in these days constitute the House of Commons a collateral part of the government: they were in those times called up only to provide for the wants of the king, and approve the resolutions taken by him and the assembly of the lords. In the beginning of the existence of the House of Commons, bills were presented to the king under the form of petitions. Edward the First converted into an established law, a privilege, of which the English had hitherto had only a precarious enjoyment;—he decreed that no tax should be laid, nor impost levied, without the joint consent of the lords and commons.—(*On the Constitution of England.*)

132. Of this precious specimen of an elected legislative, the House of Commons, before the late alteration in its constitution, Dr. Paley thus speaks:—It consists of 558 members, of whom 200 are elected by 7,000 constituents; so that a majority of these 7,000, without any reasonable title to superior weight or influence in the state, may, under certain circumstances, decide a question against the opinion of as many millions. Or, to place the same object in another point of view,—if my estate be situated in one county of the kingdom, I possess the ten-thousandth part of a single representative; if in another, the thousandth; if in a particular district, I may be one in twenty who choose two representatives; if in a still more favourable spot, I may enjoy the right of appointing two myself. If I have been born, or dwell, or have served an apprenticeship in one town, I am represented in the national assembly by two deputies in the choice of whom I exercise an actual and sensible share of power; if accident has thrown my birth, or habitation, or service, into another town, I have no representative at all; nor more power or concern in the election of those who make the laws by which I am governed, than if I was a subject of the Grand Signior; and this partiality subsists, without any pretence whatever of merit or of propriety, to justify the preference of one place to another. Or, thirdly, to describe the state of national representation, as it exists in reality; it may be affirmed, I believe with truth, that about one half of the House of Commons obtain their seats in that assembly by the election of the people, the other half by purchase, or by the nomination of single proprietors of great estates.—(*Mor. and Pol. Philos.*) Dr. Price styles the late House of Commons,—a representation, chosen principally by the treasury and a few thousands of the people, who are generally paid for their votes.—(*Discourse on the Love of our Country.*)

133. Thus, our hereditary chief magistracy, the House of Lords, and the titles of its members, were originally founded on oppression, robbery, and murder; the principal authors of these crimes being William the Conqueror and his chief adherents: and we owe our House of Commons, to the descendants of these

robbers and murderers (the hereditary legislators for the time being, maintaining the system their forefathers had introduced,) finding, by the appointment of such House of Commons, that they could more easily plunder the people of this country. A more hopeful origin of a government, the reader will, we suppose admit, it is impossible to imagine!

134. We will not detain him by considering of the acts of legislators originally so righteously appointed, or the successors of them; but descending near to our own times, we find that in 1714, Queen Anne dying, and being the last descendant of the Conqueror in this country; the heads of the legislating worthies, or aristocracy then governing, sent to Hanover for George the First, a relation of the late reigning family, and descended also from the Conqueror; from this George, and consequently from the Conqueror, our present sovereign is, as we have said, descended. In less than another century, says Paine, mankind will scarcely believe that a country, calling itself free, would send to Holland for a man, and clothe him with power, on purpose to put themselves in fear of him; and give him about a million sterling a-year, *for leave to submit themselves and their posterity, like bondmen and bondwomen, for ever!*—(*Rights of Man.*)

135. From 1220, until about 600 years after, the constitution of the Houses of Lords and Commons remained unchanged, when that of the lower house received a material alteration, by some places being disfranchised, and others enfranchised; such change being called, or rather miscalled, a *reform* of parliament. The reader will, however, admit that a constitution, such as we have been describing, sadly wanted reforming. The preceding are the principal steps, in the rise and progress of our political institutions, from the Norman conquest to the present time: the reader who wishes to know of those of less importance, will easily learn them by consulting the proper authorities.

136. The most celebrated popular writer on our laws, is Sir Wm. Blackstone, from whose works the following extracts are made:—

A law always supposes some superior who is to make it; and in a state of nature *we are all equal*, without any other superior but him who is the Author of our being. The law of nature being coeval with mankind, and dictated by God himself, is, of course, superior in obligation to any other: it is binding over all the globe, in all countries, and at all times. Divine Providence, in compassion to the frailty, the imperfection, and the blindness of human reason; hath been pleased, at sundry times, and in divers manners, to discover and enforce its laws, by an immediate and direct revelation. The doctrines thus delivered, we call the revealed, or divine law; and they are to be found only in the Holy Scriptures. These precepts are found, upon comparison, to be really a part of the original law of nature, as they tend, in all their consequences, to man's felicity. As, then, the moral precepts of the law are indeed of the same original with those of the law of nature, so their intrinsic obligation is of equal

strength and perpetuity. *Upon these two foundations, the law of nature and the law of revelation, depend all human laws: that is to say, no human laws should be suffered to contradict these.* (i. 23.) How the several forms of government we now see in the world, at first actually began, is matter of great uncertainty, and has occasioned infinite disputes:—it is not my business, nor intention, to enter into any of them.—(*Com. on the Laws of England.*)

137. Similar to this, is part of the coronation oath;—the sovereign is asked,—"Will you, to the utmost of your power, maintain the laws of God?"—and he swears so to do.

138. We have seen that, as men can live only in association, the "state of nature" alluded to by the learned judge, existed no where but in his imagination,—unless, indeed, he means by such state, a nation without laws or government. As then, men, by his account, are all equal in this state, the establishment of a *righteous* government and laws does not, in the slightest degree, disturb their equality.

139. An unlawful political association, (vi. 123,) is assuredly the great solecism in politics.

140. What greater absurdity can be imagined, than that *a part is superior to the whole?*

141. It is impossible to form any notion of a lawful association, (i. e., a nation,) but that *all* its members must educe nothing but good to each other.

142. Nor of a lawful government, emanating from such association, but that it must prevent all abstraction of right from *all*.—In other words, continue men "*all equal.*"

143. Let us hear what an excellent writer, recently quoted, (107), says on this subject.—As for those, says he, who are so very curious in their researches concerning the state of nature, as to consider man as a being abstracted from society, and naturally unsociable;—as an individual totally unconnected with his fellow-creatures, we may leave them to the enjoyment of their own speculations; which, notwithstanding the discovery of a wild boy or two, are entirely vain and chimerical; because men never have naturally existed in such a state, at any time whatever. When we discourse of men as being in a state of nature, to distinguish their manner of existence before their entering into any formal government; it is a phrase which may serve very well for that purpose. But if we conceive, (and it is generally so conceived,) that, as soon as men submit themselves to government, they are no longer in their natural state, it is a very great mistake. It is true, they have varied the state they were in, before their submission to government; but that variation does not induce an annihilation of the laws of nature, or in other words, it does not make void the state of nature;—considered as a state, in which men lived obedient to the true laws of nature, not enforced by political government. *It is the injurious part of the state of nature,* (which arises from the

want of some certain and sufficient power, to enforce an equal and due obedience to the laws of nature,) *that men mean to get rid of, by submission to political government.* All the other parts of the state of nature they mean to preserve by that very submission. So that, when men enter into political government, (if upon right principles), they are as much in the state of nature, as they were before they entered; with this difference only, that, by the force of a good government, the laws of their nature will be preserved in much greater purity, than they could be in the state of nature, for the want of that force. I cannot but think it a very unphilosophical distinction, to suppose men to be out of a state of nature, when they submit themselves to government; or indeed, ever to suppose them to be out of their natural state at all, unless when they violate the true laws of their nature; and that we know they frequently do under government, as well as before their submission to government. Now, if the violation of the true laws of human nature does (as being an anti-natural thing), put men into an unnatural state; and if, to correct and reform such violation be to reduce men to their natural state again; and if that only can be effectually done by the help of good government, must we not conclude, that the true end of government is to keep men in their natural state? and that men, under such government, are really much more in a natural state, than they were when under no government at all? Why may we not believe, that a small number of men, in a state of pure simplicity, might live amicably together, under the sole influence of the laws of their nature, at least for some time, and that small irregularities might be corrected by shame, by fear, by reproof? Greater crimes, from the dread all men would have of their extending to themselves, would naturally excite them to think of the means of prevention. (vi. 202). They would doubtless congregate and consult for the general safety; and, in their defence, would form rules, institutes, or civil laws, by the energy of which, they might hope to secure themselves from such enormities in future. As crimes increased, so would civil institutes, and so a body politic would be as naturally produced, as any other effect in nature. This I take to be a true, though but a short account, of the rise of civil government.—(*Three Dialogues concerning Liberty*, 1776.)

144. Mankind, says Dr. Price, being naturally equal, according to the foregoing explanation (106,) civil government, in its genuine intention, is an institution for maintaining that equality, by defending it against the encroachments of violence and tyranny: all the subordinatious and distinctions in society, previous to its establishment, it leaves as it found them, only confirming and protecting them. It makes no man master of another;—it elevates no person above his fellow-citizens. On the

contrary, it levels all, by fixing all in a state of subjection to one common authority,—the authority of the laws,—the will of the community. Taxes are given, not imposed;—laws are regulations of common choice, not injunctions of superior power;—the authority of magistrates is the authority of the state; and their salaries are wages paid by the state, for executing its will and doing its business;—they do not govern the state; it is the state governs them. Had they just ideas of their own stations, they would consider themselves as no less properly servants of the public, than the labourers who work upon its roads, or the soldiers who fight its battles.—(*On Civil Liberty.*)

145. Blackstone, in stating that it was not his business to inquire how any of the several forms of government, we now see in the world, at first began, was assuredly remiss. Though his failing to search into any other, than the one he was about to treat of, may be excused; he surely cannot be considered to have done his duty, in omitting most particularly to ascertain the rise and progress of this; and the conformity of the establishment and maintenance of the constitution, and the code therefrom emanating, with the law of nature, and that of revelation, as no human laws, he tells us, should be suffered to contradict these: with which last assertion, we need not inform the reader we fully agree.

146. To those who accord with Blackstone and ourselves, there is obviously an hiatus to be filled up in his writings,—namely, to evince beyond contradiction, that *the foundation and maintenance* of our constitution and code are in strict agreement with what he tells us all human laws should be: namely, the law of nature and revelation. We cannot, therefore, but consider, that all those learned persons, who since Blackstone's time have occupied judicial seats, or do now occupy them, have been, and now are, bound to supply what is wanting in that judge's writings, as will further appear from what follows.

147. Our judges have always the reputation of being among the most learned men in their several generations, and as the study of jurisprudence is the great business of their lives; it would be a libel on the character of any one of them, to question his thorough knowledge of the law of nature, that of revelation, and that of his country. It follows, therefore, that each of them should perfectly understand, whether the constitution under which he lives, accords with the divine law, or the contrary. If he has inquired, and discovered that it does; he is bound not only to give it all possible support in his own person, but as far as lies in him, to cause all others to follow his example. None can dispute, that it is much better to induce men to obey righteous laws, than to hang them for infringing them. A most compendious means of attaining the former end, is fully to instruct his less enlightened brethren, of the ac-

cordance of our constitution, with the law of nature and that of revelation; and this the more so, as all that can be said on the subject, might be put into a pamphlet. All our judges having, however, neglected to perform this important part of their duty—at least, as far as we know, we are under the painful necessity of including them all under the same condemnation. Very many examples might be furnished of the ignorance and servility of judges: one will suffice. The English judges in the reign of James II. declared, that—the laws were the king's laws,—the king might dispense with his laws in case of necessity,—the king was judge of that necessity.—*(Criminal Trials, Lib. of Entertain. Knowl.)*

148. We can assure the reader, that had we the ability to perform the task abovementioned ourselves, we should not have called on others to do it; we have, therefore, no difficulty in confessing, that to evince the accordance of the British constitution with the law of nature and the law of revelation, is for us far too recondite a matter. But such constitution having been nearly eight hundred years in arriving at its present state,—such unlettered persons as the writer of these pages, should feel bound to consider that it is perfectly legal; emanating, as it does, from the collected wisdom of so many generations, and declared to be unimpeachable. It follows, therefore, unless indeed the wisdom and virtue of our legislators are unsound; the bare supposition of which is almost, if not altogether treason, that the British constitution, as we now have it, is perfect; i. e., in strict accordance with Blackstone's standard, or the divine law. As this holy rule can be obeyed as to any matter, but in one way; the constitutions of all nations in the world, in their present, and all future generations, should conform to ours. And as we know of no other like it, mentioned in ancient or modern history; to us and our ancestors, or rather our legislators and their predecessors, (the great majority of the people in all our generations, having had as little to do with choosing their legislators, as the antediluvians had in appointing them:)—the honour must belong, of being the first to promulgate to mankind, a truly legal national constitution. Happy people of the British Isles to be blessed with such law-makers!—Thrice happy people to be the only ones in the world with a righteous constitution!

149. But though the discovering the accordance of our institutions with the divine law, is, as we have said, for us, too recondite an affair;—having paid some attention to the establishment and maintenance of national constitutions and codes, we may endeavour to let our North-American brethren have the benefit of our researches, if indeed they are beneficial, and therefore thus address them, and their descendants.

150. Americans.—It is of unspeakable importance to you,

that you establish and maintain a constitution and code, in strict agreement (not with the will of a faction, but) with the will of the Lord God Almighty! and having so done, that you do not, by any violation of international law, induce war between yourselves and any other nation. If under these circumstances you are invaded, do all you lawfully can to prevent yourselves from being subjugated. Should this, however, be unavoidable, and a foreign banditti, suppose of Chinese, under their chief, whom we may call Arthur, after having conquered you, seizes your whole land, and establishes a kingly form of government, with a council hardly containing a single American, but constituted of the principal landed proprietors, the immediate vassals of the crown, these forming a hereditary legislative, be incessant in making all possible resistance, in accordance with the divine law, to such measures.

151. If, however, this state of things goes on for two hundred years, and the reigning chief magistrate and his council, descendants of your conquerors, constituting your legislative and executive for the time being,—are desirous of having appointed an elected legislative, emanating from a part of the people, to cooperate with the hereditary legislative and executive; utterly resist such a measure,—be content with nothing short of superseding the unholy system your conquerors have introduced, by a pure democracy.

152. Should you not have virtue enough to do as we recommend, and the state of things goes on for five hundred years longer, the family of the conqueror Arthur at this time happily getting extinct; and any traitors to their country, for their own supposed benefit, want to perpetuate the state of things, (under which your unhappy country will groan,)—by sending, suppose to Turkey, for a relation of your late chief magistrate, to be your ruler; utterly resist this measure also. Seize the opportunity with ardour, to do as we have recommended at the conclusion of the last paragraph.

153. If, however, you are such a wretched set of slaves, as to allow your miserable system to remain another hundred years, and your illegal government are desirous of what they may call *reforming your elected legislative,* by disfranchising some persons and enfranchising others; utterly resist this measure also. *Under every possible combination of circumstances, be content with no other form of government, than a pure democracy.*

154. Should you unhappily not listen to what we say, in all that concerns your constitution, you will have been acting in utter contravention of the will of Heaven; and you will, therefore, manifest to all the rest of the world contemporary with you, and all future generations of mankind, your history

may reach, your gross and general demoralization, during the long period of eight hundred years!

155. Consequently, after its lapse, you will have such a hodgepodge of a constitution, as can scarcely be paralleled in all the history of mankind. And though *the Divine Being, in declaring to men, that a pure democracy is the only form of government in accordance with his will, allows of only two political classes, in any nation or age—i. e., an electoral assembly composed of all the native adult males, and a government therefrom emanating;*—you will have eight clases, thus:—

1. Arthur and his male or female descendants for your chief magistrates. These may be, during the whole period, some of the worst characters in your whole Union.
2. Those most wretched locusts, the members of your hereditary legislative: this hopeful body existing during the whole eight hundred years.
3. The members of your elected legislative, chosen by a part only of your people.
4. After the last body has been reformed, there will be part of that class of electors which, with its ancestors, were allowed to return members from the creation of the elected legislative.
5. Those, also, who will be enfranchised.
6. Those who will be disfranchised.
7. The class which was never allowed to return members to the elected legislative, and which the reforming did not affect.
8. The last class is that similar to the black population in some of your states, or our West India Islands.

156. If you allow such a state of things to prevail, whether after eight hundred years are elapsed, any new political classes will ever be heard of among you, is out of our power to say; though it seems beyond the reach of human ingenuity to make many more.

157. While, says Blackstone, I assert an hereditary, I by no means intend a *jure divino* title to the [British] throne. Such a title may be allowed to have subsisted, under the theocratic establishments of the children of Israel in Palestine, but it never yet subsisted in any other country. Nor indeed have a *jure divino* and an hereditary right any necessrry connection. The titles of David and Jehu were equally *jure divino* as those of either Solomon or Ahab; and yet David slew the sons of his predecessor, and Jehu his predecessor himself. And when our kings have the same warrant as they had, whether it be to sit upon the throne of their fathers, or to destroy the house of the preceding sovereign, they will then, and not before, possess the crown of England by a right like theirs, immediately derived from Heaven. *The hereditary right which the laws of England acknowledge, owes its origin to the founders of our constitution, and to them only.*

This has been acquiesced in by general consent, and ripened by degrees into common law, the very same title that every private man has to his own estate.—(Com. on the Laws of England.) Blackstone's doctrine is precisely similar to Burke's, elsewhere considered. (ix. 101.)

158. This kind of law may do in England, but it will not do among you Americans, unless you wish to follow Paley's example in neglecting to remember, that your laws should accord with the law of God. (ix. 102.) Blackstone is wrong in stating that the state of things in this country "has been acquiesced in by general consent." What he calls "consent," is merely a passive toleration without inquiry. (vi. 276.)

159. In our using the word rights, it must be understood to be in compliance with common usage: thus, we say hereditary rights, or exclusive rights, to constitute an elected legislative. It has been elsewhere seen, that *all exclusive political claims,* whether exercised *hereditarily or temporarily* in your country, *are utterly unlawful* in the sight of Heaven.

160. To acquire lawfully, two things are requisite;—those from whom property is obtained, must be the lawful owners; and those who obtain it, must have it assigned to them in a lawful manner.

161. What in any nation is by divine appointment—namely, the political right equally diffused among all, admits of no human regulation. The land is by the same appointment assigned to all. The division of it, and the right portion to every man and his heirs, should, of course, be determined by a code conforming with the will of God, as declared in the divine law. The three great rights of man are the birthright of every man.

162. Each generation, (and therefore each individual of it,) holds all things as usufructs. It has only a life interest. It has nothing whatever to do with a following generation, but to transmit to it such usufructs, secured to all by a lawful code.

163. Let it be assumed, that now—namely, immediately prior to the supposed invasion of America, there are in it one-fourth of a suitable number of inhabitants, leaving, therefore, three-fourths of the land for future appropriation; and that eight hundred years hence, this number will have increased to three-fourths, leaving therefore one fourth of the land for future appropriation. At the present time one-fourth belongs to *all* the natives. Eight hundred years hence, three-fourths will also belong to *all* the then existing natives. At the present time, the Americans cannot prevent any persons of the whole human race, occupying whatever part of the three-fourths is requisite for their purpose. And this, of course, may be said as to the one-fourth, eight hundred years hence.

164. To the whole of any existing generation of any country

—its heirs—the rest of the living generation of men of all countries and their heirs—the land of right belongs. From the whole generation of the natives of a country alone, can a lawful title to what they lawfully occupy be obtained. By these alone can such title be protected.

165. "Our ancestors, like ourselves," says Paine, "were but tenants for life in the great freehold of rights. The fee absolute was not in them. It is not in us. It belongs to the whole family of man throughout all ages." "Every age and generation, is, and must be, as a matter of right, as free to act for itself in all cases, as the age and generation that preceded it." "Man has no property in man; neither has one generation a property in the generations that are to follow." (vi. 107.)

166. In the lapse of eight centuries, the land seized by Arthur and the rest of the chiefs, and others of the Chinese brigands, will, of course, be considerably divided; as the descendants of the spoliators may be supposed to part with much on various accounts. And from the hands of those, to whom it thus passed, it will have gone into other hands, experiencing further divisions. This transferring and dividing, going on to a less or greater extent,—at the end of the period we are considering, there will be a great number of landholders retaining various quantities; though by very far the greater part of your population may be expected to be without land. The appropriation of Arthur, his adherents, and their successors, operating on them precisely, as if they had lived at the conquest; for, to all deprived, whether the land is engrossed by a thousand or a million, is of no great importance; as it is not, whether the spoliation was effected within a month, or arises out of an iniquitous system, carried on for eight hundred years. All that the greater part of the despoiled will know, is, that some how or other, they have no possession in the land; and that the privation has reduced them to one of the two kinds of slavery elsewhere mentioned. (v. 10.)

167. God has given, says a late writer, the earth to the children of men, and he has undoubtedly, in giving it to them, given them what is abundantly sufficient for all their exigencies; not a scanty, but a most liberal provision for them *all*. The Author of our nature has written it strongly in that nature, and has promulgated the same law in his written word, that man shall eat his bread by his labour; and I am persuaded that no man, and no combinations of men, for their own ideas of their particular profit, can without great impiety undertake to say, that he shall not do so; that they have no sort of right either to prevent the labour, or to withhold the bread.—(*Burke.*) As liberty, says a divine, is equally valuable with life, the Jewish law (*Ex.* xxi. 16), with the strictest equity ordained, that if any man were convicted of attempting to reduce any fellow-citizen

to slavery, he should be punished with death.—*(Dr. Graves.)* There can be no question, that all those who are the means of depriving their neighbours of the possession of the land, drive them into one or other kind of slavery; and thereby, as to by very far the greater of the despoiled, "prevent the labour" being properly applied, and thus "withhold the bread;" all which is necessarily utterly in opposition to the divine will. (i. 36.)

168. When, says Mr. M'Culloch, the Turkish conquerors overran those fertile and beautiful countries, in which, to the disgrace of the European powers, they are still permitted to encamp; they parcelled them among their followers, on condition of their performing certain military services, on a plan corresponding in many important particulars to the feudal system of our ancestors. But none of these possessions, except those which have been assigned to the church, are hereditary. They all revert, on the death of the present possessors, to the sultan, the sole proprietor of all the immovable property in the empire.—*(Princip. Pol. Econ.)* What is here stated, is simply a different violation of the law of God, to what we are supposing may be committed by the conquerors of America:

In Turkey the land is engrossed by *one.*

In America the land would be engrossed by a *few.* (ix. 3.)

169. *The political right and the land were, therefore, not attainable by Arthur, his adherents, and their successors, without being assigned to them by all the individuals, of all the successive generations of the Americans.* (vi. 178 to 182, 308, 309, 321, 322; ix. 4.)

170. It would have been utterly unlawful for any one American to unclothe himself of the political right; and equally unlawful, for whole multitudes to deprive themselves of the property in the land. Hence we see the distinction between—

Power,
Possession, and—
Right.

In consequence of the *power* of Arthur and his adherents, they unlawfully obtained the government of America, and the land. All, however, they acquired as to both, was *possession;* this only did they transmit to their successors;—these transmitted it to those that came after them,—and so on, throughout the whole eight hundred years: the RIGHT being always unalienably in all the native males, throughout their generations; and where God placed the right, there also he placed the *power* to maintain such right! (vi. 320.)

171. That the power was not exercised, could only arise from those in whom it existed, having been kept in ignorance of the real nature of their rights, partly by the conduct of their un-

lawful rulers, and partly by the conduct of themselves. The right and power, however, being in them, any generation might, in accordance with the law of God, exercise the power in lawfully regaining that of which they were unlawfully dispossessed. Those things which had before been separated, would then be united,—namely, *the right and the possession.* (vi. 317.)

172. *Possession without right,* is nothing. It is no defence to a thief, charged in a courtof justice with having stolen a watch, —the very possession itself would insure his conviction. (vi. 316.)

173. We have seen what Locke says about conquerors, (vi. 327); let us hear further:—That the aggressor, says he, who puts himself into the state of war with another, and unjustly invades another man's right, can, by such an unjust war, never come to have a right over the conquered, will be easily agreed by all men, who will not think that robbers and pirates have a right of empire over whomsoever they have force enough to master; or that men are bound by promises, which unlawful force extorts from them. Should a robber break into my house, and, with a dagger at my throat, make me seal deeds to convey my estate to him, would this give him any title? Just such a title by his sword has an unjust conqueror, who forces me into submission: the injury and the crime are equal, whether committed by the wearer of the crown, or some petty villain;—the title of the offender, and the number of his followers, make no difference in the offence, unless it be to aggravate it. The only difference is, great robbers punish little ones, to keep them in their obedience; but the great ones are rewarded with laurels and triumphs, because they are too big for the weak hands of justice in this world; and have the power in their own possession, which should punish offenders.—(*On Govt.*)

174. The supposed subjugation of America was utterly unlawful; no violation of international law having taken place. But had it even been lawful, the invaders could in no manner affect the right of the generation which came after them. (vi. 323.) There is no principle of *sound* law more clear, than that, whatever may be done by part, or the whole of one, or more than one generation; whether arising from domestic usurpation, foreign subjugation, or a combination of these, however it may operate on *possession*, can, in no manner whatever, affect the *rights* of any one whatever, either of the existing, or future, generations. *What principle can be more opposed to righteous law, than that robbery constitutes right?*

175. Time, place, or persons, have nothing whatever to do with the lawfulness or unlawfulness of subjugating a nation. What can be done at one time, in one place, can be done at any other time, at the same or any other place, by any persons.

176. As Arthur and his adherents unlawfully acquired and

transmitted to their successors, the possession only, but not the right; the former could be taken *at any period of the whole eight hundred years*, by new invaders, with as much justice, (that is, none at all,) as Arthur, his adherents, and their successors, exercised. The new invaders would, however, necessarily acquire nothing but possession. Arthur and his adherents possessed themselves of what they obtained, by the exercise of unlawful force. In this manner only, did their successors, in all their generations, during the whole eight hundred years, retain what the first generation of such successors acquired from Arthur and his adherents. The second body of invaders do neither more nor less than these did. To either the government or the land, during the whole eight hundred years, Arthur, his adherents, or their successors, could have no lawful title. What can, without any violation of right, be taken away, by any second invaders, from any former invaders, or their successors, the latter surely can have no lawful title to, whatever Burke, Paley, or Blackstoue, may say to the contrary:—(126)

1. The conqueror subjugating America, and appointing himself and his descendants its hereditary chief magistrates.
2. These descendants allowing themselves to be so appointed.
3. The conqueror and his descendants, constituting and maintaining a hereditary legislative.
4. The original members of it and their descendants, allowing themselves to be appointed hereditary legislators.
5. Arthur's descendants, allowing a portion of the Americans to appoint and maintain an elected legislative.
6. Such portion consenting to do so.
7. The representatives allowing themselves to be elected.
8. Another of Arthur's descendants, the last, with the concurrence of the two legislatives, passing the reform bill, for the purpose of altering the constitution of the elected legislative.
9. The people not included in the above, allowing these acts to be done, without taking all measures, in accordance with the will of God, to prevent them.

All the nine are so absolutely and utterly illegal in the sight of Heaven, that it is impossible to say which is the most so, if there can be any gradations in that which is unlawful.

177. During the eight hundred years, the state of things we have been supposing is maintained in America, let us imagine, for the sake of round numbers, that there are thirty chief magistrates.

178. In the invasion, and in the establishment, and retention of the government by Arthur, his adherents, and their successors, the following wrongs were committed;—the subjugation of the country,—the assumption of the chief magistracy by Arthur,—the assignment of it to, and the assumption of it by, his twenty-nine successors,—the appointment and maintenance of the hereditary legislative,—the appointment and maintenance of the elected legislative.

179. *Here, then, are five wrongs!*

180. When some do to others a wrong, what the former have to do, is, to make the best restitution in their power; and seek pardon from their fellows, and the Most High.

181. This places them, as far as possible, on an equality with other men.

182. They did what was wrong, and they made the best restitution they could.

183. 'Who can bring a clean thing out of an unclean?—Not one.'

184. Who can bring a right out of five wrongs?—'Not one.'

185. *Hence it may, without hazard of contradiction, be said, that to affirm, that because men, by unlawful force, possess themselves of a country; that, as to their chiefs and successors, some can assume and grant, and others receive, hereditary rights throughout all its generations,—is as great an absurdity as can enter the human mind!!!* (157.)

186. The great electoral assembly, alone, can appoint a government. Such government may authorize the application of lawful force, if it is required to possess or maintain rights.

187. *This is righteous law.*

188. Such law necessarily admits only of the application of force to wrong-doers, to cause them to do right.

189. The application of force, by any other authority, is necessarily unlawful, and for an unlawful purpose;—namely, to *abstract rights.*

190. *This is the destruction of righteous law.*

191. Such destruction is caused by the conquerors and *all* their successors.

192. On the part of the conquerors, unlawful force is, as has been said, *first applied.*

193. On the part of all their successors, it is *continued* during the whole eight hundred years.

194. The twenty-eight chief magistrates intervening between the first and the thirtieth, in no manner whatever cures the illegality of the title of any one whatever. The first is only a wholesale robber and murderer, acting necessarily in utter opposition to all righteous law. The thirtieth derives his title from the first, precisely the same as the second did; and the thirtieth acts as unlawfully as did the second. The same may be affirmed of Arthur's adherents, who formed the first legislative body, and the persons composing it throughout the eight hundred years; necessarily, therefore, its members at the end of that period. The same may be affirmed of the elected legislative. *The foundation of the constitution is robbery and murder; its superstructure throughout, is robbery!—on the part of the thirty chief magistrates, all the members of the two*

legislatives, and all the constituents of the elected legislative,— from all the native males not comprehended in these classes.

195. Most of the families of the conqueror's chief adherents, or original legislative body, may be expected to become extinct in some generation or other after the conquest. At the end of the eight hundred years, few, if any of the descendants of such adherents, are likely to be found in the hereditary legislative. The appointment of all its other members, by very far the larger number, consequently, must have emanated from the twenty-nine chief magistrates after the conqueror. Matters then will stand thus:—

All the chief magistrates are self-appointed.

Most of the members of the hereditary legislative, (that is, all except such as came with the conqueror, and their heirs,) are chosen by the twenty-nine self-appointed chief magistrates after him.

The original constituents of the elected legislative are selected by the chief magistrate and the hereditary legislators, living in the generation of such constituents.

196. The government of the country, then, during its latter ages, has actually been divided between,—

The *twenty-nine chief magistrates* subsequent to the conqueror, (these having appointed themselves, and those whom they pleased, and their heirs, as members of the hereditary legislative,)—and

The constituents of the elected legislative.

197. All the titles which the twenty-nine chief magistrates can pretend to, is, that they are descended from a man, who, so far from having any rights to transfer, deserved hanging, for inflicting on a country the greatest wrong it can sustain. No one of the thirty, taken separately, nor all of them collectively, had any exclusive right whatever to assist to rule; or could, by any possible combination of circumstances, derive it from any human source!

198. Much less, therefore, could the thirty chief magistrates grant exclusive rights to others. The latter can never attain what can never be transferred, or rather, what can never exist to be transferred. No one of the hereditary legislators, taken separately, nor all of them collectively, during the whole eight hundred years, ever had any exclusive rights whatever to assist to rule; or could, by any possible combinationof circumstances, derive it from any human source!

199. Much less, therefore, could the thirty chief magistrates, *appointed by themselves,* and the hereditary legislators, or their heirs, (the original progenitors being all *appointed by the chief magistrates,*) grant exclusive rights to constituents, to appoint an elected legislative. No one of these constituents,

taken separately, nor all of them collectively, during the whole eight hundred years, ever had any exclusive right whatever, to assist to rule, or appoint those that should do so; or could, by any possible combination of circumstances, derive it from any human source!

200. All the members of a nation taken together, as regards each other, derive from God a right to appoint their legislators temporarily,—and this is *all*. Neither the liberty to assume or grant a hereditary right to legislate, or the liberty to enfranchise or disfranchise, is derivable by any American, though all the powers of hell, earth, and Heaven, throughout all ages, combined to give it to him. To grant either of these things, is the prerogative of the Most High alone! What can be more outrageous than to affirm, that any set of miscreants can at any time seize the government of any nation? though this must be the case if the democratic rule is departed from. The whole universe cannot produce a single sentence, that one, or more than one American, can urge for either of the miscalled rights alluded to in this paragraph, that cannot be urged by any other one or more. In other words, any one of your chief magistrates,—any one of your hereditary legislators,—any one of the constituents of the elected legislative,—never had, or could possibly attain, without *especial authority from God;* any greater or exclusive right, than any one of the persons robbed of his birthright by being unlawfully disfranchised.—*Whoever asserts to the contrary is a liar and a blasphemer.*

201. If any affirm, that though the chief magistrates could not appoint themselves, unless upheld by some of the persons alluded to;—we ask,—How any one individually, or the whole collectively, of the thirty chief magistrates, the members of the two legislatives, and constituents of the elected legislative, existing during the whole eight hundred years;—can lawfully have any thing whatever to do with the things here supposed, in accordance with any law deducible, either from the constitution of human nature or divine revelation?

202. In other words—how could any one separately, or the whole collectively, of—

The thirty chief magistrates,
The members of the hereditary legislative,—or
The constituents of the elected legislative,

during the whole eight hundred years acquire any more title in accordance with the divine law, exclusively to assist to govern America, than any one of them could acquire a lawful title, to dethrone the Eternal?

203. In other words, how can be made appear the contrary of the following; as to *every one* of all the three classes, during the whole eight hundred years,—namely, that every one of his acts are of—

Power wholly without right!

If any one individual of all the three classes has any lawful title whatever to assume the office he did;—

What constitutes an unlawful title?

Here we have the vices both of the hereditary mode, and the unlawfully elected mode, of appointing a government.

204. If, says Burke, popular representation or choice is necessary to the legitimacy of all government, *the* [English] *house of lords is at one stroke bastardized*, and corrupted in blood. That house is no representative of the people at all, even in semblance or in form. *The case of the crown is altogether as bad.—(Reflections on the Revolution in France.)* In answer to this it may be asked—If, in America, popular representation or choice is not *exclusively* necessary to the legitimacy of all government,—

In what does legitimacy consist?

The rights, says Dr. Priestly, both of hereditary monarchs and of an hereditary nobility, which grew up with the feudal system, (xii. vi.) must finally fall with other parts of the same system, before that prevailing spirit of industry and commerce, to which it was ever hostile; and before that diffusion of knowledge, on the subject of government, as well as on every other subject of human inquiry, which has burst out in the last half century.—(*Political Dialogue.*) Governments, says Paine, arise either out of the people, or over the people. The English government is one of those, which arose out of a conquest, and not out of society,—and consequently it arose over the people; and though it has been much modified, from the opportunity of circumstances since the time of William the conqueror, *the country has never yet regenerated itself.—(Rights of Man.)*

205. In reference to you Americans, Legitimacy must obviously consist either in—

1. Hereditary right.
2. Representation—or
3. A combination of these.

It will not be pretended by any but insane persons, that oppressors do not acquire a superiority over those they oppress. Blackstone truly says, "the greatest superiority any man can obtain over another, is to make laws by which he shall be bound." And Paine says, that—"To inherit a government, is to inherit the people as if they were flocks and herds." (vii. 13.) If some are lazy and dissolute, whilst others are industrious and temperate, and the latter by lawful exertion obtain advantages beyond the former, this is unobjectionable. But no difference whatever can be made in the *birthrights* of men, in accordance with the divine law; which to every man, says—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' All those who assume an hereditary right to legislate, attain "the greatest superiority any man can obtain over another,"—and thereby violate this

holy law. They do NOT love their neighbours as themselves. Hereditary right is, therefore, in the sight of God, utterly unlawful. Of two,—if one fails, no combination can exist. Hence the third is also untenable. This brings us to representation, which cannot be exclusive, for the reasons just given, in addition to the others which have been elsewhere adduced.

206. The most plausible plea, says Paine, which hath ever been offered in favour of hereditary succession is, that it preserves a nation from civil wars, and were this true, it would be weighty; whereas it is the most barefaced falsity ever imposed upon mankind. The whole history of England disowns the fact. Thirty kings and two minors have reigned in that distracted kingdom since the Conquest; in which time, there have been, including the Revolution, no less than eight civil wars and nineteen rebellions. Wherefore, instead of making for peace, it makes against it.—(*Common Sense.*) At the time of writing this, Paine's observations are also exemplified in Spain.

207. The opponents of democracy say that self-government is not attained by it, because a minority must always be governed by the majority. To this it may be replied, that though it would certainly be the case at any one election of representatives;—taking a man's whole life, if he were sometimes in the minority, he would at others be in the majority—that on the whole he would be, as much as possible, self-governed. It is a lamentable perversion of the human intellect to hear men objecting to democracies, because in them does not exist what it is impracticable should exist. If all were so far advanced in wisdom and virtue as to be of one mind, on the subject of government, not only would minorities and majorities be superseded; but the necessity for government, as it is at present administered, would be entirely at an end. It is assuredly a less evil to be occasionally in a minority, than to have over one hereditary legislators, or be disfranchised, or both these things. What representative imagines himself not accountable to a minority? Under democracies one evil only exists; under another form, this and two additional evils exist. Three in the mathematics are assuredly more than one. The more, therefore, the arguments against democracies are examined, the more apparent will it be, that they are as futile as the assertions of Burke, Paley, and Blackstone. If democracy is to be objected to, because there may be minorities of electors, it is obvious there can be no representative government whatever! and, in addition, the whole human race, throughout its generations, is involved in inextricable confusion about men's rights. *The great electoral assembly is the only source of right. All other sources of government, in every nation and age, have, without a single exception, proved themselves to be sources of wrong!*

208. Again, to adopt the language of Paine, "To be satisfied

of a right of a thing to exist, we must be satisfied that it had a right to begin. If it had not a right to begin, it has not a right to continue."—(vi. 106.)

209. If the constitution and code established by Arthur and his adherents, and maintained by their successors, during the whole eight hundred years, can be affirmed to be in accordance with the divine will,—What sort of laws must God have given to men? What sort of Governor of the World must he be?

210. Arthur's constitution and code are capable of being disposed of but in one way,—namely, by utterly superseding them for those that are lawful in the sight of Heaven.

211. A constitution of things to which any illegality pertains, can be properly superseded only by one to which none does;—namely, that by which all the native adult males by their majority appoint their own legislators; and these enact none but righteous laws.

212. Moderate reform, it has been well observed, has long been a fashionable expression,—an expression which has been well criticised, by asking the gentlemen who use it—How they would like to obtain moderate justice in a court of law, or to meet with moderate chastity in a wife.

213. As the subjugation, by Arthur and his adherents, gave no lawful titles to the government and the land, if any insist that eight hundred years after they are sound,—we ask, at what time, and in what manner, in accordance with the law of God, was the unsoundness cured?

214. On any one who replies to this query it is incumbent to evince, that *the constitution and code, as established by Arthur and his adherents,* and subsequently maintained, *are lawful.* If their establishment was not so, *at what time, and in what manner, did they become lawful* in the sight of Heaven.

215. In other words, it is necessary to evince how, in accordance with the divine law, can *hereditary* rights exist? And how can *exclusive* rights to appoint representatives exist? Also, how are the *holders of each class of rights* to be distinguished from those that have no such rights? It has been elsewhere observed, that, as far as our researches extend, there is not a single word to be found in all the written and printed books in the whole world that truly evinces the existence of such rights.—(vi. 170.) We have never been able to find even their abstract legality evinced. When that unhappy man, Charles the First, of England, was called on to plead at his trial, he made an answer, from which the following is extracted:—"I have a trust committed to me by God, by old and *lawful* descent; I will not betray it to answer to a new unlawful authority: therefore resolve me that, and you shall hear more of me."—(*State Trials.*) Here is nothing in these words that truly evinces that *any man whatever* could have an hereditary

right to the chief magistracy of England; and necessarily, therefore, nothing that evinces that *Charles* had this right. For what he said to have been any thing beyond assertion, it was necessary for him incontrovertibly to establish the first proposition, and then the second. If the first had fallen to the ground, the necessity for going into the second would obviously have been superseded. It will not be supposed from any thing here said that we advocate Charles' being put to death. We would have let him live as long as all the beef and pudding he could eat would have kept him alive; but for being an hereditary king he should never more have concerned himself in any manner with ruling. The same thing may be said of Louis the Sixteenth.

216 *We, therefore, hesitate not to affirm, in the most unqualified manner, and challenge, not only the whole of the living generation of men of all nations of the earth, but all that shall hereafter arise upon it, successfully to impugn our assertions: that the assumption of the chief magistracy of America by all the thirty sovereigns during the whole eight hundred years, and the formation and maintenance of the two legislatives, are utterly illegal. We totally deny that any one of the chief magistrates, any one member of the hereditary legislative, any one of the constituents of the elected legislative; or all the chief magistrates, all the members of the hereditary legislative, and all the constituents of the elected legislative collectively, during the whole eight hundred years; ever had any exclusive or greater right than any other native adult males whatever, to make or execute, assist to make or execute, the laws, or appoint any person or persons to do either of these things. And we necessarily affirm, that during the whole period of eight hundred years the laws have been unrighteous;* AND THE WHOLE LAND HELD IN CONTRAVENTION OF THE WILL OF GOD, — *namely, by a part instead of the whole of your population.*

217. It cannot then be questioned that in the two hundredth year after your subjugation, instead of allowing an elected legislative, constituted by a part of the people, to be created, that it might co-operate with the hereditary legislative,—that excepting the members of the hereditary legislative and your chief magistrate,—your whole population, gathered together as one man, ought thus to address these persons:—In you we behold only the descendants of a set of brigands and murderers. Our ancestors have consigned their memory to everlasting disgrace, by allowing yours to subjugate them, and rob them of the political right, and the land. You want to crown this iniquity, by requiring a legislative emanating from a part of the people only; that you may rivet the chains of the great body of the nation still firmer. *We utterly deny the legality of an hereditary legislative and executive altogether, as we also do that of an elected legis-*

tive emanating from part of the nation; and could we be supposed base enough to allow such a form of government to be maintained among us, it should, assuredly, not be one established by the despoilers and murderers of our ancestors, and maintained by you, their heirs. The greater part of the land your fathers robbed ours of, is now descended to you; and you only want some of us to participate in the political right, that you may be better able to controul the productive labour of all of us,—and thereby make the land you rob us of, more valuable to you!

218. That among the nations of antiquity, wretched aristocracies should rule with iron hands, and by perpetuating the ignorance and other demoralization of the human race, to the utmost of their power; prevent the generality from at all comprehending they ought to be free, is assuredly a memorable instance of the depravity of mankind. But in many respects less remarkable, than that, for centuries after the Son of Righteousness arose with healing in his wings;—and the great truths of Christianity have blazed forth upon mankind, with all their splendour, that a nation shall permit, not an aristocracy composed of a few persons, making up the court of a monarch, but several hundred devourers, to exist, in conjunction with an elected legislative. The bare appointment of this should teach you Americans, if you had never heard of it before, that you ought to be no longer enslaved.

219. It cannot, therefore, be questioned, that in the eighth hundredth year after your subjugation, when your illegal government want to reform your elected legislative; the whole nation, (with the exception of the members of the government) after repeating what has been said in the last paragraph but one, should thus further address those members:—Our ancestors, in establishing and perpetuating the system of an hereditary legislative and executive, and elected legislative emanating from part of the people, have acted in an utterly illegal manner. If you affirm, that a hundred generations have united, to prevent our having the right of appointing our own government; it is only saying, that they are all in the same condemnation; and is one of the most powerful reasons you could urge, why so unholy a system should be superseded by a righteous one. *To appoint our own government, is a right, we, every one of us, derive directly from God*; and so long as we continue faithful to each other, and to him, the whole world cannot deprive us of the power of exercising that right. The guilt our ancestors have incurred, shall guard us from following their example. We shall, therefore, maintain our own rights inviolate, and do nothing to prejudice those of any of our posterity; and thus prevent you from incurring the guilt of holding office in contravention of the divine law. If you have any doubt

of the truth of what we urge, make it evident how any one or more of the American people, throughout our whole union, and throughout all our generations; either has or have, less or greater rights, than any of his or their fellows, in conformity with the law of the Most High. *When you can evince a lawful title to what you require, by this, the only legitimate standard, we will defend it with our lives.*

220. Americans! therefore, let the writer of these pages earnestly beseech you not to expose yourselves to the contempt of scoffers, and the commiseration of the wiser and better part of mankind, by altering the form of your elected legislative; for though this should be done every year of its existence, and in every way that can be imagined; while two legislative bodies exist, the hereditary one, and the hereditary executive, will be millstones about the neck of your unfortunate country; ever, therefore, in a less or greater degree, fatal to all its best interests!—The principal inquiries, consequently, at all times necessary to make about them, as far as human ability can determine such inquiries; will be, the quantity of evil they bring upon you, and how that evil may be most conveniently remedied.

221. Should you succeed so far in the glorious object of regenerating your country, as to supersede your hereditary legislative and executive; you can scarcely do better than to warn your posterity and the world in general, against the maintenance of an order of things, so inimical to a nation's welfare. This will be compendiously done, by razing to the ground the house where the sittings of the hereditary legislative were held, on the site of which a column may be erected, with the following inscription:—

HERE STOOD THE HOUSE
FOR THAT GREAT ANOMALY,
AN HEREDITARY LEGISLATIVE,—
IN THE SIGHT OF GOD
AN UTTERLY UNLAWFUL BODY;
WHICH THE AMAZING INFATUATION
OF PAST TIMES
ALLOWED TO BE MAINTAINED
IN MANY GENERATIONS.
THIS MONUMENT IS ERECTED
AS A BEACON
TO ALL FUTURE AGES;
A. D. * * * *

222. After your hereditary legislative and executive are utterly superseded, that nothing short of the elected legislative sharing the same fate will be of any avail, is evident, from the

conduct of every elected legislative emanating from a part of a nation, that has ever appeared in the world! If you want examples of unlawful acts, that fine specimen of an elected legislative, the British House of Commons, if we mistake not, affords every different one that can be committed! We find it violating the rights of the nation, by getting rid, in conjunction with the lords, of one king,—then setting up another. We also find it expelling one of its own members,—then it prolongs the time for which it was returned. On a late occasion, we find it usurping the prerogative of God, by disfranchising some of its own constituents. This, as we have said, is called in England *reforming!* Perhaps the most notable of all its acts, is the abolition of the house of lords. It was, however, not done effectually. In reference to the disfranchising, it is a curious spectacle to see a child mutilating its own parent. To make the deed complete, the wretch should thrust a poniard into the heart of its father. We shall be glad if any of our jurisconsults will answer the following question :—

> If any elected legislative can be in any way concerned, in lawfully disfranchising *any one* of its constituents, (without his having infringed a penal statute,) why can it not as lawfully disfranchise *every one*.

223. Should your country unhappily groan under the yoke of your conqueror, his adherents, and their successors, in the way we have been supposing; let us beseech you to avoid having as your metallic currency, coins, with the effigies of your sovereigns on them, and such an inscription as follows,—DEI GRATIA REX. As long as this continues, it will be an acknowledgment to all mankind, that you are contented to be a set of wretched SLAVES, under the yoke of your conquerors and their successors. This, however, is but a small evil, compared with the adoption of the Latin inscription, which will convey an untruth, and be an act of high impiety towards Heaven; as a constitution founded on *robbery* and *murder*, and necessarily maintained during its whole continuance by *robbery*, assuredly cannot be upheld by the grace of God!

224. Should matters be as we have supposed, your people should not address such a prayer to Heaven, as we have elsewhere given; (vi. 169,) instead of this, you should fervently implore the Most High, that your chief magistrate and all in the nation, that neglect to do all that lie in them to supersede the established order of things, by a righteous one; may become sensible, that they have been living in unceasing rebellion to Heaven, and through divine grace, be more earnest in utterly superseding an unlawful state of things, than they ever were in maintaining it.

225. So far, therefore, from any oaths of allegiance taken by any Americans, to your conqueror or any of his successors, being

binding, they are all of no validity whatever. Can you imagine, that if a number of persons associated for the purpose of robbing and murdering on the highway, any oaths taken by them towards their leader, to support him in any act of spoliation, can be obligatory? As little, then, can those taken by any Americans to the government of Arthur and his successors, during the whole eight hundred years be so,—such government existing for the great purpose of despoiling multitudes of their right to their share of the political right and the property in the land, utterly in contravention of the will of the Most High. (vi. 180.)

226. Does any man, that hires a servant, ever think of taking an oath of allegiance to him? All lawful governors are but servants in the strictest sense of the word. When masters and servants, of any kind, are not satisfied with each other, the proper mode obviously is to terminate the engagement.—Where then, in a right constitution of things, can be the necessity of oaths of allegiance?

227. By the constitution of the Mahomedan government, says Thornton, not only the executive, but the legislative power, essentially resides in the sovereign. His loftiest title, and the most esteemed, because given to him by the kings of Persia, is (Zill-ullah) shadow of God; and one of the most remote from our manners, though common among all ranks of his subjects, is (hunkiar) the manslayer. This is given to him, because the law has invested him alone with absolute power over the lives of his subjects. The Turkish casuists allow that he may kill fourteen persons every day, without assigning a cause, or without imputation of tyranny.—*(Thornton's Turkey.)*

228. Should any of the abominations, we have been considering, be committed among you, namely;—the subjugation of your country;—seizure of your land and whole political right by your conquerors;—the conqueror and his descendants appointing themselves your chief magistrates;—his chief adherents and their descendants, and others added to them, by succeding chief magistrates, and the descendants of those so added, becoming your hereditary legislative;—an elected legislative appointed by a chief magistrate and the hereditary legislative, and emanating from part of the people;—coins with the effigies of your conqueror and his descendants, and an impious inscription on such coins, being used for your metallic currency;—unlawful oaths of allegiance being taken.—All these, though differing greatly as to their degrees of guilt, will be contraventions of the divine law; just as it would be for your government to kill fourteen persons every day, without assigning any cause for so doing.

229. If, then, you do not prevent such unrighteous doings, most or all the following, and possibly other curses, may come upon thee, and may pursue thee, and overtake thee;—'be-

cause thou hearkenedst not unto the voice of the Lord thy God, to keep his commandments and his statutes, which he commanded thee:' i. e, to establish and maintain a constitution and code, in accordance with the divine law.

Your code of laws may be a reproach to any nation!
Through the unlawful engrossing of the land, your whole people may all be thrown into a state of Vicious Association!
Their energies may be wholly misapplied!
Hence an extremely diminished quantity of wealth may be produced!
And such diminished quantity most unrighteously divided!
As general competition and oppression may continually overspread the land like a pestilence,—your foreign trade may be carried on so wretchedly, that you may be constantly giving your property to foreigners, for less than its value, and to a considerable extent! (v. 90.)
Hence a less or greater degree of pauperism and beggary may universally prevail!
You may have poor laws operating most miserably!
And one of the severest penal codes ever known!
The offences against which may abound!
You may have a national church in all your generations robbing, and in some of them, robbing and also murdering your people;—the latter for not professing to believe that which it is impossible should be believed!
Your country may be involved in civil and foreign wars!
The latter may entail upon you a national debt, such as has never been heard of in any other nation, since the beginning of the world!
After years of profound and general peace, you may have a large standing army maintained among you, to preserve the misrule of your oppressors.
Your soldiers may be flogged in a manner so inhuman, as would disgrace a nation of devils!
Your sailors may be kidnapped in the high roads at noon-day!
Though your whole nation may be in a wretched state, compared with what it would be if the divine law prevailed, and your people lived according to that law;—one portion may, however, be much worse off than another! (v. 266.)
Your country, in the eight hundredth year of its new era, may boast itself as being wiser than its past generations,—or the living generation of other nations; whilst almost all the evils we have been detailing, besides others, may then be suffered by it!
The prevalence of idolatry to wealth may be general!
And practical atheism, necessarily, may every where abound!

230. Let it, therefore, be held in everlasting remembrance among you,—that from the moment Arthur dares to pollute your soil with his accursed foot; until the constitution founded by him and the principal officers of his banditti, and maintained by their successors, and all acts emanating from such constitution are wholly superseded, by a constitution and code in accordance with the divine law:—*every American* that arises throughout your whole union during the whole eight hundred years, who does not do all that lies in him, that these glorious objects may be brought about, will have contravened the law of God!—Arthur and his descendants, your chief magistrates, in all their generations. The members of the hereditary legislative in all

their generations. The members of your elected legislative in all their generations. The constituents of it in all their generations. The members of the civil, military, and naval power that upheld the government in all their generations. All, all these, forming one great traitorous association, continuing in a state of unceasing rebellion to the Most High; from the moment your conqueror Arthur invades America, until the unrighteous constitution of things introduced by him into your unhappy country, is, as we have said, wholly superseded by one in accordance with the divine law.

231. We hope no apology will be considered due to the reader, for our having occupied so much of his time about the Americans. To be the means of preventing a whole nation from falling into any of the mighty evils we have been considering, well deserves the most earnest endeavours of every friend of humanity. Let us now return to ourselves.

232. We elsewhere remarked, that the establishment of William the Conqueror's government in 1066, must be considered the foundation of our present political institutions. As a nation, we thus constantly supplicate the Most High:—'Thy will be done in earth, as it is in Heaven.' It will not, therefore, be disputed, that this alone is the just standard to which our morality should be brought, and, consequently, that of every individual in the country. If, then, we consider the state of the whole nation from the Norman conquest, and its present condition, compared with what it ought to be according to the will of God, as we may humbly suppose this will is done in Heaven; we are forced to admit that, during all this period, now amounting to seven hundred and sixty-nine years, the immorality of our population ever has been, and still continues, gross and universal, of all classes, from the lowest to the highest: that with regard, both to all past generations and our own, we may truly say, that 'because sentence against an evil work is not executed speedily, therefore the heart of the sons of man is fully set in them to do evil.' But whatever men's conduct may be, it is very certain that God will not by any means be mocked by men, either individually or collectively.

233. And when it is remembered that our constitution and code have been nearly eight hundred years in arriving at their present state; and when we recollect that this country has had a hereditary and an elected legislative body; and that no small part of the lives of the members of both ought to have been spent in the study of jurisprudence; also, that in the different ages of this country since the Norman Conquest, many of our legislators have had the reputation of being among the most eminent men in their day, and that the aggregate of our lawmakers is now about a thousand; if human wisdom and numbers, and the experience of our past history, and that of all

nations since the creation, so far as we have any account of it; and the dealings of the Most High with a guilty world; and, besides all these, what is yet more important, the offer of the constant assistance of the holy spirit to those that seek it aright; would avail, we might be supposed to have laws that the holy angels might look down on with complacency. But how sadly in opposition to any thing so glorious the matter truly is, every thing about us too mournfully evinces. Thus, for instance, we have been nearly eight hundred years and have not settled the great question in the politics of a nation, the diffusion of the political right. How many more ages it may, therefore, be asked, will be required rightly to determine all other questions? If things continue as they now do, we fear the settlement will not take place by the time the mighty angel mentioned in the Revelation, shall declare that there shall 'be time no longer.'

234. *And as to the land, we hesitate not in the most unqualified manner to assert, that the whole of that of the British Isles is held by laws made in contravention of the divine will. We challenge every one of the lawyers in them to produce in writing a title in accordance with the law of God, to any single square inch. We will evince beyond all confutation that it is not worth the paper on which it is written!*—(ix. 100.)

235. Referring to the words of Blackstone, "Upon these two foundations, the law of nature and the law of revelation, depend all human laws—that is to say, no human laws should be suffered to contradict these:" it is obvious, if what is here asserted cannot be successfully impugned, it should have been the great business of the lives of all our legislators, of both houses of parliament; from the hereditary legislators under William the Conqueror down to both the hereditary and elected of the present generation, each as far as lay in him; thoroughly to examine our constitution and code with the standard laid down by Blackstone, and note all the discrepancies, if any, between them; in order to their speediest possible removal, that our constitution and code might have been made rigorously to conform to the divine law. So far, however, as any record is preserved, we believe we may venture to affirm, that of all the past and present generations of our legislators; there is no single instance whatever of such a thing having been even attempted! And that our constitution and code, and their foundation and maintenance in all things, ever have accorded, or do now accord, with the divine law, no one will, we believe, assert. If, then, these positions are incontrovertible, whether the following will not too truly apply to all our present members of both houses of parliament may be left to the determination of their own consciences, and those of the world at large:—'If thine eye be evil, thy whole body shall be full of darkness. If, therefore, the light that is in thee be darkness, how great is that darkness!' When

they know God, they glorify him not as God, neither are thankful; but are become vain in their imaginations, and their foolish heart is darkened. Professing themselves to be wise, they are become fools in the sight of Heaven. And whether what was once said by the Divine Being to the Hebrews unhappily refers to all our legislators, may be left to the same determination. 'I hearkened and heard, but they spake not aright. No man repented him of his wickedness, saying, what have I done? Every one turned to his course, as the horse rusheth into the battle. Yea, the stork in the heaven knoweth her appointed times; and the turtle and the crane and the swallow observe the time of their coming;' but these people 'know not the judgment of the Lord.' And they may thus be asked, How do ye 'requite the Lord, O foolish people and unwise? Is not he thy Father that hath bought thee? Hath not he made thee and established thee?'

236. Our Saxon ancestors called their parliament wittenagemote, or assembly of the wise. If, then, this term is applied to ours, may it not be said of the members of both houses, that their wisdom descendeth not from above? And may it not be asked, in reference to all of them, 'Where is the wise? where is the scribe? where is the disputer of this world? Hath not God made foolish the wisdom of this world?' And it is obvious, if these sayings apply to any, they do to all; consequently, not only to the inferior luminaries, but to the stars of the first magnitude in our political hemisphere; necessarily including all those also of past generations, or the eloquent orators and profound statesmen of the present and seven preceding centuries, which have been and are so much applauded,—such as were and are honoured in their generations, and were and are the glory of their times!

237. The truly wise and good man is he who with all possible earnestness endeavours to discover what is the will of God, and who is ready to forsake all that he hath, even life itself, that he may do this will. If, then, it were possible for the writer of these pages to know that, as soon as he had finished this paragraph, he would have to pass into eternity, and that his everlasting doom would instantly be determined; he solemnly affirms, and calls men and angels to witness the declaration; that of the following classes of persons, he is unable to comprehend how there can be amongst them a *single truly wise and virtuous man*, —namely, the members of the

Guelph family!
House of Lords!
House of Commons! and—
The Judges!

He arrives at this conclusion from a single circumstance,—namely, the total absence of even the slightest attempt to evince in print

the legality of the British constitution in the sight of Heaven! Assuredly, for those who lord it over their fellows, and in a less or greater degree control every thing that is dear to them—even their very lives—the least that can be expected is that they should evince, (we repeat in *print*,) in the clearest manner, that so to do they have a RIGHT! In neglecting this it seems difficult to decide whom they most insult, their fellows or the Most High! If every one of them were professed atheists, they could not as to this matter act worse. It is assuredly difficult to speak in terms sufficiently condemnatory of the conduct of *every one* of them. If it were possible to communicate with some holy spiritual being, who had never heard of our world; and he were informed of the constitution of human nature, and told what great things Heaven had done for man; and yet that in one of the nations of the earth, its political constitution had been maintained for nearly eight hundred years; and of all the generations that had existed during this long period, no one individual had ever thought it necessary properly and fully to evince the legality of such constitution; the state of things is so utterly incredible, that our supposed spiritual being could certainly never be expected to give it credence! We, therefore, hope this abomination will soon cease to exist, and that a printed account will appear, plain to be understood, that the constitution is lawful in the sight of Heaven—that the king is really the person who has a right to his office—the lords to their offices—and the constituents of the commons to theirs. We have never yet been able to find any one who could give us any better reason why the king, lords, and constituents of the commons should rule this country, than why they should rule the Chinese.

238. In contemplation of the possibility of a most wretched state of things arising among the Americans, a monumental inscription was lately proposed for them. A column referring to every one of our hereditary and elected legislators that have arisen since the Norman subjugation, seems very suitable for this country. On it the following may be inscribed:—

THERE HAS BEEN,
AND THERE NOW IS,
'NONE TO GUIDE HER
AMONG ALL THE SONS
WHOM SHE HATH BROUGHT FORTH;
NEITHER IS THERE ANY
THAT TAKETH HER BY THE HAND,
OF ALL THE SONS
THAT SHE HATH BROUGHT UP!'

(*Isa.* li. 18.)

PART THE THIRD.

THE VARIOUS STATES OF SOCIETY

ALLUDED TO IN THE BIBLE, &c.

CHAP. XVI.

BEFORE THE FALL.

1. If any one asks,—What have men now to do with the state of society before the Fall?—we reply, that whatever emanates from the Most High deserves the profoundest consideration from mankind, and especially the state of our first parents; as, if we can in any manner discover how they ought to have lived, we shall learn what is the state of man most conformable with the divine will. It may indeed be alleged, that an alteration having been made by God in the state of things after the Fall, (*Gen.* iii. 14 to 19,) we are unable to live exactly as our first parents should. To this it may be replied, that we are bound to make the nearest approximation to the state in which they were originally placed, that the present constitution of things will allow. The farther we go from it, the more iniquity abounds.

2. We have elsewhere assumed that the divine law, or the law of LOVE, was designed by God to govern all orders of spiritual beings throughout the universe. (i. 5.) If this be so, there is only one way, whatever their rank, in which they can act in opposition to the will of their Great Creator; and that is, by refusing to love him or each other as they ought. Moral obligation, on this supposition, must be the same in all classes of intellectual beings; and the great difference among them seems to be, that some have more wisdom and power, and a greater effusion of the holy spirit, than others. Possibly all wisdom and power is comprehended in the gift of the holy spirit, which we are told our Lord had without measure. And the higher the order of intellectual spirits, the greater, we may presume, is their love for other beings of their own and other orders, and the Great Creator, whose love is infinite. Hence we read that 'God is love!'

3. The different classes and orders in the vegetable and animal world contribute in a very high degree to our gratification. By comparing intellectual nature with theirs, we may conjecture that in a future state of being, the various ranks of spiritual beings will minister to the gratification of the spirits of just men made perfect; in a manner somewhat resembling that which inanimate and animate nature now does to us, though greatly superior both as to manner and degree. Had it been the divine will, all mankind from the creation might have eat grass as oxen; and no animal life but that of man, and no veget-

able but grass, been called into existence. Every one must perceive how incomparably less beautiful our world would have been. Nothing would have been presented to the eye but one universal monotony; nor anything to the taste but one unvarying kind of food. What, therefore, the lower world would be, the spiritual world would resemble, if one order of spiritual beings only existed.

4. It has elsewhere been intimated (vi. 214) that in some part of the mighty universe, God may please to appoint that there shall be spiritual beings assailable by various degrees of satanic temptation; that those of them who by divine grace pass through this probation acceptably to Heaven, may form a distinct order to reciprocate felicity with other orders; and that this peculiar order may be man. But though Heaven sees fit to expose men to the temptation of the devil, it does not render it necessary that in any cases they should be vanquished. Divine grace would have preserved our first parents from falling had they done their duty. Neither they, therefore, nor any other human being ever was, or ever can be, overcome but by willing to be so. To every one, the language of the apostle may be addressed:—'There hath no temptation taken you but such as is common to man; but God is faithful, who will not suffer you to be tempted above that ye are able; but will with the temptation also make a way to escape, that ye may be able to bear it.'

5. Reasoning by analogy, it is impossible to doubt that the heavenly bodies are all peopled with intellectual beings. If, excepting in the regions of the damned, our world be the only part of the universe where the will of Heaven is continually resisted, how melancholy is this distinction. If, on the other hand, the divine will is elsewhere so contemned, how amazing the favour Heaven has manifested to us; that for our sakes—'Christ Jesus, who being in the form of God, thought it not robbery to be equal with God: but made himself of no reputation, and took upon him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men. And being found in fashion as a man, he humbled himself, and became obedient unto death, even the death of the cross.'—For though the blood of Christ is no doubt fully sufficient to expiate, not the guilt of mankind only, but that of all sinful creatures throughout the universe; it is not to be imagined he has any where else 'become obedient unto death.' Whichever alternative we take, there is consequently something quite peculiar in the dealings of Heaven with our world.

6. All orders of beings, and every individual of them that ever have been, or ever shall be created; ever have lived, moved, and had their being, and as long as they exist ever will live, move, and have their being in the Great Creator. A continual sense of this dependence is indispensable to their well-being, in order that they may love him as they ought! We may conjec-

ture, therefore, that the divine communication to Adam—'of the tree of the knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat of it; for in the day that thou eatest thereof thou shalt surely die'—was primarily designed to preserve in him the continual sense of his dependence on Heaven. It was undoubtedly the test of his obedience. Such test might have consisted either—in the prohibition of sinning,—in requiring certain positive duties,—or in something being interdicted. The first was wholly inapplicable to the state of our first parents, because it would have been uniting two of the most opposite things in the world,—directing the mind to infinite holiness principally by the thought of sin,—ignorance of which was much more consistent with a state of perfect innocence.

7. The performance of positive duties would also have been exceptionable, because the holiness of God requires perfect obedience to his injunctions, or an atonement. Had our first parents, therefore, been less mindful of what they owed to Heaven, in a matter of this kind, they might have been recalled to their duty by some milder punishment than an expulsion from Paradise, and its accompanying evils. But if these had been immediately dependent on the exact performance of such duties, the least dereliction might have incurred the penalty. It remains then, as a test of obedience, that something otherwise indifferent, should be prohibited; which as abstinence required little effort, so the violation arose not from inattention, but active and premeditated rebellion. That the trial of man's disobedience, says a historian, should be by such a prohibition as is mentioned by Moses, appears perfectly rational, and adapted to the state of innocence: no moral precept would have been at all proper for that purpose. It must, therefore, have been some indifferent action, neither good nor evil in itself, but so far only as it was commanded or forbidden. Our first parents had no sooner eaten the forbidden fruit, than they perceived the fatal effects of their transgression;—'the eyes of them both were opened;' but in a sense quite different from that which the tempter had promised them.—(*Guthrie.*)

8. On our first parents securing the favour of Heaven, every thing depended. The easiest imaginable test of obedience was required;—nothing more than to avoid doing a particular act,—a kind of forbearance every day required from infants. Had the penalty been slight, it would have made them still more regardless of the loss of the divine favour; and if the tremendous sentence with which they were threatened, could not keep them from disobeying, it is certain that nothing less would. So far, therefore, from considering their treatment severe, the divine denunciation was evidently an act of mercy: they perfectly knew the consequence of disobedience, and they alone were blameable. So great, indeed, was their guilt, that it is

difficult to find language sufficiently condemnatory of it; whilst, on the part of the Divine Being, our highest conceptions must fall short of his goodness, both as to the happiness prepared by him for our first parents, and his care that they should avoid doing that which would cause them to forfeit it. Some may object, that it was not consistent with Infinite Benevolence, to pass sentence of death on all mankind, for the guilt of two persons. This might have some show of reason, if multitudes were found yielding a sinless obedience to the divine law; but, so far from this being the case, the history of mankind furnishes no single instance of any man's doing his duty, as perfectly as he might in the present state of things. Every man, therefore, having merited the punishment in his own person, it cannot be objected to as being severe.

9. The progenitors of the human race were not only created free from all taint of sin, but seem to have been in total ignorance, either that it had existed in any part of the Universe, or might ever enter the world to which they were just introduced; excepting, of course, their disobedience of the divine injunction. It appears, also, that, independently of their having merited punishment, it was incompatible with the divine government of the world, that they should know of the existence of evil, be disposed to commit it, and continue immortal. After the Fall, 'the Lord God said, Behold the man is become as one of us, to know good and evil; and now, lest he put forth his hand, and take also of the tree of life, and eat, and live for ever,—therefore the Lord God sent him forth from the garden of Eden.' Our supposition derives some weight, from considering that, if men can commit so much iniquity, as we find many do, within the narrow limits now assigned to human life; what would be the extent of their guilt, if they were immortal here? and what might be the state of the world, if all were so, and iniquity were thus to abound? Though antecedent to the Fall, our first parents appear to have been ignorant of sin, we are not to suppose them without any other law than the prohibition already given,—as the divine law must have been imperative on them; but the knowledge of a rule of conduct, and the various ways in which it may be violated, with the consequences, are altogether different. We may suppose that there are associations in the Universe, the members of which are practically unacquainted with guile. Adam having the fullest means of knowing all that was lawful and right, was perfectly compatible with his entire ignorance of every thing unholy. The only penal enactment known to our first parents, therefore, seems to have been, that relating to 'the tree of the knowledge of good and evil.'

10. To what purpose all this? it may be asked:—We answer, to evince, that in man's primeval state, there would probably

have been no division of the land: as, if man had never fallen, and the human race had increased, the Divine Being, we may conclude, could never have directed the land to be allotted, as was the case with Canaan, without the reason for it being apparent,—namely, that the possessors should not infringe the rights of each other;—which would instantly have disclosed the nature of fraud and violence. Neither could mankind have established a government such as nations now require—namely, one to administer penal laws, because this likewise supposes the same knowledge. From which considerations, we apprehend that, prior to the period when the eyes of both our first parents were opened 'to know good and evil,' they must have been in utter ignorance of the possibility of one man's violating the rights of another; and that their posterity would have so remained, as long as they kept their first estate; which being, as we see, incompatible with the division of the land, we are constrained to believe that, as with the first Christians, so with the inhabitants of Paradise, it might have been affirmed that neither said any of them that ought was his own, as they would have had all things common.—(*Acts*, iv. 32.)

11. In relation to the antediluvian world, the historian before quoted says, it seems to have been exceedingly different from what it is at present. The earth, in all probability, was then stocked with a much greater number of inhabitants, than it now either actually contains, or perhaps is capable of supporting. As mankind then lived ten times longer than now, they must consequently have doubled themselves ten times sooner; for they began to get children as early, and left off as late in proportion, as men now do, and the births seem to have followed as quickly, one after another, as they usually do at this day; so that many generations which with us are successive, were then contemporary.—(*Guthrie.*) This would have been the case had the Fall never happened, and mankind might have formed one grand association; an idea rendered more probable from the consideration, that even after the flood, the whole earth was of one language. This glorious association, no member of which would have been acquainted with evil, might have gone on increasing until the whole earth was so thickly peopled, as to leave no further room for additional inhabitants; when the older ones might have been translated to some nobler scene, to make way for the ingress of new ones. On this supposition, which appears to have nothing in it but what is perfectly sober, if we imagine the land divided as Canaan was; when the numbers became considerable, and the boundaries of the inhabited part of the globe enlarged, persons, as they attained to manhood, must frequently have gone, from want of room, to the extremity of the circle: thus men, like Jared and Methusaleh, might have seen the several generations of their

posterity leaving them, to migrate to considerable distances; and though this might have happened, to a certain extent, if the land had not been divided, it would have occurred much less so, than if it had been. The case we have put, of the whole earth forming one grand association, of course precludes not subordinate governments to one great head: and we may humbly venture to conjecture, that from the possibility of such a state of things arising,—when 'the heavens and the earth were finished, and all the host of them,' 'and God saw every thing that he had made,' that it appeared to the divine mind 'very good!'

12. After Adam and Eve were created, we learn that God said unto them,—'Be fruitful and multiply, and replenish the earth, and subdue it.' With regard to the phrase, 'subdue it,'—the Hebrew, remarks a commentator, has a sense which is more appropriate to this place,—"possess it as the lords thereof." We also find that 'the Lord God took the man, and put him into the garden of Eden, to dress it and to keep it;' which seems to signify, to arrange and cull for his use the precious gifts of Heaven. This must have been altogether a delightful occupation. As to the earth, says the historian just quoted, its fruits were at first spontaneous, and the soil, without being torn and tormented, satisfied the wants and desires of man; but God, as a punishment for his disobedience, having cursed the ground, it immediately lost its original fertility; the earth was not only impoverished, but the air, and other elements, became disordered, in some measure unwholesome, and sometimes fatal; hence proceeded famines, pestilences, earthquakes, storms, and all manner of natural calamities, which introduced a variety of diseases and distempers; and the constitution of man's body likewise underwent a remarkable change.—(*Guthrie.*) Prior to the fall, it is said of our first parents, that 'they were both naked, the man and his wife, and were not ashamed:' and it was not until after they had trangressed, that they knew they were naked, when 'they sewed fig-leaves together, and made themselves aprons;' after which, we are told, 'unto Adam also and to his wife, did the Lord God make coats of skins, and clothed them.' Whence it appears that in their primeval state they wore no clothing.

13. Land and labour, we have seen, are the two things from which all wealth emanates. (i. 11.) In Paradise, therefore, as the productions of the earth grew spontaneously, and no clothing was necessary, there could have been no occasion for labour. This affords an additional argument, why the land and its produce would have been common, had mankind kept their first estate. Men are, with us, desirous of great possessions in land, because it affords them the means of commanding the labour of others. Where every man dwells safely under his vine and under

his fig-tree,—has only to put forth his hand, gather the exuberant bounties of nature, and be satisfied to the utmost extent of his wishes, (as, with one exception only, it was said to our first parents,—'Of every tree of the garden thou mayest freely eat,') for any to want the land of their neighbours, which can be of no more use to them than that in the moon, is acting viciously for no conceivable end. No one with us, would wish to engross the air or the light from his neighbours; and such an attempt, was it possible, would be not more unreasonable, than to have engrossed any thing in Paradise, where grew 'every tree that is pleasant to the sight, and good for food.' Any idea, therefore, of division, or exclusive possession, of that of which there is abundance for all, which costs nothing to procure, and which he who requires it, is sure to find in the greatest plenty, when he is in want; and of which, therefore, a separate store could be of no conceivable benefit, is one of the greatest absurdities imaginable. Consequently, where division would have been productive of nothing but useless trouble, and having things in common could have prejudiced men neither collectively nor individually, we cannot consider the opposite mode was designed by Heaven.

14. A separate interest could only have been desirable, where any might have been prejudiced by fraud or violence, and without having the means of redress. Man's primeval state was not only one of perfect innocence, but our first parents, as has been said, appear to have been ignorant even of the existence of evil, except the disobeying a particular command. And this reasoning cannot be successfully impugned, even by those who doubt of the ignorance that has been supposed; as a division of interests could not take place, without so much practical evil actually existing, as would have placed mankind out of a state of perfect innocence. Whence, therefore, we cannot but conclude, that had mankind retained their primeval state, they would have had all things common, or been associated according to the Perfect Constitution of society, which would prevail now if righteousness was universal. (v. 137.)

15. Some seem to consider that the Fall entailed vice and misery on all the descendants of our first parents. The scriptures, however, do not make this declaration; but only that, as man was evidently incapable of appreciating and rightly enjoying the bounties of Heaven, he should not attain them without a certain degree of labour,—a most merciful dispensation (iii. 29),—that women should have to endure a certain degree of suffering in childbirth, and besides this, the whole human race become mortal. It, can scarcely be questioned, that almost any two adults of the human race, (if it were practicable to place them as our first parents were placed,) would violate the divine command. The prayer put into our mouths by our

Lord,—'Thy will be done in earth as it is in Heaven;' and his commandment to us,—Be ye 'perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect,' seem incompatible with the supposition, that men, collectively, are less able to do the will of Heaven now, than our first parents were before they fell;—though some, individually, may find it extremely difficult to do this holy will, from the wickedness of those with whom they are associated; and by whom they are necessarily, in a less or greater degree, influenced. (iii. 25.)

CHAP. XVII.

THE HEBREWS IN CANAAN.

1. THERE were many causes operating to unite these people, in a greater degree than any others mentioned in ancient or modern history. The Divine Being, designing to make them a special people unto himself above all other nations, entered into a covenant with their great ancestor, Abraham, instituted the rite of circumcision, as a token of it, and afterwards made the sabbath a sign for this covenant being perpetual. Abraham was promised that his posterity should become a great and mighty nation, and all the nations of the earth be blessed in him. This was afterwards fulfilled, in his grandson Jacob being the progenitor of the twelve patriarchs, from whom the Hebrew nation, including our Lord, descended.

2. The Hebrews, as has been intimated, kept very exact genealogies, that they might preserve the distinction of their several tribes and families; this being necessary to make titles to their inheritances, to which they succeeded in the way we have seen. An heiress to land was permitted to marry only one of the family of the tribe of her father, that the children of Israel might enjoy every man the inheritance of his fathers. Neither could the inheritance remove from one tribe to another, but every one of the tribes of the children of Israel had to keep himself to his own inheritance; and as the women, not heiresses, were not thus restricted, it can scarcely be doubted that all the twelve tribes intermarried. Thus, the whole nation was united by the ties of both blood and marriage.

3. The common bond of union which embraced all the tribes, was strengthened and drawn more closely, by the necessity of

mutual aid against their common enemies. We also find this remarkably exemplified when a civil war occurred. On this occasion, the sacred historian tells us, that all the men of Israel, from Dan even unto Beersheba, with the land of Gilead, four hundred thousand men, were gathered, knit together as one man. (xv. 29.) The priests and Levites, the latter being a distinct tribe, assisted in the spiritual and temporal government of the Hebrews, and the education of the youth, on which account the Levites were dispersed among all the other tribes. This must have afforded additional means for preserving an intimate union throughout the whole nation. The invention of a variety of ranks among a people is a great barrier to a general union. Nothing of this kind was known among the Hebrews, at least as far as their polity directed; — this we have seen was democratical; and that all were freeholders, except the ministers of religion, who had a special provision.

4. That Heaven ordained a strict equality should exist throughout the nation, will further appear from the following considerations. The law, in limiting the number of stripes which could be awarded an offender, that he might not in the eyes of others seem vile, styles him brother. If a man sold his daughter to be a maidservant, or as we say apprentice, the law contemplated that she might marry her master or his son. The high priest, the principal person of the Hebrews, under the democracy, is spoken of as among his brethren. Titles of honour, or rather dishonour, necessarily were wholly unknown among them. When God, as a mark of his anger, permitted a chief magistrate, similar to the neighbouring nations, to be chosen, the law applies to him the same term brother. Thus we have criminals and judges, masters and servants, the people at large, the high priest and chief magistrate, all considered as brethren: all placed on the nearest possible equality. And as there was not a single exception, the law of Moses being for all Israel, any one whatever might be in either of the above situations, except that of the high priest's. Our Lord himself is also called the brother of the Hebrews; thus Moses tells them,—'The Lord thy God will raise up unto thee a prophet from the midst of thee; of thy brethren, like unto me;—unto him ye shall hearken.' And when he did appear, he was pleased to consider all his faithful followers as his brethren: saying unto them, 'Whosoever shall do the will of my Father which is in Heaven, the same is my brother, and sister, and mother.' Paul also says, 'The Spirit itself beareth witness with our spirit, that we are the children of God: and if children, then heirs, heirs of God, and joint heirs with Christ.' Among the Israelites, says Michaelis, there were no peasants, nor yet were there any noblesse. All were on a footing of equality, and their circumstances very nearly resembled those of the land burghers in our cities. Offices and

riches might distinguish certain individuals from others, but of an high-born nobility enjoying pre-eminence and privileges beyond the great body of the people, Israel knew as little; as at this day knows that part of Asia, to which Palestine belongs. (*Com. on the Laws of Moses, Art.* 42.) "An high-born nobility," we have seen, truly means, *a gang of wholesale robbers and murderers,* the most lawless men in a nation! Such a class could of course have no place in a constitution of things emanating from the Most High.

5. It is, says Dr. Russell, worthy of remark, that during the period of the Hebrew Judges, there is not the slightest trace of those distinctions of rank, which spring from mere wealth, office, or profession. From the princes of Judah down to the meanest family in Benjamin, all were agriculturists or shepherds, driving their own oxen or attending in person to their sheep and their goats. The hospitable Ephraimite, who received into his house at Gibeah the Levite and his unfortunate companion, is described as an old man coming from his work out of the field at even. Gideon, again, was thrashing his corn with his own hands, when the angel annouced to him, that he was selected by Divine Providence to be the deliverer of his people. Boaz was attending his reapers in the field, when his benevolence was awakened in favour of Ruth, the widow of his kinsman. When Saul received the news of the danger which threatened the inhabitants of Jabesh-gilead, he was in the act of coming after the herd out of the field. Sovereign as he was, he thought it not inconsistent with his rank to drive a yoke of oxen. Every one knows that David was employed in keeping sheep, when he was summoned into the presence of Samuel to be anointed king over Israel; and even when he was upon the throne, and had by his talents and bravery extended at once the power and reputation of his countrymen among the neighbouring nations; the annual occupation of sheep-shearing called his sons and his daughters into the hill-country, to take their share in its toils and amusements. In point of blood and ancestry too, every descendant of Jacob was held on the same footing; and the only ground of pre-eminence which one man could claim over another, was connected with old age, wisdom, strength, or courage, the qualities most respected in the original form of civilized life.—(*Palestine or the Holy Land.*) (xv. 31.) The original division of the land, says another esteemed writer, was to the several tribes according to their families, so that each tribe was settled in the same county, and each family in the same hundred. Nor was the estate of any family in one tribe permitted to pass into another, even by the marriage of an heiress. So that not only was the original balance of property preserved, but the closest and dearest connexions of affinity attached to each other the inhabitants of every vicinage. Thus, domestic virtue and affection had a more exten-

sive sphere of action, the happiness of rural life was increased, and a general attention to virtue and decorum was promoted, from that natural emulation which each family would feel, to preserve unsullied the reputation of their neighbourhood.—(*Dr. Graves.*)—(vi. 201.)

6. From the Mosaic Code, there arose no objections, on the ground of rank, to the intermarriage of any Hebrew, male and female, whatever, in the whole nation. To the priests alone, says Michaelis, has Moses laid down any special rules. And even these rules relate not to what we call rank, but other things. By these rules, (*Lev.* xxi. 7, 13, 14.) a priest was not permitted to marry either a harlot or a woman divorced. And the high priest was interdicted from marrying a widow or a foreigner. Amidst all these restrictions, however, there was nothing to hinder a priest, and even the high priest, from marrying an Israelitess of the lowest rank, even one that had from poverty been sold as a slave.—(*Com. on the Laws of Moses, Art.* 99.) (xv. 10, 11.)

7. The following institutions of divine appointment brought the Hebrews into the closest connection. 'Three times in the year,' says the law, 'all thy males shall appear before the Lord God:' that is, the ark of the covenant, whence the divine oracles were given out by an audible voice, when Jehovah was consulted. The periods for presenting themselves, being at the feasts of the passover, pentecost, and tabernacles. Something similar to this assembling, is the yearly meeting of the quakers in London from different parts of this country. Thus, among the Hebrews, the males throughout all Canaan, were brought every fourth month into communication. This, remarks an historian, was a very wise institution, for preserving the union of the whole nation. And that they might leave their homes without apprehension, they were promised, 'I will cast out the nations before thee, and enlarge thy borders; neither shall any man desire thy land, when thou shalt go up to appear before the Lord.' The law also says, 'They shall not appear before the Lord empty. Every man shall give as he is able, according to the blessing of the Lord thy God, which he hath given thee.'

8. Of the passover, the feast of unleavened bread, the sacred historian tells us: 'It is a night to be much observed unto the Lord for bringing them out from the land of Egypt. This is that night of the Lord to be observed of all the children of Israel in their generations.' They were ordered to provide on the fourteenth day of the first month at even, a lamb; and if one 'household be too little for the lamb, let him and his neighbour next unto his house take it,' 'in one house shall it be eaten; thou shalt not carry forth ought of the flesh abroad out of the house, neither shall ye break a bone thereof.' Here it may be observed, that they are limited to their next neighbours; and

this being of general application, necessarily implies that all ought to live together in unanimity. The paschal lamb was to be eaten at the place where was the ark of the covenant; and no stranger was to partake of it. The passover was to last seven days, and they were to eat unleavened bread, or the bread of affliction. The first and last days, says the law, there shall be an holy convocation; to be so strictly kept, that 'whosoever eateth leavened bread, from the first day until the seventh day, that soul shall be cut off from Israel.' Lastly, they were directed to explain the circumstances of its appointment to their children.

9. The feast of pentecost was instituted,—first, to oblige the Israelites to repair to the temple of the Lord, there to acknowledge his dominion over their country, and their labours, by offering to him the first fruits of all their harvests. Secondly, to commemorate, and to render thanks to God, for the law given from Mount Sinai, on the fiftieth day after their coming out of Egypt. The day after the feast of the passover, a sheaf was brought into the temple, as the first fruits of the barley harvest, and certain ceremonies were observed; after this every one might begin the harvest. This was offered in the name of the whole nation, and by this the whole harvest was sanctified. When the wheat harvest was over, that is on the day of pentecost, they offered first fruits of another kind. 'And,' says the law, 'thou shalt rejoice before the Lord thy God; thou, and thy son, and thy daughter, and thy man-servant, and thy maid-servant, and the Levite that is within thy gates; and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, that are among you; in the place which the Lord thy God hath chosen to place his name.' (7.)

10. The feast of tabernacles was ordained to perpetuate the memory of the forty years' abode of the Israelites in the wilderness. It was called the feast of tabernacles or tents, not only because they had lived in tents and booths in the wilderness, but because it was to be celebrated in such kinds of booths, made of the branches of several sorts of trees, such as willows, palms, and olives, and erected in the most decent and convenient manner. The feast was to last seven days, and the first day was ushered in by a general procession, in which the men carried branches of trees, some in one hand and some in the other; waving them about to the four winds, singing psalms or hymns, proper for the solemnity, and crying Hosanna, which word properly signifies, "Save, we beseech thee." On the last day, this procession was again repeated with greater solemnity. During the feast, there was a cessation from all servile work, except cookery. The people were obliged to dwell in the booths all the seven days, and to eat, drink, and sleep in them, unless lawfully hindered. On the eighth and last day, a solemn as-

sembly of the congregation was held; and on this day, the first fruits of those things which were of later growth were brought up and offered to God; and these came sometimes in such numbers, that they were forced to continue the feast one day longer. In Nehemiah, we have an animated account of the celebration of this festival, by all the congregation that were come out of the captivity; when the sacred penman informs us, there was very great gladness.

11. If, says an esteemed writer, the weekly or monthly meetings contributed to the maintenance of the religion, and to the cheerfulness and kindly brotherhood among the separate communities, the three great national festivals advanced those important ends in a far higher degree. The legislator carefully guarded against any danger, which might arise from a promiscuous assemblage of both sexes; besides that, the women were ill qualified to bear the fatigue of journeys, from the remote parts of the land; and the household affairs were not to be neglected. This regulation was most politic, its object being to preserve the bond of union indissoluble.—(*Hist. Jews, Family Library.*) It was indeed, says Michaelis, only specially commanded, that males should go to the Israelitish festivals; but fathers no doubt gratified their daughters, by taking them along with them, to these solemnities; which consisted in dancing and entertainments. And thus the young men had an opportunity of seeing the young beauties of the different tribes. This must naturally have occasioned intermarriages of one tribe with another, by which the interests of families belonging to different tribes would become more and more closely connected; and thus the twelve petty states be not merely nominally, but really, and from social love, united into one great people.—(*Com. on the Laws of Moses, Art.* 198.)

12. We have next to advert to the annual day of expiation. Moses, says Cruden, enjoins no particular fast, excepting that upon this solemn day; which was generally and strictly observed. On the tenth day of this seventh month, ye shall afflict your souls: that is, ye shall humble yourselves deeply before God, both inwardly by godly sorrow, judging and lothing yourselves; and outwardly, by fasting and abstinence from all comforts and delights.—(*Concord. Art. Fast.*) This, says the law, 'shall be an everlasting statute unto you, to make an atonement for the children of Israel, for all their sins once a year.' It was to be a sabbath of rest, no work at all being to be done. Among other customs observed by the Jews, they made restitution of damages, and mutually asked and granted forgiveness. It was to be so strictly kept, that the law declared, 'whatsoever soul it be that doeth any work in that same day, the same soul will I destroy from among his people.' Though several feasts were appointed, we hear of only one fast.

13. 'At the end of three years,' says the law, 'thou shalt bring forth all the tithe of thine increase, the same year; and shall lay it up within thy gates. And the Levite, (because he hath no part, nor inheritance with thee;) and the stranger, and the fatherless, and the widow, which are within thy gates, shall come, and shall eat, and be satisfied; that the Lord thy God may bless thee, in all the work of thine hand which thou doest.'

14. The next institution we have to notice, is one necessarily peculiar to the Hebrews. The seventh year was to be a sabbath of rest to the land. In it, they were neither to sow their fields, nor prune their vineyards; that, says the law, 'the poor of thy people may eat, and what they leave the beasts of the field shall eat.' Amongst the peculiar observances of the sabbatical year, says Dr. Jennings, was leaving all the product of the ground to be used and enjoyed in common. On this year, therefore, the whole land was one common field, in which none were considered as having any distinct property;—but every rich and poor Israelite, and foreigner, who happened to be in the country—nay, men and beasts, were fellow-commoners. So that, as Maimonides saith, whoever locked up his vineyard, or hedged in his field, in the seventh year, broke a commandment. And so likewise, if he gathered in all his fruits, into his house. On the contrary, all was to be free, and every man's hand alike in all places.—(*Jewish Antiq.*) At the end of every seven years, a general release of all debts were made: the object of this being, as stated in the margin of our Bibles, and which is perhaps the more correct translation, that there be no poor among them. We have also seen, that the Hebrews could, on no pretence whatever, take any interest from each other. And Moses also commanded them, saying,—'At the end of every seven years, in the solemnity of the year of release, in the feast of tabernacles, when all Israel is come to appear before the Lord thy God, in the place which he shall choose, thou shalt read this law before all Israel.' Besides the sabbatical year, when the whole country was, as we have seen, one common field, they had always access to each other's land, as the law says;—'When thou comest into thy neigbour's vineyard, then thou mayest eat grapes thy fill, at thine own pleasure, but thou shalt not put any in thy vessel. When thou comest into the standing corn of thy neighbour, then thou mayest pluck the ears with thine hand, but thou shalt not move a sickle into thy neighbour's standing corn.' Hence it is evident, it was neither necessary to ask permission to enter their neighbour's lands, nor that they might partake of the produce; as, if so, the law would be a mere nullity. The woods of the land of Israel, says a writer, were from very ancient times common. The people of the villages, which had no trees growing in them,

supplied themselves with fuel out of those wooded places, of which there were many anciently, and several that still remain. This liberty of taking wood in common, the Jews suppose to have been a constitution of Joshua, of which they give us ten. The first giving liberty to an Israelite, to feed his flock in the woods of any tribe. The second, that it should be free to take wood in the fields any where.—(*Reland Pal.*)

15. Every fiftieth year, on the day of atonement, the law directed;—Then shalt thou cause the trumpet of jubilee to sound. (ix. 64.) This was after the year of release, and sabbatical year had ended. On the fifth day after the jubilee had been proclaimed, the feast of tabernacles commenced. This, then, must have been a period of great and universal festivity; occurring when the produce of the land was in the highest perfection, immediately after atonement had been made for all their sins, the debts between each other cancelled; and at the jubilee, all servants being manumitted, every man returned to his possession. Their hearts, if not made of adamant, must have been overflowing with good will towards each other, and the bounteous Author of all their great blessings. Nothing can be farther than the entire provisions of the Mosaic code, from any unnecessary austerity: all its enactments having a tendency to cause men to love God and each other, and thus make their temporal the prelude to their eternal happiness. That we may most earnestly unite in the language the Divine Being puts into the mouth of the psalmist:—'O that my people had hearkened unto me, and Israel had walked in my ways.'

16. The different institutions appointed by Heaven for the Hebrews, we thus see, had a most powerful tendency to bring them all into the closest union. In a former part of this work, it has been shewn, that this is the sole source of power; and in proportion as men approach to perfect union, is necessarily their power augmented. It is then of the mightiest importance, that association, which in its consequences transcends every thing human, should be rightly regulated. Hence, it may be most energetically affirmed, as to each associate, that union is good if a man use it lawfully. And necessarily the contrary, when it is used unlawfully.

17. We have seen the Hebrews, with the sanction of Heaven, knit together as one man, to put away evil from Israel. If, then, they might thus unite to put away one evil, they might have done so to put away another, and consequently any other. And if for this purpose, they might also have united, to procure themselves any good. And thus for any object, either of war or peace, provided always they applied the power which association gave them, for purposes in accordance with the will of Heaven. There was nothing, therefore, in the institutions they

derived from above, which prevented their associating according to the Perfect Constitution; these institutions bringing them to the verge of that Constitution. That the Hebrews were not directed to associate altogether according to it, may with all humility be conjectured to have arisen from an expectation, on the part of Heaven, that they would abuse the great power with which it would have endowed them. And the Mosaic laws not so associating them, may have been the principal reason, why such laws were called 'statutes that were not good, and judgments whereby they should not live.'

18. Both the sacred and profane history of the Hebrews affords undeniable evidence, that at almost every period of their existence as a nation, their wickedness rendered them wholly unfit to control so mighty a power, as perfect association would have afforded. Their great law-giver, seeing with a prophetic eye what their history would be, thus addressed them:—'I know that after my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you, and evil will befall you in the latter days; because ye will do evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger, through the work of your hands.' Wholly passing over all the remarkable events, between the commencement and the end of their history, as a separate nation, we may just see what these extremes were.

19. The last admonitions of Joshua, says a historian, and the renewal of the homage to Jehovah, failed to produce all the effects intended. That generation, indeed, never suffered idolatry to become predominant, but still they were very negligent in regard to the expulsion of the Canaanites. Only a few tribes made war on their hereditary foes, and even they were soon weary of the contest. They spared their dangerous and corrupting neighbours, and contrary to an express statute, were satisfied with making them tributary. They even became connected with them by unlawful marriages, and then it was no longer easy for them to exterminate or banish the near relatives of their own families. The Hebrews thus rendered the execution of so severe a law, in a manner impossible; and wove for themselves the web in which they were afterwards entangled. Their Canaanitish relatives invited them to their festivals, where not only lascivious songs were sung in honour of the gods, but fornication and unnatural lust were indulged in, as part of the divine service. These debaucheries, consecrated by the religious customs of all nations, were gratifying to the sensual appetites; and the subject of Jehovah readily submitted himself to such deities, so highly honoured by his relatives, and worshipped by all the surrounding people. The madness of debauchery which was exhibited in the city of Gibeah, and the protection the tribe of Benjamin afforded the criminals, in op-

position to all the other tribes, displays the true source of so obstinate an attachment to an idolatry, that consecrated such vices.—(*Dr. Jahn.*)

20. In reference to the siege of Jerusalem by the Romans, the same historian after Josephus observes, that no city had ever suffered so severely; nor had there ever been on the earth so abandoned a race of men as those who had then possession; and that their abominable excesses compelled Titus to destroy the city. This period was, Josephus says, a time most fertile in all manner of wicked practices, insomuch that no kind of evil deeds was then left undone: nor could any one so much as devise any bad thing that was new, so deeply were they all infected; and strove with one another in their single capacity and in their communities, who should run the greatest lengths in impiety towards God, and in unjust actions towards their neighbours.—(*Dr. Jahn.*)

21. Of the instances of the vicious application of the power of association recorded in the Bible, not the least remarkable is the attempt to build the city and tower of Babel, that the top of the latter might reach to Heaven. Had the Hebrews, therefore, been associated according to the Perfect Constitution, from the mighty power it would have afforded them; the language spoken of the builders of Babel would probably have applied to them,—namely, that scarcely anything might have been restrained from them which they imagined to do. The institutions in the Mosaic code brought them into the closest possible union which their sinful dispositions would allow, as will appear from recapitulating the principal matters by which those institutions were distinguished.

22. The Hebrews were all descended from one common progenitor, and therefore all related;—chosen as the peculiar people of God;—the most exact equality preserved among them by an equal distribution of the political right and of the land;—all were considered brethren;—each tribe located together;—the different tribes intermarried;—the Levites, or learned tribe, distributed among all the other tribes;—all the adult males brought into communication every fourth month;—the whole country common every seventh year to both men and beasts;—the former having besides this access at all times to the produce of each other's land;—directed to lend to each other without interest;—to release all debts septenially;—and, to prevent so happy a state of things being disordered, the land obliged to return to its original owners, or their heirs, every fiftieth year;—and all Hebrew servants to be manumitted. We thus see them united by all these ties, and both in peace and war, mourning, atoning for their sins, and rejoicing together; having the same high priest, the same faith, the same mode of worship; praying for each other, and receiving a blessing together. Dis-

tinguished beyond all other nations in living under the peculiar government of Heaven, dissuaded from disobedience by the severest denunciations; and allured to obedience by promises of the highest happiness, one of which was that they should become a great and mighty nation, and endure for ever!

CHAP. XVIII.

FIRST CHRISTIANS.

1. An eminent commentator thus speaks of them:—All that believed were together, meeting as frequently as possible in the same place; and such was their mutual affection and love to each other, that they had all things in common. (*Acts*, ii. 41 to 47, iv. 31 to 37.) And this generous principle went so far, that those who had estates, or any other valuable substance, sold their possessions and effects, and readily divided the price of them to all their brethren, as every one had particular necessity; and they continued resolutely and unanimously in the temple at the appointed hours of public worship every day; and at other times they associated as frequently as they could, breaking bread from house to house; each family making entertainments for their brethren, especially for those who were sojourners in Jerusalem. And they partook of their common refreshment with the greatest joy on the side of those that made the entertainments, and with disinterested simplicity of heart in those who received them, and on all sides with the sincerest sentiments of devotion and friendship. Such was the effect the Gospel had upon them; and in this manner they went on, praising God for the riches of his grace to them, and having in the general that favour and respect among all the people which so amiable and benevolent a conduct would naturally secure. And the Lord Jesus Christ, to whom they had given up their names, added daily to the church considerable numbers of those happy souls who by this means were saved. (*Dr. Doddridge.*) Dr. Mosheim also says, in reference to the primitive Christians, that there reigned among the members of the Christian church, however distinguished they were by worldly rank and titles, not only an amiable harmony, but also a perfect equality. This appeared by the feasts of charity in which all were indiscriminately assembled, by the names of brethren and sisters, with

which they mutually saluted each other, and by several circumstances of a like natnre.—(*Eccl. Hist.*)

2. It is evident that men may live as above described without the necessity of parting with their possessions,—that is, under the Perfect Constitution. And it appears, from sacred writ, that the having all things common was well pleasing to God, as we read that great grace was upon them all. It is, therefore, difficult to imagine why, if all mankind had happily been of one heart and one soul, as these first converts were, they might not have followed their example; and, if at the period we are considering, why thy might not have so continued to the present hour.

3. An interesting account of the celebration of the agapæ, by the Hindoo-Syrian Christians, on the coast of Malabar, has been afforded by Dr. Claudius Buchanan. At certain seasons, the agapæ, or love-feasts, are celebrated as in primitive times. On such occasions they prepare delicious cakes, called appam, made of bananas, honey, and rice-flour. The people assemble in the churchyard, and, arranging themselves in rows, each spreads before him a plantain-leaf. When this is done, the clergyman, standing in the church-door, pronounces the benediction, and the overseer of the church, walking through between the rows, gives to each his portion. It is certainly an affecting scene, and capable of elevating the heart, to behold six or seven thousand persons of both sexes, and of all ages, assembled and receiving together, with the utmost reverence and devotion, their appam, the pledge of mutual union and love. (*As quoted in Burder's Works.*) Something similar to this, on a smaller scale, is practised by the followers of the late Mr. Wesley in this country.

CHAP. XIX.

CHRISTIANS IN ALL AGES.

1. We have seen that in a society constituted according to the divine will, all should be righteous; all educing nothing but good to each other, and loving God with their whole powers. This is a truly Christian association.

2. Of what unspeakable importance it is that society should be rightly constituted is scarcely in anything more apparent than the consideration, that as it is only when all do the will of God, the great objects of association can be educed;—by some

rebelling against this holy will they necessarily influence their fellows. And though God will assuredly conduct righteous men through all the difficulties that attend their earthly probation, finally making all things work for their good; those who rebel against Heaven incur a most serious responsibility, in rendering it necessary for both their fellows and God, to be constantly engaged in counteracting; (as far in reference to the Most High as is compatible with man's free agency,) the effects of their wickedness.

3. Nor must it be forgotten that the continued neglect on the part of men here to love their fellows and their Great Creator—in other words, to cultivate the benevolent affections, unfits them for the joys of the blessed; even supposing, what they have no warrant to expect, that they will be forgiven for the guilt they have contracted on earth.

4. The injunction from above, perfectly to obey the divine law, though absolute on all collectively, cannot always, even by good men, be individually obeyed as it ought. This, as we see, arises neither from their conduct nor the constitution of things as it emanates from Heaven, but the wickedness of bad men; with some of whom, so far from being on terms of intimate union, it is the righteous man's duty to come out from among, and be separate. It is, however, especially incumbent on all Christians to do no act whatever whereby those with whom they differ, or those from whom they are obliged to separate, shall be able truly to charge them with being in any degree the authors of the difference or separation. If one man do wrong because another does, he may possibly inflict a greater injury than he has sustained; or, if this is not really the case, his opponent may think so, and retaliate. Thus the strife may become interminable. It is, therefore, apprehended to be the duty of every Christian to maintain the most intimate union with all other Christians, provided always, that he do not in thought, word, or deed, give encouragement to anything unholy by so acting. 'I wrote unto you,' says Paul to the Corinthians, 'not to company with fornicators; yet not altogether with the fornicators of this world, or with the covetous, or extortioners, or with idolaters; for then must ye needs go out of the world.' Were he now addressing us, his language would undoubtedly be much like this. It is, therefore, no inconsiderable point of wisdom, for the faithful servants of Heaven, so to pass through their mortal career, with regard to each of their associates; as to extract from the connection whatever is good, and, as far as possible, avoid what is pernicious to either party; thus humbly endeavouring to do all to the glory of God!

5. Some indulge in foolish eccentricities, thereby rendering themselves obnoxious to those about them. *One* eccentricity only is allowable among good men,—the noble one of being with

the deepest humility more holy than others. Many consider that if they are what the world calls respectable persons, this warrants in them a certain degree of austerity. But no error can be greater than to suppose, because a man has not some vicious propensities, he may indulge in others. On this supposition, one man may be a drunkard, a second a thief, a third a liar, and so on. The benignant spirit of Christianity is opposed to every austerity, except that which is exerted for the repression of vice. 'Pleasant words,' says Solomon, 'are as an honeycomb, sweet to the soul, and health to the bones.' 'Be,' says Paul, 'kindly affectioned one to another, with brotherly love; in honour prefering one another.' And Peter, 'Be ye all of one mind, having compassion one of another; love as brethren; be pitiful, be courteous.' Our Lord tells us, that—'Blessed are the meek.'

6. And it scarcely can be too often, or too forcibly, insisted on, that whilst each should in all things lead a life of eminent holiness himself, he should also, as far as his influence extends, incite all others to do so likewise. At Sparta, if an old man was present when a youth committed a fault, and did not reprove him for it, the laws ordained that he should be punished equally with the delinquent. The youths had monitors appointed from among themselves, who had authority to punish those who did amiss. Those who were untractable, and would not listen to instruction, none would converse with, but they were treated as useless members of society. The rules spoken of in the New Testament, about an offending brother, were well known to and practised by the Jews. (2 *Thes.* iii. 6, 1 *Tim.* v. 1 to 3, *Heb.* iii. 13.) Maimonides speaks of private admonition between the party offended and the party offending. Mention is also made of a more public admonition. They likewise used openly to proclaim an incorrigible person in the synagogue. If a man would not provide for his children, they rebuked him, and shamed him, and were urgent with him; and, if yet he would not, they proclaimed him in the synagogue, saying, such a one is cruel, and will not nourish his children, &c.

7. And here may be noticed the hideously demoralizing nature of ingratitude. When men, under the most favourable circumstances are too little prone to educe to each other all the good they should,—if those who are nobly desirous to act otherwise seldom meet with anything but insensibility, and sometimes with injury in return, life must become to them almost a burthen, and their earnest prayer to God must be for a removal from so frightful a state of things at the earliest moment that comports with his most holy will. A little personal experience of the selfishness of mankind, says Wilberforce, damps our generous warmth and kind affections, reproving the prompt sensibility and unsuspecting simplicity of our earlier years. Above all,

ingratitude sickens the heart, and chills and thickens the very life's blood of benevolence; till at length our youthful Nero, soft- and susceptible, becomes a hard and cruel tyrant; and our youthful Timon, the gay, the generous, the beneficent, is changed into a cold, sour, silent misanthrope!—(*Practical Christianity.*) 'If,' says our Lord to his hearers, 'ye love them which love you, what reward have ye?—do not even the publicans the same? And if ye salute your brethren only, what do ye more than others?—do not even the publicans so?' 'Whosoever shall give you a cup of water to drink in my name, because ye belong to Christ, verily I say unto you he shall not lose his reward. And *whosoever shall offend one of these little ones that believe in me, it is better for him that a millstone were hanged about his neck, and he were cast into the sea.*'

8. All the members of a nation should obviously be employed in some way or other in advancing its corporeal, intellectual, and moral well-being, or perhaps, to speak more accurately, simply the moral. To this, the corporeal and intellectual should be entirely subordinate. "The true beauty and loveliness of all intelligent beings essentially consist in their moral excellency or holiness. Herein is the loveliness of angels, without which, notwithstanding all their natural perfections, they would have no more loveliness than devils. It is moral excellency alone that is in itself, and on its own account, the excellency of intelligent beings; it is this that gives beauty to, or rather is the beauty of, their natural perfections and qualifications. Moral excellency, if we may so speak, is the excellency of natural excellencies. Natural qualifications are either excellent or otherwise, according as they are joined with moral excellency or not. Power and knowledge do not render any being lovely without holiness, but more hateful; though they render them more lovely, when joined with holiness. Angels, then, are the more glorious for their power and knowledge, because their natural perfections are sanctified by their moral ones. But though devils are very powerful, and of great natural understanding, yet they are not the more lovely." (*Dr. Graham's MS.*) But exactly the opposite of this, because they apply their power and knowledge in destroying the happiness of intelligent beings. As it is, then, with the holy angels, so it is with good men: as it is with devils, so it is with bad men. Whatever, therefore, does not advance the moral well-being of men, should be utterly abolished from among them; and all employed in promoting this well-being are labourers together with God. Whatever station any one occupies in a rightly constituted association, if he does his duty to the utmost of his ability, he is equally honourable with all the others. *No human being is more or less worthy than another but in as far as he discharges or neglects the part allotted to him, and augments or diminishes the sum of general felicity.*

9. Hence, from the constitution of human nature, there can be in society, as far as morality is concerned, but *two classes*,—those who humbly endeavour to do, and those who do not do their duty; strictly according with the division in holy writ, as the former will hereafter be thus addressed by our Lord,—'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world;' whilst to the latter he will say,—'Depart from me, ye cursed, into everlasting fire prepared for the devil and his angels.' And as Heaven would have all to be righteous, all without exception, to whom the joyful salutation—'Come, ye blessed'—may be addressed, it is obvious that ONE class in society is only sanctioned by it; and whatever classes there are beyond this one, must be in a state of condemnation.

10. Though the position we are about to advance, will be considered by many as as great a paradox as can be conceived, yet the time, we doubt not, will arrive, when it will be universally assented to;—namely, that the nearer society approximates to the universal extension of prosperity, wisdom, virtue, and happiness,—in other words, the nearer it approaches to *universal and strict equality*, the more truly Christian does it become. *The simple question obviously is,—should the many be sacrificed to the few, or should all be made more prosperous and happy, than the sacrificing system makes even the greatest of the few?* Jesus Christ, says Dr. Price, has established among Christians an *absolute equality*,—he has declared that they have but one master, even himself, and that they are *all* brethren, and therefore has commanded them not to be called masters; and instead of assuming authority one over another, to be ready to wash one another's feet.—(*On Civil Liberty.*) 'The kings of the Gentiles,' says our divine master, (to his faithful followers, in all countries and ages,) 'exercise lordship over' those subject to 'them; and they that exercise authority upon them, are called benefactors. But ye shall not be so; but he *that is greatest among you, let him be as the younger; and he that is chief, as he that doth serve.* For whether is greater, he that sitteth at meat or he that serveth? Is not he that sitteth at meat?—but I am among you as he that serveth.' 'Ye call me Master and Lord, and ye say well, for so I am. If I, then, your Lord and Master, have washed your feet, ye also ought to wash one another's feet. For I have given you an example, that ye should do as I have done to you. Verily, verily, I say unto you, the servant is not greater than his' master; 'neither he that is sent, greater than he that sent him. If ye know these things, happy are ye if ye do them.'

11. All the lawful vocations that can exist in association, are designed by God, not to separate men from one another, but to bring them into the *most intimate union*, from their dependence

on each other. The better these vocations are understood, the greater is the sum of happiness of the whole association, and necessarily, therefore, of its members. Whatever lawful distinctions exist in a righteous constitution of things, should, altogether, tend to increase the love of the associates. Those who perform the least pleasing offices, are entitled to the especial gratitude, rather than the contumely, of their associates. That, in a vicious constitution, what are called the lower classes, are less esteemed, arises from the obnoxious occupations of some, and the immorality of all classes being superinduced by such constitution, and men's individual conduct. If the constitution were righteous, and men generally conformed to the will of Heaven, as many obnoxious occupations would have no place, there would be no just grounds for lightly esteeming any. It can consequently scarcely be too forcibly insisted on, that, in a right constitution of things, whilst, on the one hand, *there can, by no possibility, be any employment that has the remotest tendency morally to degrade; so on the other, there can be no man whatever, if his capacity be suitable, that it would be in any manner unbecoming in him, to fill any employment,* however, from the ignorance of men, it may be lightly esteemed: he is thereby occupying that post for which he is best qualified, and thus most fitly doing his duty in the sight of Heaven. The notion of inferiority which now attaches to the lower orders of society, says Mr. Gray, has its foundation rather in a distaste for the habits and manners of the persons themselves, than for the occupations and pursuits they follow; but if a national system of education were established, for the purpose of cultivating the minds of all men, to an extent sufficient to create, as nearly as the differences of intellect would allow of it, a mental equality amongst mankind; there would no longer be any antipathy to productive employments. —(*The Social System.*) As it is from union between our fellows and the Most High, all our felicity is derivable, it is not for a moment supposable that it can be in accordance with the divine wisdom and goodness, that *two exactly opposing principles should be constantly operating in a less or greater degree, in every human being,—namely, those of union and opposition;*—this would however be the case, if there was any thing in the constitution of things, that tended to separate, in any degree, however slight, any one person whatever from any other.

12. How truly little are what the world miscalls the great, will further appear from what follows:—No inconsiderable source of their felicity, is the homage of those not called great: but precisely as these are debased, is such homage of little worth. Let a man, of the class the world calls great, imagine himself receiving the homage of none but the poorest, most miserable, most ignorant, and otherwise most vicious of man-

kind, and remember that his class has been the prime instrument of superinducing their poverty, misery, ignorance, and vice: and changing the picture, to adopt the language of Dr. Brown, let him suppose, not a single small group only of those, whom their virtues or talents had rendered eminent in a single nation; but all the sages and patriots of every country and period, (without one of the frail and guilty contemporaries, that mingled with them when they lived on earth,) collected together; not on an earth of occasional sunshine and alternate tempests, like that which we inhabit, but in some still fairer world, in which the only variety of the seasons consisted in a change of beauties and delights;—a world in which the faculties and virtues that were originally so admirable, continued still their glorious and immortal progress, (*Lecture* 72.)—Then let the little great man, (if such a phrase may be allowed,) suppose he had been one of the chief instruments in bringing about so glorious a state of society, and that he was receiving for it the gratulation of his associates; and he could not but perceive, that the unceasing operation of the system of which he is one of the principal supporters, is to create and perpetuate the moral degradation of the great body of his countrymen!

13. It has been seen, that as association is the source whence all good emanates, the greater the number of associates, the more power they all possess, and the more beneficially they exercise this power, the better is it for all; also, that whatever disturbs the assignment of an equality of the gifts of Heaven to all, lessens their efficiency. What conceivable benefit, then, would accrue from disturbing this equality? What diminution of wisdom, virtue, prosperity, and happiness, must be caused, best to promote the well-being of association? This may be otherwise expressed thus. It must be the object of each individual, as far as possible, to be surrounded with righteous men: the more extended the circle, and the more unspotted the holiness that prevails in it, the better it is for the individual; and as this may be said of any one man, it obviously may of every one, all being under the divine law. We have seen the nearest possible equality was designed, by divine appointment, to prevail among the ancient Hebrews in Canaan; and it will perhaps one day be seen, that there is nothing in the existing constitution of things, as designed by God, to prevent ALL from being wise, and good, and prosperous, and happy! That there is nothing but the right developement of the talents of all, to prevent all from being morally great. (v. 138.) The introduction of a variety of castes, is, therefore, highly immoral, inasmuch as the miscalled great can neither impart to, nor receive from, those they are so infatuated as to think beneath them; all the happiness, or even a small part of it, their beneficent Father designs they should. And thus, to a less or greater

extent, the great purpose for which they were called into existence—i. e., the promotion of their happiness, by the cultivation of the benevolent affections, is frustrated. Though, as far as it was possible to prevent this, Heaven has so constituted human nature, that men can live only in association.

14. What would be the fate of some, if they were so entirely exclusive, as, as far as possible, to abstract themselves from all mankind; i. e., for there not to be one person with whom they could reciprocate happiness? and if excluders think this would be carrying matters too far, they should be good enough to enlighten mankind, by publishing an account of the exact number of associates a righteous man may have of other righteous men, in accordance with the divine will. As a few unlettered fishermen of Judea were suitable associates for the Son of God, and as this divine personage is pleased to affirm that, whoever, in any country or age, shall do the will of his Father, the same is his brother, and sister, and mother:—assuredly, in any country or age, *any one* righteous man, whatever may be his occupation, is a suitable associate for *any other* righteous man, whatever may be his occupation: and these should consider each other as brethren, and treat one another as such in every sense of the word, as thus only can men obey the divine command,—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.'

15. It is, says Dr. Brown, one of the most pleasing proofs of the benevolence of Heaven, that the very production of good, by one human being to another, is not attended with delight only to him who receives the favour, but with equal delight to him who confers it; and with respect to the future also, that the desire of new beneficent exertions is not more deeply impressed on the mind of the beneficent, by every repetition of his kindness, than on the mind of him who is the object of the kindness: both are made happier,—both are made more eager to render happy. Our first emotion, on receiving good, is love of him from whom we receive it; our second emotion, is the wish of being able to render to him some mutual service; and he, whose generous life is a continued diffusion of happiness, may thus delight himself with the thought that he has not diffused happiness only, but that he has been, at the same time, the diffuser of virtue. "Poor is the friendless master of a world," it has been truly said; and there is, perhaps, no curse so dreadful as that which would render man wholly insensible of affection, even though it were to leave him all the cumbrous wealth of a thousand empires. It is a bold, but happy expression of St. Bernard, illustrative of the power of affection, that the soul, or the principle of life within us, may be more truly said to exist when it loves, than when it merely animates. The benevolent affections expand and multiply our being; they make us live with as many souls as there are living objects of

our love; and in this diffusion of more than wishes, confer upon a single individual the happiness of the world. Our soul, to use St. Bernard's phrase, exists when it loves; and it exists in all the enjoyments of him whom it loves. I alluded, in a former lecture, to the misery we should feel, if we lived in a world of breathing and moving statues; capable of performing for us whatever man is capable of performing, but unsusceptible, by their very nature, of any feelings which connected them with us by relations more intimate, than those which connect us with the earth on which we tread, or the fruits that nourish us. Yet if these breathing and moving beings were statues only to us, and were to each other, what the individuals of our race, in all their delightful charities, are to those who love them, and those by whom they are loved; how much more painful would our strange loneliness be, since we should seem not insulated merely, but excluded, and excluded from a happiness which was every instant before our eyes! Even though the same mutual offices were to be continued, there would be no comfort in these mere forms of kindness, if we knew that every heart, however warm to others, was still cold to us. To think that services performed for us, were performed without the slightest wish for our welfare, would, indeed, be to feel them as something which it would rather grieve than rejoice us to receive; and perfect solitude itself, with all its inconveniences, would certainly be less dreadful to us, than the ghastly solitude of such a crowd.

16. In this preparatory scene we are placed to enjoy as much happiness as is consistent with the preparation for a nobler world,—to diffuse to others all the happiness which it is in our power to communicate to them, and to offer to him who made us, that best adoration, which consists in love of his goodness, and an unremitting zeal to execute the honourable charge which he has consigned to us; of furthering those great views of good, which men, indeed, may thus instrumentally promote, but which only the divine mind could have originally conceived. In this glorious delegation, all earthly, and, I may say, all eternal excellence consists. With whatever illusion human pride may delight to flatter itself, he is truly the noblest in the sight of wisdom and of Heaven, however small his share may be of that adventitious grandeur, which, in those who are morally great, is nothing,—and less than nothing in those who are morally vile;—he is the noblest who applies his faculties most sedulously to the most generons purposes, with the warmest impression of that divine goodness which has formed the heart to be susceptible of wishes so divine.—(*Lec.* 61, 62, 70, *and* 89.)

17. We may fearlessly challenge the whole world to educe a single sentence, either from the constitution of human nature, or divine revelation, which allows of any other caste than that

in which all the members of it constantly exert their whole powers, in educing the highest degree of good to each other. C. Rosser thus speaks of social reformers.—Their object, says he, is not the devastation or ruin of the rich; their object is not disorder;—within their hearts, the sentiments of hatred or revenge cannot, dare not, enter. They are a pacific, not a war-like army;—they gird themselves with truth, and put on the armour of charity;—they go forth, arrayed against the errors of the world, conquering and to conquer. Their social creed is not the down-pulling of any man, but *the uprising of all men!* They are levellers after a new fashion, seeking to elevate the ignorant and the poor, not to depress either the learned or the rich. These men know that no permanent improvement can take place in their condition, while the errors, vices, and crimes of society, shall continue to be generated by the erroneous fundamental principle, upon which it is now constituted. They, therefore, while others are engaged in the discovery or application of partial expedients, apply themselves at once to the root of the evil, deeming it wiser, if it be possible, to remove the cause, than merely to modify the effects.—(*Thoughts on the New Era.*)

18. Which, reader, think you, are the greater: the men in a nation nicknamed dukes, surrounded by all the pomp and glory of the world; acquired by unrighteously engrossing the land, and thereby pauperising and sinking multitudes to the lowest degree of moral degradation; and whilst as to both classes, shipwreck is made of their temporal happiness, their eternal well-being is greatly endangered; or the holy men, who first preached a crucified Saviour to a guilty world?—and who truly said of themselves, 'even unto this present hour, we both hunger and thirst, and are naked, and are buffeted, and have no certain dwelling-place, and labour, working with our own hands. Being reviled, we bless; being persecuted, we suffer it; being defamed, we entreat; we are made as the filth of the earth, and are the off-scouring of all things, unto this day;' 'in all things approving ourselves as the ministers of God; in much patience, in afflictions, in necessities, in distresses; in stripes, in imprisonments, in tumults, in labours, in watchings, in fastings.' 'As unknown, and yet well known; as dying, and behold we live; as chastened, and not killed; as sorrowful, yet always rejoicing; as poor, yet making many rich; as having nothing and yet possessing all things!'

19. From these observations we may see the prodigious folly of pride. Certainly, if any qualities are ground of gratulation, it is on the part of some, that they are wiser; and so great is their love, that they apply this wisdom most beneficially for others. But on one account a cause of sorrow is afforded: i. e. that others are less wise, and have therefore less power of being

benevolent, or in other words, less moral: and even as far as themselves are concerned, assuredly, when the wisest and best consider what they really are, and do; and what they *should be and ought to do!* their wisdom and benevolence, so far from being grounds for satisfaction, are rather those of condemnation; that the precious gifts of Heaven have been employed with no greater benefit. Each of this class, therefore, instead of saying, 'God, I thank thee that I am not as other men are;'—should much rather say, 'God be merciful to me a sinner.' Nothing, then, can be more obvious, than that the more men advance in real wisdom and holiness, the more humble do they become:—whilst, on the contrary, the never-failing concomitants of pride, are superficial acquisitions, and a less or greater degree of other immorality. In the exact ratio that men acquire clear ideas of the perfection of the Christian character, do they perceive at how great a distance they are from it, and therefore are proportionably humble. In the exact ratio men are ignorant as to that in which Christian perfection truly consists; do they not only rest satisfied with their own low advances in that which is truly, intellectually and morally great; but in addition to this, with the most pitiable self-complacency, look down on most of those around them; many of whom, though perhaps not possessed of some of their superficial intellectual acquirements, are in the sight of Heaven morally greater.

20. Of two minds, says Dr. Brown, possessing equal excellence, which is the more noble? that which, however high the excellence attained by it, has still some nobler excellence in view, to which it feels its own inferiority—or that which, having risen a few steps in the ascent of intellectual and moral glory, thinks only of those beneath, and rejoices in an excellence which would appear to it of little value, if it only lifted a single glance to the perfection above? Yet this habitual tendency to look beneath, rather than above, is the character of mind which is denominated pride; while the tendency to look above, rather than below, and to feel an inferiority, therefore, which others perhaps do not perceive, is the character which is denominated humility. Is it false, then, or even extravagant, to say, that humility is truly the nobler; and that pride, which delights in the contemplation of abject objects beneath, is truly in itself more abject than that meekness of heart which is humble because it has greater objects; and which looks with reverence to the excellence that is above it, because it is formed with a capacity of feeling, all the worth of that excellence which it reveres. (*Lecture* 62.)

21. And as pride is one of the consequences of a variety of castes, we may further perceive how utterly both are opposed to the divine will: i. e. the attainment by men of the various castes is immoral; their conduct in sustaining the characters,

which the false notions of the world consider becoming the members of such castes, is immoral. And the few who belong to all the castes, but the lowest and most numerous, cannot be in the situation they are, according to the present constitution of society, in most parts of the world, without being the prime instruments of the moral degradation of such caste. Thus it is, that the miscalled rich and great, think it a matter of gratulation, that they are not enveloped in the ignorance, misery, and vice multitudes are; though they themselves, being the prime instruments of those mighty evils, necessarily are among the most disobedient to the divine will. A sad state of things this, for men to deem their rebellion to Heaven a cause of gratulation and pride.

22. True nobility consists, then, not in a few debasing multitudes, that the former may derive an imaginary good: not in the introduction among men of a variety of castes; the only real differences in which, are the various degrees of guilt the members incur in attaining them: but it truly consists *in the abolition of all other castes but that glorious one; in which all are morally great, all, as far as human infirmity will allow, obedient to the divine precept*; *Be ye 'perfect, even as your Father which is in Heaven is perfect.'*

23. In the sight of him, 'who hath measured the waters in the hollow of his hand, and meted out Heaven with the span; and comprehended the dust of the earth in a measure, and weighed the mountains in scales, and the hills in a balance;' before whom 'the nations are as a drop of a bucket, and are counted as the small dust of the balance; behold he taketh up the isles as a very little thing:'—'all nations are as nothing, and they are counted to him less than nothing, and vanity.' He 'sitteth upon the circle of the earth, and the inhabitants thereof are as grashoppers.' He 'stretcheth out the heavens as a curtain, and spreadeth them out as a tent to dwell in:'—in his sight, let it never be forgotten, one caste only is allowed.—THE FOLLOWERS OF HIS SON. *As to be a Christian among Christians, all emulous who shall be the greatest in humility, is what truly ennobles human nature, so the zealously endeavouring, as far as lies in Christians, to turn many to righteousness, is what truly ennobles the Christian.*

24. Another thing that evinces the immorality of caste, is the following. Heaven, we see, decrees that there shall be but one caste; that in which all its members are wise, virtuous, prosperous, and happy. But men, generally speaking, will not belong to this caste, though that they should do so, involves both their temporal and eternal happiness. How, then, are the disobedient to the divine will to be brought into the lawful caste? The only human means, extrinsic to themselves, is the closely associating of those that are in it. The more the numbers of

these unite, and the closer their union becomes, under the influence of the Holy Spirit, the greater is their power to banish the ungodliness and unrighteousness of men, and thereby augment their own numbers. Those, then, who are so unconcerned about the temporal and eternal happiness of their fellows, as to allow a nonentity, a mere fancy of their own disordered imaginations, to prevent the exertion of their whole powers in the sacred cause of virtue, by a most intimate union with all the faithful servants of Heaven, cannot love their brethren aright; and in addition to this, cannot love their heavenly Father as they ought; for he that loveth not his brother whom he hath seen, how can he love God whom he hath not seen? How can any man pretend to do the will of Heaven, when he is in a less or greater degree indifferent to the great object it has on earth; the object at which it has been labouring ever since the creation; —i. e. to bring all men into the only lawful caste, that wherein they are all righteous; all fit to enter that caste which is above all human castes; namely, the one whose habitation is mount Sion, the city of the living God, the heavenly Jerusalem; wherein will be associated, an innumerable company of angels, the general assembly and church of the first born, which are written in Heaven.—God, the judge of all, and the spirits of just men made perfect, and Jesus the mediator of the new covenant. Whence we see, that the great question as to a variety of castes is simply this: Are the different castes which exist in society—in accordance with the divine will? or, in other words, Does their existence cause this will to be done among men? The only answer to this question is decidedly in the negative. Heaven, it must never be forgotten, and can hardly be too often insisted on, allows of only ONE CASTE: and recognizes, we have said two, but should have said only one; those who do not belong to it being, properly speaking, OUTCASTS. For of the two great divisions of men, that will in the end be made, it will be affirmed: 'He that is unjust, let him be unjust still; and he which is filthy, let him be filthy still; and he that is righteous, let him be righteous still; and he that his holy, let him be holy still.' Let it, then, be ever remembered, that the invention of a variety of castes is productive of nothing but evil: that that only which cultivates love among men,—i. e. love to each other sanctified by their love to God, is for their temporal and eternal benefit. And that the antisocial nature of a variety of castes, is necessarily destructive of love; necessarily therefore opposed to the divine will, which as to the most illustrious caste, which can ever be formed on earth—that, the members whereof, are the faithful servants of Heaven, declares '*there should be no schism in the body.*' (i. 38.)

25. Let none, however, imagine, that because we are opposed to the various castes, which the ignorance and other immorality

of men have invented, we would confound all distinctions. On the contrary, we are most rigid disciplinarians. The strictest subordination is due to *lawfully* appointed members of government, and other civil functionaries, military and naval officers, &c. But all these, when not acting in their official capacity, can be considered only as other citizens; and not in the slightest imaginable degree superior to any of the wise and good part of the community. These distinctions, with the relations of—scholars to their teachers,—servants to their employers,—and the natural ones of wives to their husbands,—children to their parents,—sisters to their brothers,—the younger branches of families to the elder ones,—the young and middle-aged to those advanced in life; and any such as may not occur to us, are castes, the inferiors in each of which should be strictly and duly subordinate to their superiors.

26. We have spoken of the treatment of the servants elsewhere. (i. 31.) As some may object, that to treat them as there mentioned, it might be difficult to get them to do their duty: we reply, that we believe the objection is wholly groundless. If masters and mistresses will treat servants as though they were scarcely fit to be slaves, and simultaneously act in other respects in the most absurd manner; they need scarcely be surprised, that servants do not pay them all the homage they require. But if they will set a good example, employ servants of character, and treat them with kindness, we cannot but consider they will in this way be best served. If any still demur, our reply is, let as much authority be exercised as will insure a right performance of duty. The simplicity of early ages, says a modern writer, admits of little distinction between the master and his servants, in their employments or manner of living; and though from the impetuosity and violence of his temper, they may on some occasions be subject to hardships; he enjoys no great superiority over them; in their dress, their lodging, or ordinary entertainment. By the introduction of wealth and luxury, this equality is gradually destroyed. The various refinements which tend to multiply the comforts and conveniences of life; whatever contributes to ease, to pleasure, to ostentation, or to amusement, is in a great measure appropriated to the rich and the free; while those who remain in a state of servitude are retained in their primitive indigence. The slaves are no longer accustomed to sit at the same table with their masters, &c.—(*Millar's Origin of Ranks.*) The patriarchs did not, says Watson, commit their flocks and herds solely to the care of menial servants and strangers: they tended them in person, or placed them under the superintendence of their sons and their daughters, who were bred to the same laborious employment, and taught to perform without reluctance the meanest services. Rebecca, the only daughter of a shepherd

prince, went to a considerable distance to draw water; and it is evident from the readiness and address with which she let down her pitcher from her shoulder, gave drink to the servant of Abraham, and afterwards drew for all his camels, that she had long been accustomed to that humble employment.—(*Bib. Dic. Art. Shepherds.)* In the year of Rome 496, M. Atilius Regulus was chosen consul a second time. Like Cincinnatus, he was sowing his land when the deputies informed him of his election to the consular purple. In those times, poverty was not despised, nor was it any impediment to the exercise of the most exalted posts in the commonwealth; for it was frequently seen, that the same hands which held the plough, sustained the state, and overcame the armies of its enemies. One peculiar trait, says Bell, of Brazilian colonial character, is the general sentiment of equality which pervades all ranks; a feature of disposition hardly to be expected under such a government. The white servant converses with his master on the most equal footing; and, instead of promptly obeying his orders, discusses their propriety, and often advises a different course of proceeding; all which the master takes in good part, and often adopts his suggestions. The same manners used to prevail among the troops, and even on board ships of war. This sentiment of equality, which cannot be esteemed the worst feature in Brazilian manners, operates with peculiar advantage in mitigating the severities of negro slavery. This class, in their manners, assume the same equality as their masters. They are well fed and not hard worked.—(*Bell's Geography, Glasgow,* 1832.)

27. Should righteous constitutions and codes ever be established and maintained in nations, it will be especially incumbent on those, between whom the relation of masters and servants subsist; that, as to the former, nothing in their conduct, either in the attainment or maintenance of the relation, contravenes the divine law, especially as to those matters of which human laws cannot take cognizance. If under a righteous constitution, good men seek the situation of servants, from the consideration that they shall therein be best enabled to do their duty, they are highly to be commended; and therefore treated with all the consideration they deserve. And even if they are obliged to go into servitude, from their misconduct, this is no ground for undue severity; as the unceasing efforts of their masters should be to reclaim them, and cause them to advance in wisdom, and virtue, and happiness. Whether we consider of the relation of master and servant in reference to domestic, or the productive offices; there can be no reason whatever, why the servant should not in every thing make the closest approach to the master. Will a servant do his duty the worse, for being anxious to pay the most anxious obedience to both branches of the divine law?

(i. 20.) Will he do it the worse because he is an enlightened man? Can it be more agreeable to the master, to have about him persons distinguished from himself, principally because they approximate most closely to the brutes that perish? And where can a line be drawn, between the obedience to be paid to the divine law, by the master and the servant? Can either have too much of divine illumination? Or can one be supposed to require less, or more than the other? Can it be more agreeable to the master to have his children associate with the most degraded of their species? And a less or greater degree of intercourse is unavoidable between children and servants, in all families where the latter are kept. That servants of either sex, because they are more intelligent, will be less subordinate, is a position we utterly deny. The more they are well instructed, the more apparent will be to them the necessity of subordination. That they might be more ready to rebel against improper requisitions is likely, and so they ought to be. Do the officers in the army being more enlightened than the common men, render them less subordinate to their superiors?—Quite the contrary. As many masters and servants will have to spend an eternity of felicity together, can they be considered unsuitable associates just at the first instant their existence commences? Can it be questioned that these classes of persons should emulate each other, as to which shall be the most faithful servants of Heaven here,—the more fit to become its denizens hereafter?

28. That the relation of master and servant was very differently estimated by our Lord, to what it is among us, appears from a passage in Luke. The divine teacher supposes an entertainment to have been made for a man's household, on the occasion of a wedding; and commands his hearers to be like to men that wait for their master, 'when he will return from the wedding, that when he cometh and knocketh they may open unto him immediately. Blessed are those servants whom the' master 'when he cometh shall find watching; verily I say unto you, that he shall gird himself and make them to sit down to meat, and will come forth and serve them.' And if, under a righteous constitution, there should be nothing in the conduct of masters, either in the attainment or maintenance of their situations, that contravenes the divine law, this yet more applies under an unrighteous one. We do not, of course, mean, as to the particular compact only, subsisting between one master, and one or more servants; but the whole course of things whereby so many unavoidably are pauperized, and thus obliged to place themselves in a state of servitude. Under a vicious constitution of things, masters should remember, that their being in their situations, and servants in theirs;—may be, and often is, to a considerable extent, irrespective of the good or ill desert of either.

And that, in many cases, servants may truly be more deserving than their masters; as, besides other considerations, appears from what our Lord tells us, of the almost insuperable difficulty of some being righteously much richer than others, under any possible combination of circumstances.

29. No where is the wretched invention of a variety of grades carried to greater lengths than in India. If, says Mr. Hulbert, there be any country under heaven, where man is found in the uttermost state of degradation and depravity, Hisdostan is that country. In early ages the natives say, that their peninsula was called the land of virtues.—It must have been before they were divided into *eighty-four castes*, the most pernicious institutions that ever were produced by pride and folly, prolific of evils as they have been. The Pooleahs of Malabar, a country where monkeys are worshipped and pampered with sacrifices; are so completely banished from human society, that they have neither houses nor lands, but retiring into solitary places, hide themselves in ditches and climb into trees for shelter. They are not permitted to breathe the same air with other castes, nor travel on the public road; if by accident they should be there, and perceive a Bramin or Nair at a distance, they must howl aloud to warn him from approaching, till they have retired, or climbed the nearest tree. If a Nair meets a Pooleah upon the highway, he cuts him down like a noxious animal! When hunger compels them to approach the villages, to exchange what they may have collected for grain; they call out to the peasants, tell what they want, leave their articles of barter on the ground; and then return, to take what the villagers may please to deposit in exchange for them! Constant fear and misery have given them a squalid and savage appearance, and entirely debased the human form! Yet the Pariars are still more abject, so that a Pooleah is defiled by their touch! and the Bramins of Malabar have been pleased to place Christians in the same rank with Pariars!—(*Select Museum of the World.*)

30. Different castes, says Mr. Burder, will not eat food cooked in the same earthern vessel; if a person of another caste touch a cooking vessel, it is thrown away. Expulsion from caste is an insupportable punishment. It is a kind of civil excommunication, which debars the unhappy object of it from all intercourse whatever with his fellow creatures. He is a man, as it were, dead to the world. He is no longer in the society of man. By losing his caste the Hindoo is bereft of friends and relatives, and often of wife and children, who will rather forsake him, than share in his miserable lot. No one dares to eat with him, or even to pour him out a drop of water. If he has marriageable daughters, they are shunned. No other girls can be approached by his sons. Whenever he appears, he is scorned

and pointed at as an outcast. If he sinks under the grievous curse, his body is suffered to rot in the place where he dies.—

> "In links of steel, here superstition binds
> The unsuspecting native: to his caste
> Tethers him: cramps his powers, condemns to ply
> With joyless hands the trade his sires have plied
> For centuries: proscribes all hope of change."
> (*Burder's Orient. Lit.*)

No Hindoo, says Bell, can ever quit the caste to which by birth he belongs: to be expelled from it is the greatest misfortune that can befall him. The divisions and subdivions can have little intercourse with each other: they never intermarry, they will not even eat together, nor will they do so with any other, whatever be his profession, who belongs not to the same caste with themselves. The parias or casteless are abhorred by their countrymen, they dare not enter a temple, religion shrinks from their presence; (vi. 153,) they are employed in the meanest offices, and being by all accounted worthless, they consequently for the most part are infected with every vice.—(*Bell's Geography, Glasgow,* 1830.) The Indian sects, says Volney, anxiously support hospitals for the reception of hawks, serpents, and rats; and look with horror upon their brethren of mankind! They purify themselves with the dung and urine of a cow, and consider themselves as polluted by the touch of a heretic! They wear a net over their mouths, lest by accident a fly should get down their throat, and they should thus interrupt the progress of a purified spirit in its purgatory: but with all this humanity in unintelligible cases, they think themselves obliged to let a paria perish with hunger, rather than relieve him.—(*Revolutions of Empires.*)

31. All the disorders that exist here, should continually remind us of the loss of our first estate—how sadly at variance the life of man is with what it was originally designed to be. And though God is pleased, doubtless for the most wise purpose, to permit in the lower world some orders to exist by the destruction of others; this destruction, it must be remembered, is instantaneous. Had man never fallen, death, it may be presumed, would never have been known at all here. But it is quite contrary to the whole analogy of nature, for beings to be constituted so that they can live only in association; and yet, that during the whole period of their existence, some shall educe nothing but the greatest evils to others; and this, too, necessarily antecedent to any demerit on the part of the latter, as they are influenced by such evils not only at the moment of their entrance into life, but actually before they begin to exist! It has been elsewhere assumed, that the higher the order of intellectual spirits, the greater is their love for other

beings of their own and other orders. (xvi. 2.) However the different orders are constituted, it may be presumed, that their constitutions are so contrived by the Great Architect, as to minister to the felicity of each other. Hence the lowest will not repine that they were not placed in a higher grade, because they will be sensible it is the Great Creator's will;—that if the not being placed in the highest rank is to be any ground for repining, it is remediable only by creating one order;—this, however, none can wish, as it would prejudice the happiness of all. (xvi. 3.) Totally different, however, is this from acquiescing in the state of things as established in too many places on earth —namely, the many being sacrificed to the few. Every thing done by the Great Creator, or by his creatures in accordance with the divine will, augments their happiness and his glory. The creation of *many orders*, which from the variety existing, produces nothing but felicity; and the creation of unlawful distinctions in the *same order*, which produces nothing but infelicity to the whole, is as opposite as possible. And though in the lower world some orders exist by preying on others, to the *order, man,* is reserved the mournful distinction of some preying on others of the same order! Among the chief of these preying bipeds, the aristocracy must, we have seen, be classed.

32. According to the present constitution of society, the principal things in which some may more abound than others, are—

1. Courage.
2. Beauty.
3. Political inflennce.
4. Political power.
5. Wealth.
6. Titles.
7. Wisdom.
8. Love to their fellows and to God.

33. The First.—It has, we believe, never been pretended, that what are called the higher classes, possess this in a higher degree, than those styled the lower ones.

34. The Second.—Though amongst the higher classes, looking at the relative numbers, there may be more of this, it is thus easily accounted for. With them many things tend to its developement, precisely the opposite being the case with the lower classes. (vii. 82.) In a right constitution of things all may have every advantage. And from the opportunities of intermarrying being very greatly extended, personal beauty would unquestionably not only generally abound, but be much superior to what it ordinarily is at present. In a Christian community, where all should comport themselves as heirs of a glorious immortality, as persons that are to be the associates of angels; it is obvious, that on account of rank, not any woman

in the whole society could be objected to as a suitable wife for any man whatever, nor any man as a suitable husband for any woman. And this we have seen was the case among the Hebrews. To dislikes existing from a want of congeniality of taste, it is not necessary for our purpose to allude. We may further perceive how intimate the union of men should be, if they live according to the will of God: as between any two families whatever throughout a nation, having marriageable members, the closest of all ties may subsist; and through them a more than ordinary degree of regard between remoter connections. What is here advanced, may appear to some peculiarly heterodox. To any objections to this, or any other part of the Essay, we return the answer given in the preface. Let us, however, not be misunderstood, as recommending young ladies to marry their fathers' footmen, or that any unsuitable matches whatever be contracted. We are so much under the influence of habit, that we rarely can quite conquer its influence. And there seems in not a few a disposition to sink. Those, therefore, who have been vulgarly brought up, will rarely perhaps be found suitable companions for those that have had a different education. But these difficulties only exist from the vicious constitution of association.

35. The Third.—The Most High has made all men politically equal; and what he has purposed who shall disannul?

36. The Fourth.—Not only from the relative numbers, is almost the whole political power in the middling and low classes; but of any given number of men, say ten, twenty, or a hundred, the lower classes have ordinarily necessarily more bodily energy than an equal number of the high class; not a few of this being, as has been said, fit for little more than to eat, drink, and sleep.

37. The Fifth.—There need be no dispute among men about wealth, seeing that if they rightly apply their powers, the great difficulty to be avoided as to all, is its superabundance!

38. The Sixth.—Titles, we have seen, are simply one of the wretched contrivances that enable the few unlawfully to subsist at the expense of the many. Assuredly, to be addressed as robbers and murderers can never be desired by the wise and good.

39. The Seventh.—Wisdom is by the Most High promised liberally to ALL who seek it aright. (*James*, i. 5; *Mat.* vii. 8.)

40. The Eighth, those that belong to the high class, as they exist, by being the greatest of all the enemies to the well-being of an association in it, assuredly have less of this divine quality than an equal and averaged number of any other class.

41. The general good of *all*, says Dr. Hutcheson, is the end of associating, and not the grandeur of a few. If certain orders must reap all advantages, they should make a state by themselves, without other orders united with them.—(*Moral Philosophy.*)

Volney, in reference to his supposed new age, observes, the nation found itself suddenly divided into two bodies of unequal magnitude and dissimilar appearance: the one, innumerable and nearly integral, exhibited, in the general poverty of their dress, and in their meagre and sunburnt faces, the marks of toil and wretchedness; the other, a petty group, *a valueless faction*, presented in their rich attire, embroidered with gold and silver, and in their sleek and ruddy complexions, the symptoms of leisure and abundance. Considering these more attentively, I perceived that the large body was constituted of labourers, artisans, tradesmen, and every profession useful to society; and that in the lesser group there were none but priests, courtiers, public accountants, commanders of troops,—in short, the civil, military, or religious agents of government. The two bodies being front to front assembled, and having looked with astonishment at each other, I saw the feelings of indignation and resentment spring up in the one, and a sort of panic in the other,—[when the following dialogue ensued]:—

People. Why stand you apart? Are you not of our number?

Privileged Class. No,—we are a privileged class.—We have laws, customs, and rites peculiar to ourselves.

People. And what labour do you perform in the society?

Privileged Class. None,—we are not made to labour.

People. How, then, have you acquired your wealth?

Privileged Class. By taking the pains to govern you.

People. To govern us!—And is this what you call governing?—We toil and you enjoy.—We produce and you dissipate.—Wealth flows from us and you absorb it.—Privileged men—class distinct from the people, form a nation apart, and govern yourselves.

This dialogue between the people and the indolent classes is applicable to every society. It contains the seeds of all the political vices and disorders that prevail, and which may thus be defined:—Men who do nothing, and who devour the substance of others, and men who arrogate to themselves particular rights and exclusive privileges of wealth and indolence. Compare the Mamelukes of Egypt—the Nobility of Europe—the Nairs of India—the Emirs of Arabia—the Patricians of Rome—the Christian Clergy—the Imans—the Bramins—the Bonzes—the Lamas, &c. &c., and you will find in all the same characteristic feature—"Men living in idleness at the expense of those who labour." Luxury produces rapacity; rapacity the invasion of others by violence or by breach of public faith. From luxury are derived the corruption of the judge, the venality of the witness, the dishonesty of the husband, the prostitution of the wife, parental cruelty, filial ingratitude;—the avarice of the master, the theft of the servant, the robbery of public officers of government, the injustice of the legislator;—lying, perfidy, perjury, assassination, and all the disorders which destroy society. So that the ancient moralists had an accurate perception of truth

when they declared that all the social virtues were founded upon a simplicity of manners, a limitation of wants, and contentment with a little.—(*Revolution of Empires.*)

42. If, says another writer, *the oppressors of all nations were left to themselves, without support or assistance from others, what could they do?* If, to retain the nations in subjection, they had no help but the help of those to whom slavery is profitable, what could this small number do against a whole people? It is the wisdom of God that has thus ordered things, to the end that men may be always able to resist tyranny. *And tyranny would be impossible if people understood the wisdom of God!* But having given their heart over to other thoughts, the rulers of the world have opposed to the wisdom of God, which men comprehend not, the wisdom of the prince of this world, of Satan. Now Satan, who is the king of the oppressors of nations, has prompted them to strengthen their tyranny with a hellish device. He said unto them, this is what you ought to do,—take out of each family the stoutest amongst the young men, and give them weapons, and train them to the use of these weapons, and they will fight for you against their fathers and brothers; for I will persuade them that it is a glorious action. And I will make them two idols, which shall be called *Honour* and *Duty,* and a law which shall be called *Passive Obedience.* And they shall worship these idols, and blindly submit to this law, because I will beguile their hearts; and you shall no longer have anything to fear. And the oppressors of the nations did that which Satan had said unto them; and thus Satan fulfilled that which he had promised unto the oppressors of the nations. And the children of the people were seen to lift up their arms against the people, to slaughter their brethren, to enslave their fathers, and to forget even the very bowels that had borne them! And when it was said unto them,—*In the name of all that is holy!* think of the injustice and of the atrocity of that which you are commanded to do; they replied—We reason not, we obey. And when it was said unto them,—Is there no longer any love for your fathers, for your mothers, for your brothers, for your sisters?—they replied,—We love not, we obey. And when the altars of God, who created man, and of Christ, who redeemed him, were shown unto them, they exclaimed,—Those are the gods of our country; the gods that are ours, are the gods of our masters,—Duty and Honour. Verily, I say unto you, since the beguilement of the first woman by the serpent, there has been no beguilement more terrific!—(*L'Abbé de la Mennais.*)

43. When it is remembered that divine revelation concurs with the constitution of human nature in declaring that all men are equal as to their rights;—when it must be obvious to every man who makes a proper use of his faculties that the prevalence of justice, mercy, and humility,—in other words, the right union of

the powers of man, cannot fail of generating the highest degree of prosperity to all;—when, in opposition to this, hereditary and unlawfully elected legislators rob their fellows of the rights assigned to them by God, and murder any of them if necessary to preserve what they have thus stolen;—when the doing these things superinduces general poverty, and unutterable immorality and suffering;—when, notwithstanding this, the great plunderers have the unblushing effrontery to style themselves by appellations, whose real signification is that they are *Right Honourable Wholesale Robbers*, and *Most Noble Wholesale Murderers;*—when these, the greatest miscreants among men, look down on those on whom they have brought all the evils human nature can sustain, and who are truly the most valuable members of society, as though they were hardly worthy of being slaves;—when these wholesale robbers and murderers blaspheme the Lord God Almighty, by affirming that all their damnable iniquity is done in accordance with his most holy will;—when the operation of these things tends to sink the great mass of mankind into such a state of deplorable ignorance, that they are little beyond the beasts that perish, and therefore incapable of seeing its enormity;—and when among this mass, those who do know better than the generality, instead of putting forth all their strength, to stem the mighty torrent of iniquity that deluges their unhappy country; (with very few exceptions,) are anxious only to unite themselves to the accursed band of robbers and murderers:—we may truly say with the Abbé De la Mennais, that "*since the beguilement of the first woman by the serpent, there has been no beguilement more terrific!*" (vii. 71.)

44. Why, says Piomingo, has not African slavery been introduced into England and other parts of Europe, as well as into the West Indies and the United States? This forbearance certainly could not be owing to any religious or moral motive. To enslave, oppress, and destroy a man in one place, is as great a crime as to oppress, enslave, and destroy him in another. The labours of the sugar plantations in the islands, and of the gold and silver mines on the continent of America, are carried on by African slaves; why, then, do they not also cultivate the fields of England, France, and Spain. For this plain reason, *a white slave can be hired for less than would maintain a black one!* Hence there is no motive, no temptation, to induce the rulers of a polished nation to permit the introduction of domestic or personal slaves; and, therefore, they are entitled to no praise on that account. We have often been amused with the boasting rant of English poets and orators on this subject. They declaim with vehement passion concerning the miseries and distresses to which the Africans are subjected in the West India plantations, and at the same time eulogise the English constitution, which gives freedom to every slave who may touch the

British shores. Now this is airy nonsense. The price of labour is so low in Great Britain, that a slave, which you would be compelled to maintain in summer and winter, in sickness and health, in youth and old age, and supply with all the necessaries of life, would be an expensive incumbrance. No, no: the English are much given to encourage domestic manufactures, and the slaves manufactured in the united kingdom are fully sufficient to answer every demand for domestic consumption, and furnish a few, as usual, for exportation. From what has been said, it appears perfectly plain, that this species of slavery, which for distinction's sake we have denominated domestic slavery, cannot be introduced into a civilized community, because the market is already overstocked with this same commodity; and when the market is glutted with any article of trade, the merchant will be a loser who transmits a fresh supply. (*The Savage.*)

45. In contradistinction to this antichristian state of things, it has repeatedly been said, that all opposition among men is from their constitution necessarily opposed to their well-being, and, therefore, the divine will. How intimate the union should be among all the faithful followers of our Lord will further appear from what follows. They are compared to a flock of sheep, he being the shepherd, thus—'I am the good shepherd and know my sheep, and am known of mine; as the Father knoweth me, even so know I the Father, and I lay down my life for the sheep.' And Isaiah, speaking of God's care for his faithful servants, says, 'He shall feed his flock like a shepherd, he shall gather the lambs with his arm and carry them in his bosom, and shall gently lead those that are with young.' 'The Lord,' says David, 'is my shepherd: I shall not want; he maketh me to lie down in green pastures, he leadeth me beside the still waters.' The whole lower world does not furnish a more beautiful representation of the Christian character. No animal can be more gentle than a sheep. The union between the shepherd and the sheep, and that of the latter among themselves, is as close as can be imagined. The former says, 'I lay down my life' for them: elsewhere he adds, 'A new commandment I give unto you,—That ye love one another as I have loved you;'—that is, be ready, when suitable occasions demand, to lay down your lives for one another. Another comparison our Lord makes is, that of the vine with himself and the Christian church. 'I am,' says he, 'the vine, ye are the branches;' 'without me ye can do nothing.' What closer connection than is here mentioned can be imagined? Those that are truly united to Christ must be so with each other. A branch cannot be connected with its root unless an equally close union subsists between it and the other branches. Without this union with both, it is only a withered branch; and every branch that beareth not fruit the Father

taketh away. 'Herein,' says our Lord to his faithful servants, 'is my Father glorified, that ye bear much fruit, so shall ye be my disciples.' Paul compares the church with the corporeal body. As it is the will of God that all should be holy, and in the highest degree, so all should be members of the Church of Christ on earth; all as closely united as are the different parts of the human body! A more powerful sympathy, a closer unity, a more perfect oneness, cannot be imagined. 'There should be no schism in the body,' 'but the members should have the same care one for another.' That Paul intended to teach such of the Corinthians as were real Christians, that they should be as closely united as the members of their own bodies, is unquestionable, and perfectly agrees with our Lord's doctrine.

46. The church on earth is also compared to the body of our Lord; thus Paul says to the Corinthians,—'Ye are the body of Christ, and members in particular.' The church of God, says Cruden, firmly united to Christ, and among themselves, by the spirit, faith, love, sacraments, word, and ministry; which, like the veins and arteries in the body, serve to join them with Christ and among themselves; and also to convey influence and nourishment from the head to every particular member of the mystical body. Again, love to one's neighbour, flowing from love to God, is the chief means to a perfect union among all the members of the church, and to make their gifts and graces subservient to the good of one another. (*Concordance, Art. Body and Bond.*) Thus, 'Christ is all and in all,'—'we being many, are one body in Christ; and every one members one of another,' and 'of his body, of his flesh, and of his bones.'—Each is enabled to say, 'I live, yet not I, but Christ liveth in me;' 'for both he that sanctifieth, and they who are sanctified, are all of one.'—'He,' says Paul, 'that is joined unto the Lord, is one Spirit:' he who is strongly attached to the Lord, is one Spirit with him; he hath the same virtuous dispositions and manners. The spirit being the seat of the understanding, the affections, and the will:—to be one spirit with another, is to have the same inclinations and the same volitions; consequently, to pursue the same course of life. As all, therefore, should be of the same mind, which was in Christ Jesus, so all should have the same inclinations and volitions, and thus be in the closest possible union; for 'if any man have not the spirit of Christ, he is none of his.' No greater absurdity can be imagined than for the slightest disunion to exist among those that have been made to drink into one spirit; for how can two walk together except they be agreed? It is not any answer to what is here advanced to affirm that men generally do not, and will not, be of the same mind which was in Christ Jesus. That all should make the

nearest possible approximation thereto is evident, unless there is to be an end of all Christian obligation.

47. The following extracts from the prayer of our Lord for his faithful followers, shortly before he suffered, are very remarkable:—'I pray for them, I pray not for the world, but for them which thou hast given me, for they are thine.'—'Holy Father, keep, through thine own name, those whom thou hast given me; that they may be one, as we are.'—'Neither pray I for these alone, but for them also which shall believe on me through their word. That they all may be one, as thou, Father, art in me, and I in thee; that they also may be one in us. That the world may believe that thou hast sent me; and the glory which thou gavest me I have given them; that they may be one even as we are one;—I in them and thou in me, that they may be made perfect in one:' and thus thou 'hast loved them as thou hast loved me.' Our love for each other should, therefore, approximate as nearly as possible to that which the Father has for his beloved Son, and he for the church;—in other words, the union between *all* the faithful servants of Heaven should be as intimate as that of the angels. Thus the church would be 'made perfect in one.' And there would be 'one body, and one spirit,' 'one Lord, one faith, one baptism; one God and Father of all, who is above all, and through all,' and in all.

CHAP. XX.

THE RESTORATION OF THE JEWS.

1. We have next to consider of the state of society at the predicted restoration of the Israelites, to be again a distinct people in their ancient country, the Holy Land. Should the application of the following passages from holy writ be erroneous, it will be unimportant, as we have not to learn our duty from a future state of things, but the divine law already revealed. Some passages of scripture seem to refer both to the ancient and future state of the Israelites. And as considerable difference of opinion exists as to the application of many of them; we shall but briefly advert to the subject.

2. Had it been the object of this Essay to have treated at large of the dispensations of Heaven, in recalling the guilty children of men to the pursuit of their temporal and eternal

well being, it would have been proper to have dwelt at length on the wisdom, power, and goodness of God, in overruling the wickedness of mankind, and making it subservient to their redemption from guilt and misery. Jehovah, conformably with his promise to Abram, designs to make the Israelites a peculiar people unto himself; an holy nation, a kingdom of priests: their wickedness prevents the accomplishment of this glorious object; they fill up the measure of their guilt by crucifying the anointed Saviour. Their rejection by Heaven is made the great instrument of the conversion of the Gentiles; and the re-admission of the Israelites to the divine favour at the Restoration, is to be both the reception of themselves unto the church of Christ, and the diffusing through them of the glorious Gospel to the whole Gentile world. How truly, then, may it be said that with God all things are possible, and from the immutability of the divine nature, as all the dispensations of Heaven can be but parts of one grand scheme, and so wholly analogous, how certainly may we be assured that all things work together for good to them that love God!

3. As to the government at the Restoration, we are told, (if we are not mistaken as to the application of the following passages,) 'The Lord shall be king over all the earth; in that day shall there be one Lord, and his name one.' 'I will, says he, 'set up one shepherd over them, and he shall feed them; even my servant David,' (Christ,) 'and I, the Lord, will be their God.' 'Then shall the children of Judah, and the children of Israel, be gathered together, and appoint themselves one head.' And their chief men 'shall be of themselves, and their governor shall proceed from the midst of them; and I will cause him to draw near, and he shall approach unto me,' saith the Lord. The constitution we may, therefore, suppose will be a democratic one; as, had it not been so intended, the words would probably have been,—a part of, or certain of, or, the elders of the children, &c. No reason can be imagined for any other mode among those who are to be all righteous, and, hence, all on an equality. Any other, instead of being superior, would be inferior to the Mosaic dispensation.

4. As to their laws,—we have seen those of the Mosaic, or old covenant, were in the sight of Jehovah not good. The future Israelites are, therefore, promised—'I will make a new covenant with the house of Israel, and with the house of Judah; not according to the covenant that I made with their fathers, in the day that I took them by the hand, to bring them out of the land of Egypt.' 'But this shall be the covenant that I will make with the house of Israel after those days, saith the Lord. I will put my law in their inward parts, and write it in their hearts.' 'A new heart also will I give you, and a new spirit will I put within you; and I will take away the stony heart out of your flesh; and

I will give you an heart of flesh; and I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments and do them.' The moral law will, perhaps, have no penal enactments, as where all are to be righteous, if they continue so, these cannot be wanted. With respect to the ceremonial law, we may understand the sacrifices alluded to, figuratively to denote the offices of a spiritual worship. With regard to their having foreign servants, we may be assured there will be nothing irksome in acting in this capacity, in a society where all the masters are righteous.

5. As to the land,—every Hebrew will have a right to it, as under the Mosaic dispensation. 'They shall sit every man under his vine, and under his fig-tree, and none shall make them afraid; for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it.' And the reader need not be reminded that for all the members of a community to have a right to land, by no means infers it is to be parcelled out in separate lots.

6. Their occupation is thus alluded to,—'in all the cities' 'shall be an habitation of shepherds, causing their flocks to lie down; in the cities of the mountains, in the cities of the vale, and in the cities of the south, and in the land of Benjamin, and in the places about Jerusalem, and in the cities of Judah; shall the flocks pass again, under the hands of him that telleth them; saith the Lord.' Blayney, comparing their ancient with their future state, makes the following remarks:—"Every citizen was literally a husbandman, without any exception, and also a shepherd or feeder of flocks. Nor could any institution be better calculated to render a people virtuous and happy, by training them up to habits of sobriety, frugality, and industry; and restraining them from the pursuits of luxury and pernicious elegance. The prodigious increase of their numbers, under such circumstances, afforded a sufficient proof, that through the divine blessing, cooperating with the natural fertility of their soil, they were all plentifully supplied with every article requisite for their commodious and comfortable subsistence. Accordingly, it appears to be the avowed design of Divine Providence, upon bringing the Jewish people back to inhabit once more their ancient land, to revive amongst them an institution so favourable to their happiness."

7. As every man, in every country and every age, has an equal right with every other man, to sit under his vine and under his fig-tree, none making him afraid; for the mouth of the Lord of hosts hath spoken it, in the divine law;—it may be asked, if Heaven appointed that a people who might have been, and are hereafter to be, a name of joy, a praise, and an honour before all the nations of the earth; was, and shall be, eminently pastoral and agricultural; why should not other countries and ages, as far as is practicable, adopt so salutary a

mode of associating? In opposition, however, to this, what mode of living can less tend to educe men's temporal and eternal welfare; than for fifteen hundred thousand or upwards of the bodies and souls of men to be packed together, as they are in the metropolis, and less numbers in other large places of this country? This is, beyond all question, utterly opposed to the divine will. The immorality it generates is one of the sins oppressing legislators have to answer for at the tribunal of Heaven!

8. Assurances of the most exuberant plenty and felicity are repeatedly promised at the Restoration. And as a peculiar mark of divine favour, they are assured of a most redundant population. 'The number of the children of Israel shall be as the sand of the sea, which cannot be measured nor numbered.' 'As the holy flock, as the flock of Jerusalem, in her solemn feasts, so shall the waste cities be filled with flocks of men.' And the land shall be too narrow by reason of the inhabitants.

9. We saw how these solemn feasts, and other institutions of the ancient Israelites, had a tendency to bring them into very intimate union; and we cannot question, that at the Restoration these institutions will be improved upon; for as the Hebrews are to be all righteous, all objections to their being brought into the closest possible connection will be removed. Hence we may conjecture, that they will be associated according to the perfect constitution. We have just seen, that the population is to be so numerous, that the land shall be too narrow by reason of the inhabitants. No human means could tend so powerfully to superinduce such a state of things, as this constitution of society. And as the population increased, the more difficult and tedious it would be to subdivide the land; which furnishes an additional argument, that such constitution will prevail. If the whole conduct of the Israelites is righteous, the mighty effects that will arise by their being thus associated, cannot fail to awaken the utmost astonishment, in the minds of all foreigners accustomed to associate Imperfectly or Viciously. This may be a powerful instrument of their conversion, as they must necessarily perceive the unspeakable benefits arising from the peculiar constitution of the Israelitish society. (xiii. 9.)

10. Referring to the observations elsewhere made, on the subject of government, it is obvious, that in a society where all are constantly righteous, the great office of an administration must be to associate the productive powers according to the Perfect Constitution; unless, indeed, the great business of the government at the Restoration will be to regulate the intercourse of the Israelites with the Gentiles. It is scarcely supposable, the Divine Being will a second time do violence to the course of things he has established, by giving laws which are not good. On the contrary, we have seen, he thus declares

to the Israelites:—'I will put my spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my statutes, and ye shall keep my judgments and do them.' The Perfect Constitution of society, requiring all to be strictly righteous; to devote their whole powers, that the greatest possible benefits may be educed to each other, and to dedicate themselves wholly to God!—in what other way can men walk in his statutes, and keep his judgments? At the restoration of Israel, the Mosaic Polity is not to be adopted. And if one not according to the Perfect Constitution is to be substituted, what can it be imagined to be?—Assuredly, not the Vicious Constitution.

11. The language made use of by the Holy Spirit, is very remarkable. 'I will give them one heart and one way, that they may fear me for ever; for the good of them, and of their children after them.' Between those, who are all to have but 'one heart, and one way,' obviously no opposition can exist. This, we have seen, excepting for the repression of unrighteousness, is utterly unholy, under every circumstance, at all times, and in all places. If, then, no opposition can exist, the only question can be, as to what extent men may unite. If the ancient Israelites, among whom so much unrighteousness prevailed, might, with the divine sanction, enter into the most powerful warlike associations, to suppress evil; it can scarcely be doubted, that for far nobler purposes, and in the best state of things, where men are all righteous; they may associate in the most powerful manner, that all the benefits of which the nature of man is susceptible, may thereby be educed. It appears, therefore, that among those who are all to have but one heart, the Perfect Constitution of society only can prevail. At the Restoration, 'saith the Lord of hosts' to the Israelites, 'shall ye call every man his neighbour under the vine and under the fig-tree.' All which is confirmed from the consideration mentioned, when treating of the state of society before the Fall—namely, did universal righteousness now prevail, the Perfect Constitution would be adopted.

CHAP. XXI.

THE HEAVENLY ASSOCIATION.

1. We have now to advert to the grand and final consummation of the dealings of the Most High with mankind, as far as this world is concerned;—when from his throne the dread fiat shall issue,—There shall be time no longer! And 'the

Son of man shall send forth his angels, and they shall gather out of his kingdom all things that offend, and them which do iniquity;' 'and sever the wicked from among the just.'—When he who before was 'despised and rejected of men, a man of sorsows and acquainted with grief, and we hid, as it were, our faces from him; he was despised, and we esteemed him not:'—'shall come in his glory, and all the holy angels with him, then shall he sit upon the throne of his glory; and before him shall be gathered all nations.'—'For we must all appear before the judgment seat of Christ, that every one may receive the things done in his body; according to that he hath done, whether it be good or bad!'—'God shall bring every work into judgment, with every secret thing.'—'Every one of us shall give account of himself to God!'—'Every idle word that men shall speak, they shall give account thereof in the day of judgment!'—'It is a fearful thing to fall into the hands of the living God!'—And judgment being passed on all, the wicked 'shall go away into everlasting punishment, but the righteous into life eternal!'

2. Be now, says Thomas à Kempis, solicitous for thy redemption, and afflicted for the sins that oppose it, that in the day of judgment thou mayest stand securely among the blessed; for 'then shall the righteous man stand in great boldness, before the face of such as have afflicted and oppressed him.' Then shall he rise up in judgment, who now meekly submits to the judgments of others;—then the humble and poor in spirit shall have great confidence, and the proud shall be encompassed with fear on every side;—then it will be evident to all, that he was wise in this world, who had learned to be despised as a fool for the love of Christ;—then the remembrance of tribulation patiently endured, will become sweet, and 'all iniquity shall stop her mouth;'—then every devout man shall rejoice, and every impious man shall mourn;—then shall the mortified and subdued flesh triumph over that which was pampered in ease and indulgence; the coarse garment shall shine, and the soft raiment lose all its lustre, and the homely cottage shall be more extolled than the gilded palace;—then constant patience shall give that stability, which the power of the world could not confer;—then simple obedience shall be more highly prized than refined subtility, and a pure conscience more than learned philosophy;—then the contempt of riches shall be of more value than all the treasures of worldly men;—then shalt thou have greater comfort, from having prayed devoutly every day, than from having fared deliciously; and shalt more rejoice that thou hast kept silence long, than that thou hast talked much;—then works of holiness shall avail thee more than the multitude of fine words;—then a life of self-denial shall give thee more satisfaction, than all earthly delights could bestow.—(*The Imitation of Christ.*)

3. Of the joys of the blessed, even the true worshippers of Jehovah must necessarily remain in ignorance during their sojourn here. Men's capacities are probably not sufficiently enlarged to comprehend them; and if they were, it would unfit them for the business of this life; for who but he that had a martyr's spirit, could have a moment's fruition of the felicity of the heavenly world, and be content to remain here? But though such knowledge is mercifully hidden from our eyes, we have sufficient intimations to convince us of the utter inability of any language, however powerful, to evince the complete nothingness of the very highest degree of worldly delights, when compared with the joys of Heaven! Whatever divisions, confusions, wickedness, and misery prevail here; it may with the mightiest emphasis be affirmed, that in the transcendently glorious association of the holy Jerusalem, THERE WILL BE NO DIVISION! (i. 38.) There shall in no wise approach the ineffable presence of the Eternal any thing that defileth;—none but those that are written in the Lamb's Book of Life. As far as the constitution of human nature will admit, as the divine will should be done on earth, as perfectly as it is done in Heaven; let the chiefs of unlawful political associations (vi. 123), who are the prime authors of the great divisions that prevail on earth, and necessarily, therefore, of all the unspeakable evils thence arising, look well to the dread responsibility they incur!

4. The rebellion of the human race, in all ages, against Heaven, and the means pursued by the Most High to bring man to his duty, is one of the most deeply interesting subjects, with which the mind can be engaged. Without insisting, at the length the matter demands, on the constitution and course of things, and the divine government in its ordinary exercise having an unvarying tendency to conduct every man to the highest degree of happiness of which human nature is susceptible, in every period of his existence, we may notice the extraordinary measures pursued by Heaven. And in the manifestations of love, as they are exhibited in acts of mercy or severity, we are at a loss to determine which most eminently display the goodness of God. Passing over acts of less importance, how tremendously awful has been the divine judgment—in passing sentence of death on the whole human race throughout its generations at the Fall—in the summary infliction of it, on the whole of the existing portion of the human race, with the exception of Noah's family, at the flood—in the totally withdrawing all visible intercourse with men, from a period commencing soon after the Christian era. On the other hand, how unspeakably merciful have the dealings of Heaven been—in originally giving men such a constitution of things, as even Infinite wisdom and power

pronounced to be 'very good'—in devising and carrying into effect the great plan of human redemption; all the intercourse of Heaven with the wretched Israelities, being in furtherance of it, though they were ostensibly the immediate objects of such intercourse;—in inviting all sinners, in all ages, to repent; and promising them if they unfeignedly do so, 'though your sins be as scarlet they shall be as white as snow, though they be red like crimson, they shall be as wool.' But there must somewhere be a limit to the exercise of the divine mercies. This, we have reason to apprehend, the goodness of Heaven has arrived at, in exhausting every means within the compass even of Omnipotence, to bring rebellious man to his duty. Seeing, then, all these things, it may be truly asked, '*How shall we escape, if we neglect so great salvation.*'

5. To some, perhaps, it may seem scarcely compatible with the wisdom, power, and goodness of God, that he has not taken other measures, besides those that have been adopted, for the universal extension of his most holy will. To this the reply may be as follows:—A governor, whether human or divine, has only two modes of dealing with the contumacious: either to bear them with a less or greater degree of long suffering; or punish them in some way or other, so as at length wholly to take away their lives. And this long suffering must have a limit, or the power of the governor becomes a nonentity. Though ever since the creation of our world, Heaven has allowed the divine law to be contravened, it would probably be derogatory to the character of the Most High, as Governor of the universe, or the angels that do his will, to be visibly present at the continued rebellion of mankind. During the passage of the Israelites from Egypt to Canaan, on one occasion the Lord said unto Moses, 'I will send an angel before thee,' 'for I will not go up in the midst of thee, for thou art a stiffnecked people, lest I consume thee in the way.' Were Heaven, then, to send a revelation to every nation and generation of men, the presence of a divine messenger would be necessary; and this would only afford a fresh opportunity for the dispensations of the Most High, to be treated with the same contumely, those he has already sent, have been and are. Besides which, it would be wholly without benefit, for as he has revealed all that is necessary for men to know of his will, a thousand fresh revelations could do nothing more. As to every man on earth deprived of the light of sacred writ, Heaven has provided two modes whereby he may attain the knowledge of it. Of those who possess it, every man is unquestionably bound to do all that lies in him; that it may reach all the individuals of the human race who have it not. Each one of these, by making use of his faculties, must know that the universe could not come into existence without a Great First Cause; and he must also know, that nothing either within him

or about him, indicates whether the universe emanated from, and is upheld by, one Great Creator, or more than one: consequently, what duties he has to render to such Great First Cause. This, assuredly, should set him inquiring; and if he pursues his inquiries aright, he cannot fail of discovering that there is a revelation from above. (i. 3.)

6. It may perhaps be urged, that multitudes are so enslaved, in some parts of the world, that they are wholly without the means of so doing. We can hardly imagine such slavery could ever be superinduced, without the enslaved were in a very high degree guilty, of not doing all that lies in them to live as men ought. If, however, there ever have been, or are any, so far as themselves are concerned, under an invincible ignorance of divine revelation, Heaven, rich in mercy, will deal with them accordingly.

7. With what little justice its conduct can be impugned, further appears from considering, that as to those on whom the light of the glorious gospel shines.—How few there are who in any tolerable manner are obedient to its precepts!—How many who care little about its existence!—How many who presumptuously question its credibility!—How many who live neither according to the law of revelation, nor even that of nature!—Besides all which, how have the servants of Heaven been treated in all ages of their appearance. Some, for example, 'were tortured, not accepting deliverance, that they might obtain a better resurrection; and others had trial of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea moreover of bonds and imprisonment; they were stoned, they were sawn asunder; were tempted, were slain with the sword; they wandered about in sheepskins and goat-skins, being destitute, afflicted, tormented, (of whom the world was not worthy); they wandered in deserts, and in mountains, and in dens, and caves of the earth.' And to consummate the unspeakable wickedness of mankind, the Son of God himself was put to an ignominious death. Heaven, therefore, is in no degree chargeable with not more widely diffusing the knowledge of its will. But for the rebellion of mankind, it cannot, we think, be questioned, that God would ever have had intercourse with his children, as at the beginning.

8. The present is usually considered a more enlightened period than past ages. But our progress in righteousness is very far short of our intellectual advancement. However important the latter may be, it is only so as being instrumental in promoting the one thing needful. How exceedingly small is the number among us, of those happy persons who are ready to sacrifice every thing to the performance of their duty. If then, from the gross and universal immorality that ever has prevailed and still does prevail, very few only discharge the offices of this life, even in a tolerable manner, how are the mighty multitudes

to be disposed of, to whom even this small praise cannot be awarded? What is to become of such as cannot be brought to do their duty in a lower state of existence, when the period arrives for their being translated into a higher one. It is impossible to suppose that Heaven gives men a law to violate at their pleasure:—without entering into the question of the forgiveness of human iniquity; let each of us endeavour to impress on himself the unspeakable importance of considering, that though by unfeigned repentance our sins may be forgiven, the leading an unholy life here, as has been observed, incapacitates us for being happy hereafter. An incapacity even the power of Heaven, if we may so speak, cannot remove from those who are determined on their own destruction. (iv. 11.) Leaving, therefore, wholly out of view anything to be suffered, what must be the loss to the man, who is guilty of the inconceivable folly of throwing away an eternity of bliss?

CHAP. XXII.

CONCLUSION.

1. The more the nature of Association is examined, the more gloriously will the divine attributes be displayed. Whatever difficulties attend the theory or practice of it, arise entirely from the wickedness of mankind. In an economy emanating from Heaven, there should, it is obvious, be not the slightest disorder. And its application to a vicious constitution of things, should be at once the test of, and the means, if rightly applied, of removing all its defects. These objects, we apprehend, are completely effected by the Perfect constitution of society, if men will live according to its laws. What other can be imagined equally comporting with the glory of God? On the contrary, what constitution can be supposed less so, than the Vicious one, either in its theory, or the practical and innumerable illustrations of it that are every where presented?

2. That human associations, conducted on just principles, i. e. those developed in the third Chapter, are alone in accordance with the will of Heaven, further appears from what follows. It cannot for a moment be supposed, that Infinite Wisdom exerts its creative powers for no conceivable end; though if we suppose either the Imperfect or Vicious constitution in accordance with the will of God, this would be the case; not only as regards all

nations in all their ages; but with *every individual of the whole human race*, that has ever come, or shall come into the world. For in the Perfect constitution alone, where men occupy stations according to their different capacities, can the talents of any one whatever be properly and fully developed. And if men have not an opportunity of unfolding their gifts, the possession of such gifts is but a torment, especially to good men. If it is objected to this, that in another state of existence, the amplest opportunity will be afforded of developing whatever is permitted to remain dormant here; we reply, that though this will assuredly be the case, yet it is no valid argument against what we urge. Because it cannot be considered compatible with Infinite Wisdom so to have constituted things; as it would have been much more suitable for the gifts we are considering to have been withheld, or at least to a certain degree, until they could in another state of being be properly employed. But Heaven having granted them to men, obviously intends they should be cultivated to the fullest possible extent, for the benefit of each other.

3. Comparing the social body with the corporeal one,—if, reader, you suppose, with regard to the latter, one eye in the back, another in the sole of the foot, a leg changed places with an arm, another leg, perhaps, growing out of the breast, and an arm out of the back, or any greater anomalies than these; you may form an inadequate idea of the monstrous way in which human association is at present constituted, by the members occupying situations in it altogether different from what their capacities qualify them. A yet better idea may, perhaps, be thus formed.—Suppose all the different members of the human body were separated from each other, and being put into a bag, were shaken together, and thrown into a promiscuous heap;—could this heap be endowed with vitality, a strange body would arise. Too much resembling this, are the members of the social body of any nation disposed, according to their various gifts. God, says Paul, hath 'set the members, every one of them, in the body, as it hath pleased him.' It is evidently the will of the Most High, that in the social body also, 'the members, every one of them,' should be set 'as it hath pleased him.' How this is to be done, can only be known by the operation of the Holy Spirit, on each of these members individually, and all collectively; though probably few have ever thought this operation requisite, much less have done all that lay in them, that on the part of themselves and others, the great object might be accomplished. (iv. 13.)

4. Another argument, and not the least powerful one, in favour of the Perfect constitution, is, the great difficulty of dividing the land in any other state of things. This alone seems conclusive: i. e., that every thing approximating to division, except that which separates men from unrighteousness

and ungodliness, is altogether opposed to the divine will, as declared both in the constitution of the Material, Intellectual, and Moral Worlds, and the revelation it has been pleased to make to mankind. Having already adverted to the utterly incalculable waste of wealth, arising from the productive powers of men not being associated according to the Perfect Constitution, it is not necessary to insist on it further. (vi. 136.)

5. With regard to lawful associations, alluded to in holy writ, it is mentioned as a peculiar mark of the divine favour that the Holy Spirit will so operate on the members, that they shall have 'one heart,' or, as it is otherwise expressed, the communion of the Holy Spirit shall be with them all.—(2 *Chro.* xxx. 12; *Jer.* xxxii. 39; *Ez.* xi. 19; *John,* xvii. 11, *and* 21 *to* 23; 1 *Cor.* vi. 17; 2 *Cor.* xiii. 14.) No great works can be undertaken, unless men associate extensively: and we have seen that very large associations among the ancient Hebrews were sanctioned by Heaven. The government of a nation can only be righteously appointed by an association so extensive as to comprise within it every adult male: a constitution formed in any other way whatever, not only failing to educe the lawful objects of government, but unavoidably educing nothing but unmitigated ill, and of this a very high degree. (vi. 191 to 193.) Had there been any thing pernicious in the formation of a political association so extensive as a lawful one necessarily must be, Heaven would doubtless have pointed out some mode by which the inconvenience might have been avoided. So far from this being the case, we have seen, that in the Hebrew community, all the males were directed to assemble thrice every year. An argument for the formation of the most extensive associations, if for righteous purposes, may also be drawn from the consideration, that, even after the deluge, the whole earth was of one language, and only ceased to be so from the wickedness of mankind.

6. The history of past ages and present state of the world too mournfully evince, that a less or greater degree of unrighteousness ever has prevailed, and will continue to prevail, among men. If, then, notwithstanding this unrighteousness, Heaven is pleased to carry on the consecutive association of the human race, what conceivable objection can be urged against a synchronous one, however extensive, if all its objects are righteous? And as it cannot be questioned, that the servants of Heaven here, will hereafter have to enter into a vastly larger association than any this world can afford, why, it may be asked, should the numbers of righteous men, associating here for hallowed objects, be curtailed? Why apply one rule to the commencement of their existence, and a totally different one to all the remainder of it, throughout eternity? And we must recollect, Heaven wills that all shall be righteous. As we know

the operations of the material world are not—neither, indeed, can be carried on, without its Great Head;—and as we cannot question that the angelic host are controlled by him, why should the material world, men's political concerns, and the heavenly association, be regulated by a head; and yet a different principle be applied to the productive powers of men, though these are greatly dependent on the way their political concerns are managed? If the Perfect Constitution of society is not that designed by God, men have one rule for the attainment of the means of associating their productive powers, and a different rule for the employment of those means: though, reasoning by analogy, we may suppose that not only the heavenly association, but the associations formed in every part of the universe where the Great Creator's will is obeyed, are regulated in accordance with the Perfect Constitution.

7. It seems not a little remarkable, if what we insist on is untenable, that all mankind should be fully sensible, i. e., if they inquire about the matter, that association is the source of all good, out of which, therefore, a single human being cannot live,—and yet that a dissociating principle should ever be ope rating in them. They may, on the hypothesis we are combating, form an association of a certain number, in perfect accordance with the will of Heaven, but if they admit another individual, they contravene such holy will. Should those who impugn what we advance, be unable to furnish a solution of the question; i. e., what is the greatest number that may form an association? will they affirm that it cannot be resolved, and that Heaven has left the whole human race in never-ending doubt as to the affair? And we may also ask, if men, forming an association, may ignorantly transgress the will of Heaven, by admitting a single member too many, who is chargeable for the sin they commit from invincible ignorance?—Surely, not themselves: it can therefore only be chargeable on Heaven, which none will be found to affirm. The only conclusion, therefore, we can arrive at, is, that had it been possible for men to form too extensive associations for righteous objects, Heaven would have declared its will, in a way that none could mistake it; though the bare supposition seems to us to convey its own refutation;—for how can an association, the objects of which are all righteous, have too many members?

8. And that the Perfect Constitution must have been designed by God, to regulate the conduct of all intellectual beings, is further obvious, from considering that by such a mode of association alone can the universe be rightly sustained. To the whole constitution of things, excepting, of course, God's own external existence, three things only can happen;—it must be stationary, augment, or diminish. We cannot affirm that the Most High may not, at some period, either cease to call beings

into life, (though this seems most improbable,) or, in some parts of the universe, annihilate those that exist, for their wickedness; but we can affirm, without hesitation, that not in any part of the universe, nor at any period of its duration, can he ever cause beings to exist, who, according to his holy will, may *simultaneously cause themselves and their well-being both to augment and diminish;* because the permission to do things that are directly opposed to, and so destructive of, one another, cannot emanate from Infinite Wisdom, Power, and Benevolence. In the exact ratio that some, or all, the evils of the Imperfect or Vicious Constitutions of society prevail, will the progress of an association in wealth, wisdom, virtue, and happiness, be retarded; though the obvious ends of association are, that the members, after attaining a plenitude of the first, shall make a constant progression in the second, third, and fourth;—this they can only do, by associating according to the Perfect Constitution. It is, then, we apprehend, the constitution which alone fully accords with the divine will. Those who do not concur with these views, are, as has been elsewhere observed, (v. 181), bound to evince—What is the greatest number of those who may enter into an association, the objects of which are all righteous?—and what kind and degree of opposition are necessary to its well-being.

9. Let it, however, never be forgotten, that though we are desirous of impressing on the reader, that the Perfect Constitution of society is the one most in accordance with the divine will, we are not less desirous of inculcating, that, in reference to its comprising an entire nation, for the reasons already given, it is wholly unsuitable to mankind. (iv. 14.) Notwithstanding the temporal and eternal well-being of individuals, that of their living connections extending over the whole world, and that also of generations yet unborn, influencing perhaps the remotest ages, are at issue;—such, we fear, is the sad propension of human nature, as at present constituted, to act viciously, —that, however powerfully moralists may write,—however widely divine revelation may be disseminated,—however righteously legislators may enact,—and into whatever constitution society may be formed;—the following cannot but be, to a less or greater extent, realized,—namely, the memorable words of Moses to the Hebrews:—'I know that after my death ye will utterly corrupt yourselves, and turn aside from the way which I have commanded you, and evil will befal you in the latter days; because ye will do evil in the sight of the Lord, to provoke him to anger through the work of your hands.'—And the yet more memorable words of our Lord, to the whole world, in all its ages;—'*Woe unto the world because of offences! for it must needs be that offences come; but woe to that man by whom the offence cometh!*'

10. We learn from sacred writ, that the licentiousness of the ancient world was awfully great. The prophet Ezekiel, addressing Jerusalem, thus alludes to it:—'As I live, saith the Lord God, Sodom thy sister, hath not done, she nor her daughters, as thou hast done, thou and thy daughters. Behold, this was the iniquity of thy sister Sodom,—pride, fulness of bread, and abundance of idleness was in her, and in her daughters; neither did she strengthen the hand of the poor and needy; and they were haughty, and committed abomination before me.' Mankind, it has been observed, are naturally as apt to be satiated with prosperity as impatient of adversity; for when they are no longer obliged to quarrel by necessity, they will quarrel out of motives of ambition, which is so riveted in the human heart, that they are never contented, even when they arrive at the highest pitch of grandeur. He that thinks to satiate his desires by possessing the things he wishes for, says an Eastern sage, is like a man that endeavours to extinguish fire by heaping straw upon it. The capacious soul of man never is, nor never can be, satisfied. Insatiable desire is ever operating, and this is so, whether the things it delights in are lawful or unlawful. How devoutly, then, is it to be wished that they should be the former!

11. When it is remembered, that the provision Heaven has made for the happiness of man, refers not to one, or a few only, but to the whole human race, in all its generations;—can it be supposed that Infinite Wisdom, Power, and Benevolence, would provide any thing but that which was gloriously great! Would any thing else have been suitable on the part of the Most High? The greater the good Heaven affords its creatures,—the greater the divine goodness,—the greater the divine glory! In reference to the blessings afforded by right association, the language addressed by the Great Creator, to the ancient Israelites, may, therefore, truly be applied to mankind in all ages. 'Thus saith the Lord, thy Redeemer, the Holy One:'—'I am the Lord thy God which teacheth thee to profit, which leadeth thee by the way that thou shouldst go. O that thou hadst hearkened to my commandments! then had thy peace been as a river, and thy righteousness as the waves of the sea!' All the privation of happiness men now sustain,—all the positive suffering they endure,—all that they will have to endure in a future state of being;—all, all arise from *their own* guilt, from their madly refusing to enjoy that mighty afflux of happiness Heaven has prepared for them in time, and that far mightier one in eternity!

12. That some associations conducted on better principles, (than those by which men are ordinarily actuated,) i. e., for all the members of such associations in the main to educe good to each other; have, on some occasions, met with no better suc-

cess, seems to have arisen from causes which may now be considered. In doing this, we shall also endeavour to furnish a reply to some further objections, that may be urged to right association in general.

1. The managers of some associations formed on better principles, have introduced fanciful regulations, and such as were wholly beside the great purpose for which the associations were, or ought to have been, designed.
2. Some of the members of an association have been dissatisfied with the individual conduct of others.
3. Others have been allured with the hope of amassing a greater share of wealth, by separating from the association, and trying their fortune in the world at large.
4. Some have objected altogether to the restraint imposed on them.
5. The conductors have not understood the best mode of associating the productive and other labour of the members.
6. The association has been acted upon by extrinsic circumstances.
7. Comprehends all others.—The members have not so conducted themselves, as to bring down upon them the divine blessing.

13. The first:—Such is the unhappy self-will of many that it is painful to them to be obliged even to educe their own good. The conductors of associations should, therefore, exercise the least possible degree of constraint, leaving perhaps most objects, but the control of the productive, or other labour of the association, to be appointed by the associates themselves individually. It must, however, never be forgotten, that the more each associate rightly seeks the assistance of the Holy Spirit, and the more closely all the associates are united under its guidance,—the more powerfully will all the proper objects of association be educed. The conductors should be chosen by the majority of adult males. Other modes are only those of oppression.

14. The second:—As the members are under the divine guidance, and as their numbers increase, this is less likely to happen. If some are displeased with the conduct of others, they may, as much as possible, avoid them, for those with whom they can harmonize. We may learn from this, and, indeed, every thing besides, how important it is that each associate leads a holy life himself, and, as far as lies him, incites all others to do the same. As this is approximated to, the disagreements among men vanish

15. The third:—The conduct of these is like that of the adventurers in a lottery; they see in the great world a few more wealthy than the members of their own association; forgetting the *very many* that are not so. They also forget, or care not for the consequences, that by going into a state of highly vicious association, they constantly and greatly contravene the will of Heaven. They are also unmindful that, as members of their association, they attain the greatest plenitude of wealth they can require, (as this they could not fail to do, if the association

were sufficiently extensive, and conducted on just principles)—and that all beyond this must be utterly unavailing.

16. The fourth:—An abridgment of liberty exists only, where the rights of men are done violence to: this is utterly unlawful, under any possible combination of circumstances, except for an infringement of the divine law; and we have seen that men can only properly associate, when the rights of all are preserved inviolate. Whether the constitution of a society is the Perfect, the Imperfect, or the Vicious, its productive powers must be controlled in some way or other. In the Vicious constitution, the state of the producers of wealth, compared with that of those under the Perfect constitution, is as very gross darkness with the fullest degree of light. Under our present commercial arrangements, says Carpenter, the production of wealth is limited by the demand which there is for it. The consumers of goods usually apply for them to the retail venders of them, and the quantity of goods a retail tradesman buys, is invariably regulated by the quantity he expects to sell. In the manufacturing of goods, men are invariably regulated by the same principle: it never enters into the calculations of manufacturers, how much cloth would be required to supply the wants of mankind; it never forms any part of their business, to ascertain how many coats the whole population ought to be supplied with in the course of a year, and how much cloth would be required to make them. Neither do they ask themselves how much cloth they have the power of making;—all they ask, all they require to know, is, how much cloth they can dispose of at a profit, how much will stock the shops and warehouses of their customers; in other words, how much it is probable there will be a demand for. It is this, and this alone, which regulates production. When more is produced than there is a demand for, the market is said to be overstocked; and when there is less produce than there is a demand for, the market is said to be understocked; without the least regard either to the satisfaction of our wants, or to the extent of our powers of production.—(*Political Text Book.*) The action of the millions that compose all the branches and divisions of the grand commercial association of the world, is, therefore, necessarily as irregular as possible. Though they are dependent on, they act as though they were all independent of, one another: hence the relation between production and consumption is ordinarily maintained by fluctuations in price. (v. 60.) On the association, as a whole, these act only prejudicially; they obviously do not increase wealth a single atom: the greater they are, the more injurious is their influence; for, though they enrich some, they frequently ruin others; and we have seen that the unvarying tendency of oppression and competition, is to enrich a few, and pauperize, in a less or greater degree, the

many. No truth, assuredly, can be more evident, than that the more concert there is between the different branches and divisions, the better. Under the Perfect constitution, the relation between production and consumption may be regulated with mathematical accuracy; without a single individual, from the creation to the end of the world, being prejudiced to the extent of a farthing. And it must not be forgotten, that the control necessary in this constitution would especially apply only to the productive powers, and only whilst these were operating. He, therefore, who objects to the control it imposes, is not more irrational, than he who in a vicious state of things, having a handsome stipend awarded to him; should complain that his liberty was abridged because he had the trouble of walking periodically to a bank to receive it. In a constitution of things, where men in power not being appointed by the majority of those they politically rule, have as little right to govern their fellows, as they have the angels in Heaven:—no difficulty is found to obtain men, to occupy any places under government, from the highest to the lowest; the holders of such places usually submitting to whatever control those above them think fit to exercise. We find soldiers in most nations and ages, enduring every kind of hardship and suffering, and standing up to fire at one another for about a shilling a day; from no other motive, than because two of their number who are paid better wages, tell them to do so;—and when even the leaders of armies, as to both sides, can give no reason why the thousands under them, should try which can shoot each other the fastest; excepting that they were told to have this done, by a set of wretches that rule or rather misrule their unhappy countries; through the infatuation of the governed permitting them so to do! If, in most nations and ages, whole populations submit to be unlawfully governed and to all the unutterable miseries thence arising; they will scarcely complain of their liberty being abridged, when required to appoint their own government; the business of which is, so to associate them, that the combined powers of all may have the glorious end, of producing a vastly higher degree of real prosperity to each, than the world has ever yet seen enjoyed, by the most affluent of oppressors. That those who exist only by oppression and spoliation, should object to a constitution of things, which puts an utter end to them, is not to be wondered at, when the wickedness of the human heart is considered:—even though the oppressors and spoliators of their brethren should, by a righteous constitution, become actually more prosperous, than ever the most successful of their fraternity were, under an unrighteous order of things! We may unhesitatingly challenge all our readers to produce a single sentence in this Essay favouring the doctrne of an abridgment of liberty. Of the persons composing the great majority of mankind, be-

sides their being ever controlled by the operation of production and consumption, the productive powers of such persons must also be controlled by others. In whatever way men may associate, the number of masters or conductors of secondary associations must necessarily be few, compared with the number of persons under their direction. The dependence of man thus farther appears:—nothing exhibits such a striking picture of weakness, as the condition of an infant immediately after birth. Incapable of employing its organs or its senses, the infant requires every kind of succour and assistance. It is more helpless than the young of any other animal. Hence, while the lower world attain the perfection of their faculties, easily, quickly, and with little dependence on each other; man, created in the divine image, does these things with difficulty, slowly, and with never-ceasing dependence on his associates. Why, then, in this is man inferior to the lower world?—but that, from the necessity of dependence on those around him, and on Heaven, the divine affection of LOVE should be continually increasing. For this purpose all the relations of life are ordained,—all our various gifts are bestowed;—to this end every thing on earth, and every thing in Heaven, is designed by the Great Creator to tend! Assuredly, no greater contradiction is imaginable, than the notion of independence for those who are so constituted as to be able to live only in association. There can be but *one* independent Being in the Universe—namely, God himself. And what insanity can be greater, than to complain of dependence, (i. e., of men on one another, and their Great Creator) when it is the *sole* source of *all* good?—Does the darling daughter of a most affectionate earthly parent complain of her dependence on her father?—Does the idolized wife repine, because she is dependent on the husband that is dear to her as her own existence?—Does such a husband regret his inability to procure a divorce? The very dependence is necessarily the source of all the enjoyment the relations afford.—The question as to every man, is simply;—Do you desire to live in that kind of dependence appointed by God, or that kind appointed by man? If the latter, as it is not supposable you choose a state of poverty, slavery, and wretchedness; you must desire to be one of the patrons of the system of sacrificing the *many* to the *few*,—the iniquity of which has been, it is presumed, sufficiently exposed. It being never forgotten, that there are only two systems possible: the sacrificing one, and that where the highest plenitude of good is diffused by all and to all! The great majority of mankind cannot have all the conveniences of life only, and a few only—its refinements. Wherever and whenever justice, mercy, and humility prevail in an association; *all its members cannot fail to attain the very highest plenitude of every truly earthly blessing*—that for any to want beyond exuberance, is madness.

But if justice, mercy, and humility are superseded, the sacrificing system is necessarily introduced. There is, says Dr. W. L. Brown, in all men a wonderful fondness of independence, and a no less surprising desire of the service and respect of others. This is in fact to join the greatest contradictions, to force into union things absolutely incompatible; for independence can only be secured by an entire separation from mankind, by relinquishing every claim to their good offices and regards, by renouncing every social enjoyment, and by deriving happiness from the stores of self. As soon as man enters into the social circle and shares its beneficial influence, he relinquishes his separate existence; and forming a part of a system, is limited by the relations which he bears to the other parts and to the whole. Whoever withholds from the general good any portion of useful efforts he is able to bestow, is unfaithful to the conditions on which he enjoys the benefits of society, and violates that equality of obligation which subsists among all mankind. (vi. 15.) If he is least dependent who stands least in need of others, he is surely most dependent who stands most in need of them. With our rank—our necessities, our demands, our cares increase. The links by which we are joined to our fellow creatures are multiplied, and the very circumstance which enlarges our influence diminishes our internal strength. He therefore who has the greatest number of [those on whom he depends,] has only the greatest number of those, to whom he is indebted for consideration and power.—*(Essay on the Natural Equality of Mankind.)*

17. The fifth.—To the precise degree this operates, the power, and consequently the prosperity, of an association must decline, and may thus produce a correspondent degree of dissatisfaction on the part of its members. This is best guarded against, by calling, under the divine blessing, all their energies into action; to elicit those modes by which the evil we are considering may be superseded.

18. The sixth.—Where the land is engrossed—to imagine that commercial oppression will not arise, is to suppose as great a contradiction as is conceivable; nothing less than that many millions of persons shall agree together to keep up prices, though there is nothing whatever to bind them but their own undertakings. Among even a small number of masters, suppose ten to twenty, an arrangement of this kind is seldom long maintained. Some one hopes, by underselling, to extend his trade, and thence his profits: thus the arrangement is violated, and others must also reduce their prices. A depression in one branch or division necessarily affects others. (v. 55.) Competition and oppression become general, and the whole labour of a country is affected. It is the same with the land, as has been elsewhere evinced. (v. 45.) The intention of such an association,

as we are considering, is, however, not to reduce the value of labour; but to keep it high enough, to supply by equitable interchange all its members with every thing they require. It is desirable for it to interchange as little as possible, with those that viciously associate. But it is necessary to send into the world at large a sufficient amount of produce, to procure such indispensable articles as it does not itself manufacture; and to obtain the means of defraying any rent it incurs. It should extend its boundaries as much as possible, as to the number of associates admitted, provided they are virtuous persons. (ii. 8.)

19. The seventh.—Each member performing his part, and inducing others to perform their parts aright, as each *individually* and all *collectively* are blessed by the grace of the Holy Spirit, (2 *Cor.* xiii. 14;) this being in any degree withheld, must obviously influence the conduct of each of those deprived of it, as to all the affairs of the association.

20. To the eternal infamy of the human race, the mightiest associations that have ever been formed, either in ancient or modern times, have been warlike ones; and have owed their existence in nations to a few, more crafty and more audacious than their fellows, using the power to rob the many of their unquestionable rights, and as far as lay in those that wielded the sword, to perpetuate the degradation of mankind! We know of no instance whatever, recorded in the whole history of the world, of a very extensive and long-existing association of the productive powers of men, having been formed to confer unmixed blessings on great numbers. If we glance over the surface of the earth, we shall here and there discover, as some of the proudest monuments of powerfully associating, a habitation a little larger than others, called a palace! and even this rears not its unhallowed head, but on the ruins of all that should be most esteemed among men;—its tenants, probably, a little coterie of some of the most worthless of their species. The largest association in our country and age, is our military force; as to which we dare challenge all the world, to evince that its maintenance is the slightest real benefit to any human being.

21. Such is the mighty power of association, that not only can no human being, but no created being throughout the mighty universe, escape from it. And if he could, it would necessarily be destructive of his well-being; for could he derive no felicity either from other creatures, or the Great Creator, all his happiness, or rather his very existence, must be obviously annihilated! On the manner in which men associate, depends not only the numbers that shall arise on the earth, but the happiness or misery of those who do! And not for a day, or a month, or a year, but for their whole lives; and not for their mortal existence only, but their immortal one! On

association depends the happiness or misery, not of the Hindoo, the Tartar, the Russ, or the American alone, but of the whole human race; and not of one generation, or of many generations only, but of all its generations! All that human power can effect, is, under the divine blessing, to control the operation of Association. To retard or even suspend such operation for an instant, is impossible. From it, therefore, consequences of inconceivable importance, whether good or ill, cannot but be constantly educed. Association, like every other whole, being necessarily entirely influenced by its parts, as each man that comes into the world, is one of these parts, so it is incumbent on him to consider how he is influenced by those that have proceeded and are contemporary with him; and how he is influencing those of his own and future generations. It evidently being imperative on him, to exert every thought, word, and deed, as far as lies in him, to supersede all that is vicious in the state of things around him, thus bringing every thing into strict accordance with the will of God; both in his own nation, and, if his influence can be made so far to extend, in other countries. Every man that comes into the world is assuredly accountable, in a less or greater degree, for the good or evil that may arise during his sojourn in it, and after his death. (vi. 234.) It is impossible for him to calculate how much he may retard or advance the well-being of mankind, according as his life is opposed to, or in accordance with, the divine will.

22. Did man rightly apply the precious gifts of Heaven, every thing around him, and for every moment of his life, would be constantly operating to augment his felicity. To this great end, the way in which we obtain every morsel of bread we eat, —its enjoyment;—all our thoughts, all our words, all our actions, should tend: i e., to make us love each other and God. The greater the variety of our gifts, the greater the number of our associates,—and the more the gifts are developed, the greater the reciprocation of happiness,—the greater the gratitude to our heavenly Father. And the greater the number of generations, improving on the institutions of those that have preceded them, the more this happiness is augmented. And the greater the augmentation, the more enlarged do our capacities become, for that inconceivably higher degree of felicity, which awaits the faithful servants of Heaven, in that extended association into which they enter after this life: all spiritual beings, that come within the sphere of each other's action, being, as we have seen, capable of reciprocating felicity.

23. Reasoning from analogy, and speaking on the subject with the profoundest self-abasement, we apprehend, that all the Glory of the Wisdom, Power, and Benevolence of the Omnipotent that ever has been, or ever will be displayed; has arisen,

and will arise, from the application of the simple and sublime law of Association. It has been eloquently observed, that although there is almost infinite variety in the parts of creation, —there is a general analogy running through and connecting all the parts into one grand scheme,—one design,—one whole ;— every thing is systematic,—

ALL IS ASSOCIATION!

From the relations which exist between the different parts of the Universe, and by which they conspire to one great end, results the harmony of the whole. The beauty of which is founded on the diversity of its parts, the extent and quality of their effects, and the sum of happiness they are capable of affording.

Attraction in the Material
Association in the Intellectual
Love in the Moral—Worlds

being but different terms for the same thing—of course, allowing for the difference between moral agents and insentient beings.

24. The more the parts of the Universe augment, and as those that are endowed with volition are guided by the divine will, the greater is the sum of happiness. Had all created beings from the moment of creation done, and did all created beings do the will of God aright, all the parts of the Great Association of the Universe, with the Omnipotent at its Centre, would have cooperated, and would go on cooperating, throughout eternity ; educing nothing but the highest degree of good to all the associates, and necessarily therefore also educing in the highest degree the divine glory.

25. How inconceivably great, then, must be the wisdom and power of God, to educe all the effects that take place throughout the Universe, from *one* simple and sublime law. Whilst the most transient thought of the human mind, is not too minute for its governance,—all the concerns of all the intellectual beings that ever were called into existence in that duration which is past, or that ever will be so called, in that which is to come; however great their numbers, and though their habitations extend from the throne of the Eternal to the utmost boundaries of the Universe ;—all, all, are governed by the Great Law of Association.

26. So illustriously is the Great Creator's power displayed, in the application of the law of association to the material world, that we may truly say with the psalmist,—' The heavens declare the glory of God, and the firmament showeth his handywork. Day unto day uttereth speech, and night unto night showeth knowledge. There is no speech, nor language, where their voice is not heard. Their line is gone out through all the earth,

and their words to the end of the world. In them hath he set a tabernacle for the sun; which is as a bridegroom coming out of his chamber, and rejoiceth as a strong man to run a race. His going forth is from the end of the heaven, and his circuit unto the ends of it, and there is nothing hid from the heat thereof.'

27. And that those whose conceptions cannot extend to the right contemplation of the material universe, may not be without a lesson, Heaven furnishes one in the insect world. Thus, we find the association of bees to surpass all that has ever been heard of among men. A modern author observes, that the hive is a school, to which numbers of persons ought to be sent: for prudence, industry, benevolence, patriotism, economy, neatness, and temperance, are all visible among the bees. These little animals are actuated by a social spirit, which forms them into a body politic, intimately united, and perfectly happy. They all labour for the general advantage. They are all submissive to the laws and regulations of the community; having no particular interest nor distinction, but those which nature, or the necessities of their young, have introduced among them. We never see them dissatisfied with their condition, or inclinable to abandon their hive in disgust, at finding themselves slaves or necessitous. On the contrary, they think themselves in perfect freedom and perfect affluence; and such indeed is their real condition. They are free, because they only depend on the laws; and they are happy, because *the concurrence of their several labours inevitably produces an abundance, which contributes to the riches of each individual.* Human societies, compared with this, will appear altogether monstrous; for although necessity, reason, and philosophy, have established them, for the commendable purposes of mutual aid and benefit, a spirit of selfishness too often destroys all. And one half of mankind, to load themselves with superfluities, leave the other destitute of common necessaries.—*(Wonders of Nature and Art.)*

28. Let us however hear what another writer says. Among men, observes Buffon, all thediversity of character and variety of action proceed entirely from the mind. But brute animals who have no mind, and consequently are destitute of that principle which can alone give rise to variety of character, or of personal accomplishments; must, when they resemble each other in organization, or are of the same species, do the same things in the same manner, and imitate one another more perfectly than one man can imitate the actions of another man. Of course, the talent of imitation possessed by the brute animals, so far from implying thought or reflection, proves that they are absolutely deprived of both. Bees, taken separately, have less genius than the dog, the monkey, and most other animals. It will likewise be

admitted, that they have less docility, less attachment, and less sentiment; and that they possess fewer qualities relative to those of the human species. Their union presupposes not intellectual powers, for they unite not from *moral views:* they find themselves assembled together without their consent. This society, therefore, is a physical assemblage ordained by nature, and has no dependence on knowledge or reasoning. Whatever may be the effects of this association, it is clear that they have neither been foreseen nor conceived by the creatures which produced them, and that they result solely from laws of mechanism, established by the Almighty. The hexagonal cells of the bee, which have been the subject of so much admiration, furnish an additional proof of the stupidity of these insects: this figure, though extremely regular, is nothing but a mechanical result, which is often exhibited in some of the most rude productions of nature. Crystals, and several other stones, as well as particular salts, &c. constantly assume this figure. By reciprocal compression, they necessarily assume an hexagonal figure. In the same manner, each bee endeavours to occupy as much space as possible, in the limited dimensions of the hive; and, therefore, as the bodies of the bees are cylindrical, they must necessarily make their cells hexagonal from the reciprocal obstruction they give to each other.—(*Of the Nature of Animals.*)

29. Hence it is abundantly obvious, that the sublime law of association, is capable of its highest application to moral beings only. What Addison says of the soul, will apply to moral association. There is not, in my opinion, says he, a more pleasing and triumphant consideration in religion, than this of the perpetual progress which the soul makes towards the perfection of its nature, without ever arriving at a period in it. To look upon the soul as going on from strength to strength, to consider that she is to shine for ever with new accessions of glory, and brighten to all eternity; that she will be still adding virtue to virtue, and knowledge to knowledge, carries in it something wonderfully agreeable to that ambition which is natural to the mind of man. Nay, it must be a prospect pleasing to God himself, to see his creation for ever beautifying in his eyes, and drawing nearer to him by greater degrees of resemblance. With what astonishment and veneration may we look into our own souls, where there are such hidden stores of virtue and knowledge, such inexhausted sources of perfection? We know not yet what we shall be, nor will it ever enter into the heart of man to conceive the glory that will be always in reserve for him. The soul, considered with its Creator, is like one of those mathematical lines, that may draw nearer to another for all eternity, without a possibility of touching it; and can there be a thought so transporting as to consider ourselves in these perpetual approaches to him, who is not only the standard of perfection but of happiness!—(*Spec-*

tator.) No mathematical truth is more evident, than that by rightly associating, *all may become what they were originally designed to be, a little lower only than the angels.*—(*Psalm* viii. 5.)

30. Let us imagine the transcendently happy state of things actually to exist, that would prevail on earth if the divine will were done as extensively and as perfectly as it ought; and that ONE rebel arose to disturb this state. What then should be the conduct of ALL the others? Why, obviously, by every possible exertion to bring him back to his duty. And if another or others joined him in his rebellion, the exertions of the rest should be redoubled. Like the children of Israel, they should for this purpose be gathered together as one man. (vi. 232.) If the generation in which the disorder arose were so unmindful of its interests, as to omit by all lawful means as far as possible to suppress it, the next would obviously be bound so to do, and the same of every subsequent one. Let us further suppose, that in many successive generations, the numbers of the rebels augmented; the duty of all the truly faithful servants of Heaven, in every generation, obviously must have been, to redouble their efforts to suppress the miserable disorder. What proposition in Euclid can be more clear, than that the farther men generally are from doing the divine will, and the more the numbers of the contumacious increase; the more powerful are the inducements for all the wise and good to emulate one another in holy living, and to cause them to put forth all their strength, to bring all their more erring brethren to repentance; to induce them earnestly to seek for that which makes alike for their temporal and eternal well being. The faithful servants of Heaven, in whatever age of the world they arose, and those of the present day therefore, might or may truly say to each other, 'Behold, now is the accepted time; behold, now is the day of salvation.' 'The harvest truly is plenteous, but the labourers are few.' Let each of us individually, and as far as possible all of us collectively, pray to 'the Lord of the harvest, that he will send forth labourers into his harvest.' Let us remember and apply to ourselves the words of our Lord,—'I must work the works of him that sent me, while it is day. The night cometh when no man can work.'

31. Consider, reader, when at the close of your earthly career, what will be your feelings, if you can humbly and truly say of yourself, 'When the ear heard me, then it blessed me, and when the eye saw me, it gave witness to me. Because I delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him. The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon me, and I caused the widow's heart to sing for joy. I put on righteousness, and it clothed me; my judgment was as a robe and a diadem. I was eyes to the blind, and feet was I to the

lame. I was a father to the poor, and the cause which I knew not I searched out.' Think reader what a source of unspeakable felicity it will be to you throughout eternity, that you have saved one soul from the bitter pangs of eternal death! What will be your exultation, when you shall be surrounded by angels in the mansions of the blessed, congratulating you as being the honoured instrument of turning many to righteousness. What will be the transports of your joy, when you shall thus be welcomed by your Lord: 'Come, ye blessed of my Father, inherit the kingdom prepared for you from the foundation of the world.' Of what importance it is for each to do all that lies in him, is obvious from considering, that with few exceptions, it is simply and entirely by the neglect on the part of each individual, of doing all that lay in him in the cause of virtue that the mighty, mighty, mighty aggregate of guilt and misery which has been committed and suffered since the creation, and which now deluges the world, has accumulated.

32. Let it be considered, as far as human ability can estimate it, what would be the effects of millions all working for the good of each other; all watching with a holy jealousy the conduct of each other, to prevent the slightest ill arising to any single associate, and to educe, under the divine blessing, the highest degree of good to all. How unspeakably powerfully would such a state of things operate to make all love each other and their Great Creator, to the utmost extent of their powers. And what a mighty plenitude of happiness to all would thence result. Such we may suppose it is, with the angelic host. And the happiness enjoyed by men on earth might be at once the prelude and preparation for that inconceivably greater felicity that awaits them on their translation to Heaven. It is assuredly very reprehensible for any to desire to dogmatize over their fellows. But when the faithful servants of Heaven, with due humility, at suitable seasons and places, endeavour to repress the iniquity going on around them; let the contumacious forget not, that their being regardless of these holy endeavours, in a high degree increases their accountability in the sight of God; for contemning one of the great means he has appointed, for repressing human wickedness, and all its miserable consequences. Thus we see, as to every man, how true it is, that in the well-being of all around him, and of those that are to succeed him, are involved his temporal and eternal welfare. (vi. 201.) Each can in no way become happy in time or eternity, but by promoting to the utmost of his power the good of all mankind; even, if necessary, (so that the glory of God would thereby be promoted,) by laying down his life for the great object. *The sole rule for the whole conduct of every man that comes into the world, therefore is, to do all that lies in him, that the will of God shall be done as perfectly and as extensively as possible.*

33. Antecedent to an examination of the matter, a sinless spiritual being would, it may be expected, consider it almost incredible, that (among creatures constituted by Heaven as men are); there really should be one rebel against its most gracious will. So far, however, from this being the case, the true state of things, as we have elsewhere said, is, that 'all have sinned and come short of the glory of God.' But our inquirer would probably be yet ready to urge, that though all have sinned, it has been in some venial matter, and but for a moment; and that having seen the error of their ways, men have loathed themselves in their own sight for their iniquities and for their abominations. But, alas! it is quite different from this, as they drink iniquity like water. Our inquirer would probably still be ready to insist, that it could only be a few who acted thus, and that no instance could be found, of a whole generation in any nation, pursuing an unrighteous course. What, then, must be his astonishment to learn, that not one generation only, but all the generations throughout a nation's existence have thus acted; by allowing their constitution and code to be established and maintained in opposition to the will of the Most High. And how must this astonishment be increased by finding that this is so with most or all the nations that have existed, and do now exist, on the whole earth.

34. How utter the rebellion of the human race throughout its generations has been against Heaven, may in some degree be perceived from what follows. Several thousand years have elapsed since the creation. Countless myriads of human beings have peopled the earth, and nearly a thousand millions now exist upon it. With the exception of those to whom portions of land have been assigned, by the special appointment of Heaven, as was the case with the ancient Hebrews; the great question of the right to the property in the land, has been one of the highest importance to every other man that ever came into, or now is in the world. How great, then, must have been, and now is, the wickedness of men in suffering this all-absorbing affair to remain unsettled. One should have imagined that the first man that ever arose in the world, who had not a property in the land especially assigned to him from above; would, on arriving at mature years, have directed all the powers of his mind to the determination of the great question; and that, if he neglected it, some one at least in his generation would have taken it up, and placed it on a foundation fixed as the throne of the Eternal, whence alone it could have emanated. What language, then, is sufficiently condemnatory of this whole generation for having neglected to perform this great duty; and what as to all future ones, down to and including the present; and every man at least, if not every woman in it? In the earlier ages of the world a man could say to his neighbour,—'Is not the whole land before

thee? separate thyself, I pray thee, from me,—if thou wilt take the left hand, then I will go to the right; or if thou depart to the right hand, then I will go to the left.' If, therefore, any excuse can be found for leaving the question unsettled, it is such a state of things as is here alluded to. But in our times, when thousands and tens of thousands of men, and women, and children, are huddled together, in lanes, and alleys, and garrets, and cellars; surrounded by a noisome atmosphere, and beggary, and filth, and stench unutterable!—thus associating in a way destructive alike of their temporal and eternal happiness,—no such excuse can be urged. Assuredly, reader, no greater proof can be wanting of the unspeakable wickedness of mankind than, that not only has the law of God, as to the all-important matter of the land, not been obeyed in the various nations and ages of the world; but men, foolish and ignorant as beasts, (*Ps.* lxxiii. 22,) have not taken the trouble to ascertain what that law is respecting it! Without looking at the whole human race of all nations for all their generations, let us regard one generation of one nation only—our own, for instance, and mark the quantity of iniquity that overspreads the country; and how utterly condemned in the sight of Heaven must

EVERY MAN!

in it be, without *one* solitary exception. What ideas must that man have of the wisdom and goodness of God, who looks at the incalculable amount of immorality and misery brought on a country through the land being engrossed, and in any manner supports such an appointment of things, as being in accordance with the divine will.

35. That any iniquity is tolerated among men, obviously arises only from the divine mercy. If Heaven was not ever forbearing, the end of all flesh, or nearly so, would again be the consequence. So wholly opposed is the state of things on earth, to the will of God, that we find men in all countries and ages destroying each other's well-being; and so extensively and so completely, as to reduce whole multitudes in every country, as nearly as possible, to the condition of the brutes that perish. Hence it may be truly said, that '*the whole creation groaneth and travaileth in pain together until now.*'

36. The universal and utterable iniquity of mankind is scarcely in anything more apparent, than that an extensive and deep research into the constitution of society has never yet been made (so far as anything is extant to the extent of our researches). With the exception of those who have had especial commissions from Heaven, it is not to be questioned, that it has been the duty of *every man* that has ever arisen and that now is in the world, to do all that lay in him, that this all, all, all-absorbing subject should have had the most minute, the most elaborate

inquiry. In the prosecution, if it had been necessary, it has been incumbent on men, as far as possible,—to go to the north —to the south—to the east—and to the west,—to the equator —to the antipodes,—around the world—all over the world—to dig into the bowels of the earth—to dive to the bottom of the sea—to mount into the air—to go down to the depths of hell, —and penetrate to the innermost recesses of Heaven.

37. One might have imagined, that whatever other speculations were disregarded, this would have excited the most anxious attention. To those who will properly inquire, the discovery of the glorious designs of Heaven is without difficulty. But to make any considerable number, either make the inquiry, or act conformably to the illumination they could not help receiving; is, perhaps, little less difficult than to call a world into existence! No other evidence is needed of the truth of those observations, than the gross and universal ignorance which has pervaded, and does still pervade all nations, as to the mighty power derivable from Association. Assuredly, if men were not generally sunk, as nearly as possible, to the level of the beasts that perish, the subject could not fail of having had the fullest eluci dation. Every thing within us—above us—below us—around us, prompts to the inquiry. All that we do—all that we say—all that we think—all that we suffer—all that we enjoy—emanates from Association. Every morsel of food that we taste—all the clothes that we wear—all the houses that we live in—all, as, we have said, are hence derivable. What greater stupidity is imaginable, than for that which is operating on men every instant of their lives, and in every way that they are acted on, not to prompt them to an inquiry as to the mode of such operation? Can any ignorance be more brutish, than for a man to be regardless whether his daily bread comes to him in accordance with, or in opposition to the divine will?—Whether, in the enjoyment of such bread, he is the diffuser of happiness to all his associates, or whether he is one of those wretches, who, in order that they may be filled to repletion, are the prime instruments of impoverishing multitudes?

38. Taking but a single generation of the human race, assuredly no inquiry can be of such unspeakable consequence, as whether between eight and nine hundred millions of spiritual beings are making shipwreck of their temporal and greatly endangering their eternal welfare; or whether all this mighty, mighty, mighty multitude are living in accordance with the divine will, are making a high degree of temporal, the prelude of a vastly higher degree of eternal felicity! If, then, the importance of this inquiry, as far as regards one generation, is possibly very greatly beyond even an archangelic mind rightly to estimate; what must be its moment when all the generations of the human race are taken into account! It is impossible to question, that had

it been necessary, every faithful servant of Heaven, in the absence of any knowledge he required on this all, all, all-absorbing matter, must have been ready to stop all men on the highway, asking one;—Can you give any information?—another, Can you tell me something?—a third, Are all the mighty multitudes that people the earth obedient to, or rebelling against their Great Creator's will?—Whence we cannot but perceive, that all the declarations of sacred writ, awfully energetic as some of them are; come short, far short, very far short, of depicting the full sum of man's immorality. The more we examine the matter, the more obvious will it appear, that the sum of human depravity is *awfully, unspeakably, immeasureably, inconceivably great!*

39. 'God,' says sacred writ, 'hath made man upright, but they have sought out many inventions.' 'The imagination of man's heart is evil from his youth.' 'Every imagination of the thoughts of his heart' are 'only evil continually.' 'The heart is deceitful above all things and desperately wicked, who can know it?'—How 'abominable and filthy is man, which drinketh iniquity like water?' 'There is none righteous, no,

NOT ONE!

There is none that understandeth, there is none that seeketh after God. They are all gone out of the way, they are together become unprofitable; there is none that doeth good, no not one. Their throat is an open sepulchre, with their tongues they have used deceit, the poison of asps is under their lips. Whose mouth is full of cursing and bitterness. Their feet are swift to shed blood. Destruction and misery are in their ways. And the way of peace have they not known. There is no fear of God before their eyes.' 'Being filled with all unrighteousness, fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents; without understanding, covenant breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful. Who, knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death; not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.' The whole world in all its past generations has lain, and in the present one now lies, in wickedness.

40. Hence, we may perceive how the wickedness of men augments the divine glory. When Cain murdered his brother Abel (*Gen.* iv. 8), a few persons only had existed in the world; such few only could, therefore, be accountable for its existing state: but every unrighteous person that ever has arisen since the creation, has assisted to bring the world into its present state: for whatever evils the living generation be-

came heirs to, all the past generations, (except such persons as did all they could to regenerate mankind,) must assuredly be considered accountable to God. (vi. 234.) If, then, the wickedness of mankind augments the divine glory, what would have its augmentation been; had all men, from the creation, lived in accordance with the will of Heaven? And if men are thus accountable for the evil they either mediately or immediately cause, can it be supposed that, either in time or eternity, they will be forgotten before him (who has said,—To me belongeth recompense. Whosoever shall give to a righteous man 'a cup of cold water only,' 'shall in no wise lose his reward,'—*Dan.* xii. 3); *for all the good they are the instruments of, however extensive it may be, both as to numbers and duration?*

41. We have elsewhere (viii. 12) observed, that no one should be disheartened in the cause of virtue, though the sphere of his labours may seem circumscribed. A little leaven leaveneth the whole lump. Events of the mightiest importance have sometimes been brought about from the humblest beginnings. By the Most High it is accepted according to that a man hath, and not according to that he hath not. The reader need hardly be reminded of our Lord's commendation of the poor widow, who cast her all into the treasury.—(*Mar.* xii. 41 to 44.) It has been already seen what is the duty of men, (32); if every one does this to the utmost of his ability, he need not concern himself about the sphere of his exertions; this is the business of Heaven:—it affords every righteous man, whatever may be his situation or circumstances, and whether acting in his individual capacity, or co-operating with others, the amplest means of educing all the good he desires; providing for all his wants, by its providential care of him here, and making him eternally happy hereafter. But it is indispensably necessary for the good man to seek that situation in society wherein he believes he can most perfectly do the divine will. To the most selfish considerations, says Dr. W. L. Brown, the most important interests of society are sacrificed. Before children can discover either inclination or capacity, offices are designed for them, and kept constantly in view; nor were this to be censured, if proper care were taken to give them a suitable education, and their destination changed when their temper and talents were perceived to be incompatible with it. But these things are seldom much considered. Whatever be the genius or improvements of the person in question, he must move in the particular sphere which has been chosen for him: the public welfare is treated as a chimera, which it is the business of a man well skilled in the ways of the world, to use as a colour, to varnish the most interested designs; but which none but an enthusiastic, or vulgar mind, can think of adopting as a real object of pursuit. When the public welfare, however, is

obstructed, private happiness cannot be long enjoyed; for, as one chief cause of the disorder and corruption, which so often lay waste civil society, is the little attention which is shown to adapt men's condition to their abilities and tempers; so the misery of individuals frequently springs from the same source. Men, moving in a sphere for which they were never designed by nature, soon grow disgusted with their lot; and finding the duties of their station irksome and oppressive, either neglect them altogether, to their own irretrievable disgrace, or continue to discharge them in such a manner, as is equally painful to themselves, and detrimental to others. Thus Divine Providence takes vengeance on mankind for infringing its appointments, by allowing them to be bewildered in their errors, and the victims of their own infatuation.—(*Essay on the Natural Equality of Mankind.*) (iii. 21.) With the faithful servants of Heaven, it is quite otherwise. If, in time, these have to suffer through the wickedness of others, they cannot but be sensible, that even their present sufferings will be made subservient to their felicity in eternity; by the divine hand which makes the guilt of the wicked, the sufferings of the righteous, and all other things, work together for the good of the latter. Hence, at the close of their earthly career, they may adopt the language of one of the most eminent of their fraternity;—'I reckon,' says Paul, 'that the sufferings of this present time are not worthy to be compared with the glory which shall be revealed in us; for the earnest expectation of the creature waiteth for the manifestation of the sons of God.' 'I have fought a good fight, —I have finished my course,—I have kept the faith. Henceforth, there is laid up for me a crown of righteousness, which the Lord, the righteous judge, shall give me at that day; and not to me only, but unto all them also that love his appearing.'

42. As there is nothing inclusive or exclusive on the part of Heaven, in its dealings with men, if God could be supposed unmindful of any one, he must be of every one. Assuredly, atheism itself is scarcely more to be deprecated, than the notion that the Most High is regardless of the whole human race. (ix. 48, 49.) Let any one consider how much evil he is obnoxious to;—he may prejudice himself,—he may be unfavourably influenced by any one, or more, of his immediate connections,—by his country at large,—by other countries;—he is liable to be acted on, both by the separate and combined influence of himself and others,—not to insist on the action of invisible spirits. So little are men able to guard themselves from being prejudicially acted on, that none can properly comprehend to what they are liable. And assuredly, from much of it, they are incompetent to protect themselves.

43. Human association, either as to what it should be according to the divine will, or what it is become through the

wickedness of men, affords abundant evidence of God's providential care. By the former state we have seen, that if but one human being required only a morsel of bread, every other in the whole world should, as far as practicable, be ready to supply him. Is it, then, for a moment imaginable, that God has so constituted men, that they can live only in association; and through human iniquity, multitudes of the associates care less for one another, than they ought for the beasts that perish; and yet that God suffers his faithful servants to be at the mercy of such rebels to his will? Can it be doubted, that his all-providential care watches over, and provides not only for the former, but for all these rebels themselves,—thus affording them the means of repentance? Is it for a moment imaginable, that, amidst a general apostacy, the Most High, (whose 'tender mercies are over all his works,' who 'maketh his sun to rise on the evil and on the good, and sendeth rain on the just and on the unjust;'—'who provideth for the raven his food, when his young ones cry unto' him 'for lack of meat,') will be unmindful of his dutiful children?—of them who are labourers with him (1 *Cor.* iii. 9) in promoting *all that is holy*, in promoting that for which he spared not his own Son!

44. No man can be truly a servant of Heaven, if he hath not faith:—without faith, it is impossible to please God; for he that cometh to him, must believe that he is, and that he is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him. 'Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.' Though the whole constitution of things evinces that God is a rewarder of them that diligently seek him; though men cannot but be sensible, that without the support of Heaven, their existence could not be prolonged for a moment, there is scarcely any truth they are more slow to apprehend, and be practically governed by, than the following; namely,—if they seek first the kingdom of God and his righteousness, all other things shall be added unto them. They, therefore, need not be unduly anxious, saying,—What shall we eat? what shall we drink? wherewithal shall we be clothed? Their heavenly Father knoweth that they have need of all these things. He will, in his government of the world, though this is necessarily, to a certain extent, inscrutable, provide for all their wants. They may consequently cast all their care upon him, for he careth for them. The generality of mankind, we fear, could hardly be persuaded of these great truths; though, as to each individual, for the express purpose of inculcating them, one rose from the dead! If men will but examine the evidences adducible, they are equally convincing as though a great cloud of witnesses rose from the dead, on purpose to testify of them. If any thing is made so irresistibly apparent, that not the least degree of doubt can arise, no further evidence can give it greater confirmation. Suppose an army of ten thou-

sand men affirmed they saw one die suddenly in their presence, any number beyond the ten thousand could not afford evidence more conclusive. Thus it is with the great truths we are considering. Heaven has afforded all the evidence necessary, but the generality of mankind are too immoral to be able to see its force.

45. Had a few only in any generation been actuated by a right spirit, i.e.,—been ready to sacrifice all in the service of Heaven; and had the little sacred band devoted their *combined* powers, with all the ardour they possessed, to the holy cause of virtue, the present state of the world could scarcely be as it is. Though such an association might not have been able, or may not now be able, to regenerate the nation in which it arose, or may now arise; yet it could not have failed, and could not now fail, at least, of repressing much of the iniquity that prevailed. Individual instances have not been wanting, of a noble devotion to the sacred cause of virtue; and associations, for righteous objects, also, have not been, and are not, wanting: but we recollect no extensive and lasting association, in the whole history of mankind, (excepting the apostolic one with our Lord at its head,) all the members of which were ready to follow this eminent example,—to sacrifice even their very lives, if necessary;—a degree of self-devotion, however, not more than is required of all the faithful servants of Heaven, in every country, and every age. (*Luke*, xiv. 33.) It has been truly observed, that, "while the political revolutions of the world are accomplished by operations, in which great bodies of the people are at once the actors and the sufferers, the instruments or the victims of ambition, and individuality is almost lost in the combined movements of armies or of kingdoms; moral revolutions are generally accomplished by the painful labours, and the individual exertions, of a comparative few; each operating in his limited sphere of action, and though tending to the same end, yet almost always distinct in the application of the means."

46. Should so illustrious an association as we have been supposing, arise, and be maintained to any considerable extent, either in our days or a future age; we humbly consider that whatever might be its influence on its nation, or mankind in general; it could scarcely fail of beingso signally distinguished by the Most High, that a memorial would be left of it, enduring to future generations. Our Lord tells us, 'if two shall agree on earth, as touching any thing that they shall ask, it shall be done for them, of my Father which is in Heaven; for where two or three are gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them.' If, then, '*two or three*' only are thus especially supported by the divine arm, in all holy undertakings, how much would the strength of a righteous association

be increased, by a considerable augmentation of its numbers; all human power being, as we have seen, derivable, under the divine blessing, from association. Such, then, is the mighty power of virtue, and impotence of vice, that good men, in all their undertakings, are upheld by the divine arm; whilst, against the wicked, the face of Heaven is altogether set. The wonderful efficacy of virtue has scarcely any where been more illustriously displayed, than in the account of the sinful city. Abraham's last request on its behalf was,—'Oh! let not the Lord be angry, and I will speak yet but this once. Peradventure, 'ten righteous persons shall be found there? And he said, I will not destroy it for ten's sake.' All the faithful servants of Heaven may therefore say,—'*If God be for us, who can be against us?* He that spared not his own Son, but delivered him up for us all, how shall he not, with him, also freely give us all things?' The only conclusion we can arrive at, therefore is, that which has been elsewhere mentioned; namely,—*It is only because the numbers of righteous men in the world have been, and are, so extremely limited; that iniquity and suffering attain such fearful heights, in different nations and successive ages.* (vi. 254.)

47. It has been seen, that it is the great business of men's lives to cause the constitution and code under which they live to be righteous: and in those things of which human laws do not take cognizance, to live according to the divine will. But as the maintenance of laws in opposition to this holy will are the cause of pure and boundless ill, every thing except that which either directly or indirectly tends to their being utterly superseded for righteous ones, is the grossest trifling that can be imagined with men's temporal and eternal welfare, the most daring rebellion against Heaven; no apology is offered for the repetition of some observations in the three following paragraphs. A nation may be in one of these states as to its government:—

1. Having a lawful one,
2. Being without a government,—or
3. Having an unlawful one.

48. As to the First.—The primary object of lawful government is to prevent all abstraction of right. And next, to supersede, as far as possible, the disorders arising from the application of men's rights. The more penal enactments fall into desuetude under a lawful government, the more perfect is the state of society. All its members should endeavour to bring it to this state, or as close as possible an approximation. But a right state of society can never exist unless men are self-governed; no contradiction being greater than to suppose, that men who know and practise the divine will, are incapable of appointing their own government. In other words, that men who are incapable of appointing over themselves a righteous government, can be wise

and good. It is therefore essential to every virtuous man that he be self-governed. Such a man will neither consent to be oppressed, nor to become an oppressor.

49. As to the Second.—It is quite possible in a nation without a government, for all to do the divine will, and scarcely to be supposed but that many will do it. But if men thus situated commit excesses, the greater these are the sooner they will be taught to establish a lawful government, if anything can teach them so salutary a lesson. The very excesses of a state of anarchy rouse men to the necessity of superseding them by a lawful state of things. And thus they operate beneficially. Great excesses are however ordinarily committed by a comparative *few only*, and for *short periods only;* by those, for example, who want to establish an unlawful government; and there is not in the nation sufficient virtue to put down the miscreants. This was the state of France during the time of Robespierre. A few bad men losing their lives in such a state of things, is assuredly no loss to the world. If God permits any of the wise and good to fall, he takes due care suitably to provide, both for them and the survivors that do his will. There is little difference in the then state of the French *generally*, and that in which they have ever since continued. The morality of the Hebrews after the death of Joshua, when they had no regular government, every man doing 'that which was right in his own eyes,' as far as history affords us any account, is not worse than at subsequent periods of their existence, but in some respects better. This is evidenced by events elsewhere noticed. (xv. 28, 29.)

50. As to the Third.—If the evils generated by men living without a government will not teach them their duty, the establishment of an unlawful government only makes matters worse. The irregularity men commit who are without a government is an evil. The establishment of an unlawful government is also an evil. And one evil assuredly will not be superseded by the introduction of another and *greater*. A man's having the headache will not cure the tooth-ache. Neither, if his house is on fire, will his condition be mended by his property being stolen. All unlawful governments exist for the great purpose of abstracting rights. This throws a whole nation into a state of Vicious Association; *and thereby reduces the far greater part of the population to the worst state in which it can be placed*—namely, the condition of the beasts that perish. How can men be in a worse situation than the Frenchmen of the Lower Seine elsewhere mentioned? (vii. 113.) *Precisely as any one man is incompetent for self-government, and exactly as the numbers of such persons increase, is a country demoralized.* To such demoralization it is the necessary and unvarying operation of *all* unlawful governments to bring men. The only difference is, as to the force and extent of their operation. *All such govern-*

ments are thus utterly subversive of the ends of lawful government. As God has laid down the Divine Law for men, in whatever degree we depart from it, evil is necessarily produced. All human power can never, in any degree whatever, remedy such evil, but by becoming obedient to the will of Heaven. It is impossible to imagine that an unlawful government can exist in accordance with this holy will. How can it be supposed that God can ever require such an instrument under his administration? The object of this is to cause men to do the divine will. The object of all unlawful governments is to hinder their so doing. The words of Dr. Price must not be forgotten, namely, that the maintenance of an unlawful government, is "seeking a remedy for oppression in one quarter, by establishing it in another; and avoiding the outrages of little plunderers, by constituting a set of great plunderers." (xv. 106.) *What greater contradiction is imaginable, than for an institution whose sole object should be, as far as it can accomplish it, to make men wise, and good, and prosperous, and happy; to be, as to multitudes, the utter destroyer of all these mighty blessings.* Consequently, though some of the disorders that may arise when men are in possession of their rights, are less liable to be committed when they are by an unlawful government deprived of such rights; it is only from their being sunk in the way that has been said, and thereby necessarily rendered *incapable of exercising the best attributes of man either as to their use or abuse.* Thus the remedy is worse than the disease. And in addition to this, notwithstanding men are so sunk, we find them committing the most miserable excesses, which all the power of the unlawful government under which they groan are unable to repress; even with a hundred thousand bayonets. And this evil is found to be *enormous, both as to its extent and duration.* Witness unhappy ..... (v. 268.) How could the state of that country be worse if it had no government? A nation without a lawful government is always necessarily in a state of anarchy, from the nature of its constitution, and the conduct of its administration. Witness the country to which allusion has just been made. Even what is commonly called a state of anarchy, though it last for ages, is better than the existence of an unlawful government; it being preferable for a few, or even many, to commit even great excesses, for a short, or even a long period; than for *the very far larger part of the population to be permanently reduced to the state of the beasts that perish, and for all to be in a constant state of rebellion to Heaven,* (excepting those who do their utmost to superinduce a lawful state of things.) But so far from there being any necessity for anarchy, there is none for any ills whatever, excepting what arises from human iniquity; *the most remarkable examples of which are the supporters of unlawful governments;* and, certainly, not the least remarkable part of

their wickedness, is their blaspheming God's holy name, by affirming that such governments are conducive to the good of men, and therefore in accordance with the divine will. Whatever is the state of the morality of any people, it can never be mended by the establishment of an unlawful government. *It is impossible that such a one ever did or could improve, in any manner, the morals of any one individual whatever. Not any government will necessarily have this effect. But all the good that can be caused by a government, must necessarily emanate from one that is lawful.*

51. A man, therefore, cannot be a righteous man, if he is living either in a nation in which there is no government, or in one in which there is an unlawful government; unless he is doing all in his power, that a lawful government may exist. And this of course may be said of *all* men, of all countries, and of all ages. The preliminary step to establish a lawful government in an old country, must necessarily be the utterly superseding the unlawful one. This is, however, from the immorality of mankind, difficult; but far less so than many may suppose, when undertaken by *righteous men*. With these, in their pursuit of crowns of immortality, the question is not what obstacles exist, but in what manner their *combined* exertions may most easily surmount them. Such persons may be asked, is it to be imagined, that the conception of an angel can adequately comprehend the importance of the cause in which they are embarked?'—That cause which brought from Heaven no less a personage than the Lord Jesus Christ!—that cause for which he suffered so much!—that cause for which, in the garden of Gethsemane, he said, 'My soul is exceeding sorrowful even unto death!'—that cause as to which he prayed, that if it were possible the hour of his death might pass from him!—that cause for which 'being in agony, he prayed more earnestly, and his sweat was as it were great drops of blood falling down to the ground!'—that cause for which he said, 'the cup which my Father hath given me, shall I not drink it?' —that cause as to which, when he had drank this bitter cup, he said, 'It is finished!'—It is not to be supposed that the truly faithful servants of Heaven are not ready to follow the example thus set before them.—Nor can it be doubted, that as to every thing that opposes the will of God being done on earth, as perfectly and as extensively as possible; the watchword among them all must ever be,—'*Overturn, Overturn, Overturn!*'

52. From the mighty influence a lawful state of things might be expected to have, not in the nation only where it primarily prevailed, but in others;—the men who were the happy instruments of bringing them about, might truly be THE REGENERATORS OF THE WORLD. Of what unspeakable importance, therefore, is it, for some country to take the lead in this unspeakably glorious work. On any nation that did, and

which in other things comported itself according to the divine will, we apprehend that more and greater blessings than were promised to the ancient Hebrews would be showered. (*Deut.* xxviii. 1 to 14.) And its members might become the honoured instruments of diffusing throughout the world the light of the glorious gospel. *This then, and this alone is Christian morality.*

53. To promote its extension, the faithful servants of Heaven should, as has been intimated, look first at themselves,—2dly, at those who are trying to serve both God and Mammon,—3dly, at the reprobate. All the wise and good, (utterly disregarding the miserable invention of a variety of castes), should cordially co-operate in promoting the sacred cause of virtue. With the second, as far as possible, in reference to it, they should also co-operate, endeavouring to allure as many as possible into their own class. The same as to the reprobate. Thus, those who were lukewarm in, or actually opposed to the great cause, become coadjutors in waging an interminable warfare with all unrighteousness and ungodliness.

54. All that is committed of either, arises from men's neglecting to love each other and their heavenly Father as they ought. They ascend from the love of one another to loving their Father, and can *only so ascend;* for as has been before remarked, 'he that loveth not his brother, whom he hath seen, how can he love God, whom he hath not seen?' It has also been elsewhere observed, that men cannot associate with each other or with Heaven as they ought, separately. We may love one another in some tolerable degree, but only so whilst we are negligent of our love to God. But we can by no possibility rightly love him without loving one another as we should. His omnipotent arm will preserve us not only from neglecting to love our fellows, but from every other ill. Oh, that this truth was 'graven with an iron pen, and lead in the rock for ever.' And that all men were suitably impressed with its importance.

55. No language is sufficiently energetic duly to inculcate that the great sin which besets men in all countries and ages, is the neglecting rightly to associate with the Divine Being. Of all the mighty multitudes that have existed from the creation, or that do now people the earth; how few, how very few, how extremely small, we fear, have been and are the number of those transcendently happy persons, who have been, or are ready, when any thing comes in competition with their love to God, to forsake all that they have rather than offend him. Hence it is that none with the ardour and perseverance so unspeakably an important subject demands, saith,—'Where is God, my Maker?' This is the sin which so easily besets men, and drowns them in destruction and perdition. This it is which holds them in the most miserable bondage, from which were they but emancipated, they would be immediately delivered from all that could retard

their temporal and eternal well-being; and taste and feel 'the glorious liberty of the children of God.' This it is, which induced Eve, by eating the forbidden fruit, to introduce misery into the world. This it is which caused the Most High to declare at one age of it, 'the end of all flesh is come before me.' This it is which caused that amazing manifestation of the divine love; God giving 'his only begotten son, that whosoever believeth in him should not perish, but have everlasting life.' This it is that makes John's account of the state of the world in his time applicable to all its ages,—namely, that 'the whole world lieth in wickedness.'

56. 'Though an host should encamp against' us, and it should ally itself with all the powers of hell, and all the army of Heaven; opposed to the Omnipotent these were altogether vanity. 'It is nothing with the Lord to help, whether with many or with them that have no power.' Protected by his arm, reader! 'thou shalt not be afraid for the terror by night, nor for the arrow that flieth by day. Nor for the pestilence that walketh in darkness, nor for the destruction that wasteth at noon-day. A thousand shall fall at thy side, and ten thousand at thy right hand, but it shall come nigh thee.' None that trust in the Lord shall be desolate. To all, therefore, the words of a prophet may be addressed—'Seek ye the Lord while he may be found; call ye upon him while he is near. Let the wicked forsake his way, and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon!' Actuated by such sentiments, we find the sweet psalmist of Israel exclaiming—'O God, thou art my God, early will I seek thee; my soul thirsteth for thee, my flesh longeth for thee, in a dry and thirsty land where no water is.'—'Unto thee lift I up mine eyes, O thou that dwellest in the heavens. Behold as the eyes of servants look unto the hands of their masters, and as the eyes of a maiden unto the hand of her mistress, so our eyes wait upon the Lord our God, until that he have mercy upon us.'—'As the hart panteth after the water brooks, so panteth my soul after thee, O God; my soul thirsteth for God, for the living God; when shall I come and appear before God?'—Very different is the placing undue reliance on human connections. How often do these prove a staff of reed! 'Thus saith the Lord: Cursed be the man that trusteth in man, and maketh flesh his arm, and whose heart departeth from the Lord.' 'They that trust in their wealth, and boast themselves in the multitude of their riches, none of them can by any means redeem his brother, nor give to God a ransom for him.' It might have been imagined, that seeing it is from God and men's connections on earth, all human happiness is derivable; when the latter, as is too frequently the case, are productive of little else than infelicity; men would with redoubled ardour

turn to their heavenly Father, with whom there is no variableness, neither shadow of turning. But, alas, it too often happens, that neither the inconceivable love of God, nor the neglect and enmity of the world, can soften the adamantine obduracy of the human heart!

57. Let us, then, most earnestly and most affectionately implore you, reader, whoever you may be, as you value both your temporal and eternal welfare, that of your living associates, and of generations yet unborn! to trust in the Lord with *all thy heart*, and lean not unto thy own understanding. 'In *all thy ways* acknowledge him, and he shall direct thy paths.' 'For the ways of man are before the eyes of the Lord, and he pondereth all his goings.' 'The lot is cast into the lap, but the whole disposing thereof is of the Lord.' 'How can a man then understand his own way?' If ye forsake the Lord, he will forsake you. But if thou lovest him with all thy heart, and with all thy soul, and with all thy mind;—thou wilt practically experience the truth of the psalmist's words,—Lord 'how great is thy goodness, which thou hast laid up for them that fear thee, which thou hast wrought for them that trust in thee, before the sons of men!' Should we be so fortunate, as by any thing we may say, to induce a single individual to do what lies in him, to associate more closely with Heaven; we shall not have written in vain. Had we an archangelic pen, or more than this, had we a warrant signed by the Eternal!—authorizing us to impress into our service, all the spirits that were ever called into being, from the morning of creation to the present hour, and all that ever shall be so called; and could we employ all their powers throughout all eternity, in impressing on you alone, reader, the importance of loving God as you ought; yet even all these, employed for all this duration, would but inadequately impress a sense of that which is of such inconceivable importance to your well-being;—*for who can be compared with the Lord?*—Whilst, therefore, you should despise not his chastening, neither be weary of his correction,—for whom the Lord loveth he correcteth, even as a father the son in whom he delighteth;'—happy, unspeakably happy, will you be, if the following language of the prophets can be truly applied to you.—'Although the fig-tree shall not blossom, neither shall fruit be in the vines; the labour of the olive shall fail, and the fields shall yield no meat; the flock shall be cut off from the fold, and there shall be no herd in the stalls: yet I will rejoice in the Lord, I will joy in the God of my salvation.' 'I will greatly rejoice in the Lord, my soul shall be joyful in my God; for he hath clothed me with the garments of salvation, he hath covered me with the robe of righteousness, as a bridegroom decketh himself with ornaments, and as a bride adorneth herself with her jewels.'

58. It was a custom with the Jews to begin all things with

God.—They undertook nothing without this holy and devout parenthesis,—"If God will." They otherwise expressed it,—"If the name please."—"If the name determine so."—The phrase was so usual, that they abbreviated it, using a letter for a word. It was also common with the Easterns. Few books are written in Arabic, but they begin,—"In the name of God." The Greeks and Romans used similar phrases. (*James* iv. 15.)

59. As relates to individuals, to families, to nations,—all things are less than nothing, compared with doing the will of God aright. Whatever momentary and apparent prosperity any may attain, none that is lasting and real, can ever be acquired but through this means. And let it not be forgotten, that the command of God to men—i. e., the divine law, is not a mere arbitrary rule, and only to be obeyed because he wills it;—but as created beings must derive their felicity from some source, in what other manner could the amount of this happiness be so vast, as for them to be able to derive *great felicity from all their associates, and that which is unspeakably greater than can be afforded by all created beings, from God himself?* The cultivation, therefore, of the divine affection of LOVE;—in other words, men's educing a high degree of temporal, and a still higher degree of eternal felicity,—is the great object of their existence. In this word, all morality—all religion is comprehended. All that we can hope for in time—all that we can hope for in eternity—all is contained in *one word!* Thus, all that Heaven requires of us, is to promote each other's happiness. All that it punishes us for, is the being destructive of our own, and others' well-being.

60. Proportionably as THE GREAT LAW OF ASSOCIATION operates according to the divine will; does it assure the happiness, and the highest degree of it, to all created beings, in all the stages of their existence? 'O, the depth of the riches, both of the wisdom and knowledge of God! how unsearchable are his judgments, and his ways past finding out! For who hath known the mind of the Lord? or who hath been his counsellor; Or who hath first given to him, and it shall be recompensed unto him again? For of him, and through him, and to him, are all things; to whom be glory for ever. Amen.' 'Thine, O Lord, is the greatness, and the power, and the glory, and the victory, and the majesty; for all that is in the Heaven, and in the earth, is thine; thine is the kingdom, O Lord, and thou art exalted as head above all. Both riches and honour come of thee, and thou reignest over all; and in thine hand is power and might, and in thine hand it is to make great, and to give strength unto all.' 'Holy, holy, holy, Lord God Almighty, which was, and is, and is to come;'—'Great and marvellous are thy works,' 'just and true are thy ways, thou King of Saints. Who shall not fear thee, O Lord, and glorify thy name? for thou only art holy.'

'All nations shall come and worship before thee, for thy judgments are made manifest.'—'Thou, even thou, art Lord alone; thou hast made Heaven, the Heaven of heavens, with all their host; the earth, and all things that are therein; the seas, and all that is therein; and thou preservest them all, and the host of Heaven worshippeth thee.' 'Thou, Lord, in the beginning, hast laid the foundation of the earth and the heavens.' 'They shall perish, but thou remainest, and they all shall wax old as doth a garment, and as a vesture shalt thou fold them up, and they shall be changed; but thou art the same, and thy years shall not fail.' 'One generation shall praise thy works to another, and shall declare thy mighty acts. I will speak of the glorious honour of thy majesty, and of thy wondrous works. And men shall speak of the might of thy terrible acts, and I will declare thy greatness. They shall abundantly utter the memory of thy great goodness, and shall sing of thy righteousness.' 'Among the gods, there is none like unto thee, O Lord; neither are there any works like unto thy works.' 'Salvation, and glory, and honour, and power,' be 'unto the Lord our God!'

61. For how great must be his goodness in so constituting us, that we can derive real felicity but in one way alone;—*the glorious one of diffusing it to all around us!* And that the right of each to the means of working out this happiness, is attainable only by each as far as lies in him; securing the rights of all the members of the primary association to which he belongs. Thus, whilst the plan of some wretched traitors to the well-being of mankind, is *exclusion to all but a few;*—that of Heaven is *diffusion to all without a single exception;* and, as we have seen, of an unspeakable degree of happiness.—'Oh that men would praise the Lord for his goodness, and for his wonderful works to the children of men.' 'Many, O Lord my God, are thy wonderful works, which thou hast done; and thy thoughts which are to us-ward, they cannot be reckoned up in order unto thee; if I would declare and speak of them, they are more than can be numbered.' 'For since the beginning of the world, men have not heard nor perceived by the ear, neither hath the eye seen, O God, beside thee, what he hath prepared for him that waiteth for him. Thou meetest him that rejoiceth and worketh righteousness, those that remember thee in thy ways.'—Reader! 'Hast thou not known? hast thou not heard, that the everlasting God, the Lord, the Creator of the ends of the earth,—fainteth not, neither is weary? there is no searching of his understanding. He giveth power to the faint, and to them that have no might he increaseth strength. Even the youths shall faint and be weary, and the young men shall utterly fall, but they that wait upon the Lord shall renew their strength; they shall mount up with wings as eagles, they shall run and not be weary, and they shall walk and not faint.'

62. And not only does the Great Creator do all these things for his children,—but those who madly refuse to listen to his gracious invitations, he thus further addresses :—'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters, and he that hath no money; come ye, buy and eat; yea, come, buy wine and milk without money and without price. Wherefore do ye spend money for that which is not bread? and your labour for that which satisfieth not? Hearken diligently unto me, and eat ye that which is good, and let your soul delight itself in fatness.' The Divine Being pardons men's unspeakable ingratitude, and has given his only begotten Son for their redemption. To work out this, holy men in all ages, the angelic host, the Son of God, and the Most High himself, all perform their various parts.—'Neither death, nor life, nor angels, nor principalities, nor powers, nor things present, nor things to come, nor height, nor depth, nor any other creature; shall be able to separate us from the love of God, which is in Christ Jesus our Lord.'

63. And beyond all this, even the conduct of the wicked is, as we have said, made subordinate to the well-being of the righteous; hence, these 'glory in tribulations, knowing that tribulation worketh patience, and patience experience, and experience hope, and hope maketh not ashamed.' Thus 'all things worketh together for good to them that love God!'

64. Seeing, then, that the entire scheme of things is intended to educe the divine passion of LOVE,—this being the sole source of felicity to all intellectual beings, and that whereby the Creator's glory is so illustriously displayed; how intense should be our love—for one another;—for him, which, though he was rich, yet, for our sakes, became poor, that we through his poverty might become rich;—and for the Most High himself, the Great Author of all lawful Association! By thus educing our happiness, we imitate the Divine Being himself, in being centres of felicity to all around us. In this way alone, whether we eat or drink, or whatsoever we do, can we do all to his glory. As a good Christian, says a pious writer, should consider every place holy; so should he look upon every part of his life as a matter of holiness, because it is to be offered unto God. Things spiritual and temporal, sacred and common; must, like men and angels, like Heaven and earth, all conspire in the glory of God. As there is but one God and Father of us all, whose glory gives light and life to every thing that lives,—whose power supports all things,—whose providence ruleth all events;—so every thing that lives, whether in Heaven or earth, whether they be thrones or principalities, men or angels; they must all with one spirit live wholly to the praise and glory of this one God and Father of them all. Angels, as angels in their heavenly ministrations, but men, as men, some with things spiritual, and some with things temporal; offering to God the daily sacrifice

of a reasonable life, wise actions, purity of heart, and heavenly affections. This is the common business of all persons in this world. It is therefore absolutely necessary for all Christians to consider themselves as persons that are devoted to holiness; and so order their common ways of life, by such rules of reason and piety, as may turn it into continual service unto Almighty God!—(*Law.*)

65. To those, then, who are obedient to the Divine Law, comprised, as we have seen, in the following words of the Lord Jesus Christ:—

'THOU SHALT LOVE THE LORD THY GOD WITH ALL THY HEART, AND WITH ALL THY SOUL, AND WITH ALL THY MIND. THIS IS THE FIRST AND GREAT COMMANDMENT. AND THE SECOND IS LIKE UNTO IT,—THOU SHALT LOVE THY NEIGHBOUR AS THYSELF.'—

The constitution and course of the Universe and divine revelation, combine to declare that, from the moment the Most High commenced the work of creation, and throughout all eternity,—all he ever has done, all he ever will do, is now working, and ever will work, together for their good. 'Wherefore, seeing we' 'are compassed about with so great a cloud of witnesses, let us lay aside every weight, and the sin which doth so easily beset us, and let us run with patience the race that is set before us; looking unto Jesus, the author and finisher of our faith; who, for the joy that was set before him, endured the cross, despising the shame, and is set down at the right hand of the throne of God.' 'For the grace of God, that bringeth salvation, hath appeared to all men; teaching us, that denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope, and the glorious appearing of the great God, and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.' 'I am Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end,' saith the Lord; 'I will give unto him that is athirst, of the fountain of the water of life freely. *He that overcometh shall inherit all things; and I will be his God, and he shall be my son!*'

66. Seeing, therefore, the great things which God has done, is doing, and will ever continue to do, for those who live in accordance with his holy Law, 'passeth all understanding,' all ye his servants, and ye that fear him, both small and great;—

'Praise our God.'—'For his mercy endureth for ever.'
'Praise ye the Lord from the heavens; praise ye him in the heights.'—'For his mercy endureth for ever.'
'Praise ye him, all his angels; praise ye him, all his hosts.'—'For his mercy endureth for ever.'

'Praise ye him, sun and moon; praise him, all ye stars of light.'—'For his mercy endureth for ever.'

'Praise him, ye Heaven of heavens, and ye waters that be above the heavens.'—'For his mercy endureth for ever.'

'Praise the Lord from the earth, ye dragons and all deeps.'—'For his mercy endureth for ever.'

'Praise the name of the Lord, for his name alone is excellent,' 'both young men and maidens, old men and children.'—'For his mercy endureth for ever.'

'Praise God in his sanctuary; praise him in the firmament of his power.'—'For his mercy endureth for ever.'

'Praise him for his mighty acts; praise him according to his excellent greatness.'—'For his mercy endureth for ever.'

'Praise him with the sound of the trumpet; praise him with the psaltery and harp.'—'For his mercy endureth for ever.'

'Praise him with the timbrel and dance; praise him with stringed instruments and organs.'—'For his mercy endureth for ever.'

'Praise him upon the loud cymbals; praise him upon the high-sounding cymbals.'—'For his mercy endureth for ever.'

'Praise ye the name of the Lord.' 'Let every thing that hath breath praise the Lord.'—'For his mercy endureth for ever.'

Alleluia! 'the Lord God Omnipotent reigneth!'

APPENDIX.

TO

THE KING,

THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF LORDS,

AND

THE MEMBERS OF THE HOUSE OF COMMONS.

SIRS,

With the public at large, political truth needs no other recommendation than to be seen and recognized. From authority, it can never expect a hearty welcome. Every important accession will emanate from the people, and not from their rulers.—(*Prinsep's Trans. of Say's Pol. Econ.*)

I desire to be informed, whether the following may be addressed to you, without any violation of the law of this nation.

It has been stated in the preceding Essay, what the late judge Blackstone affirms: viz. "*upon these two foundations, the Law of Nature, and the Law of Revelation, depend all Human Laws; that is to say, no Human Laws should be suffered to contradict these.*"

The Essay also states, in accordance with the history of England, that, in October, 1066, William the Norman subjugated this country; and that he and his descendants, have since appointed themselves its chief magistrates.

That this William also appointed a hereditary legislative, (now called the house of lords,) since his time maintained by the persons appointed by him, and their descendants, and by others chosen by succeeding chief magistrates, and their descendants.

That one of William's successors, either with or without the concurrence of the members of the hereditary legislative, contemporary with such successor, allowed a portion of the people to return an elected legislative, (now called the house of commons,) which has been maintained by the appointment of the successors of such portion of the people, until very recently. The constitution of the house of commons was then altered; the change being called a reform of parliament.

And that the chief magistrates, with the consent of the hereditary legislative, before the elected one was appointed, and

after the latter arose, with the consent of it also, have made and executed laws for this nation.

It also appears that the late chief magistrates and yourselves, affirm, that the constitution of this nation was established and has been maintained, in accordance with the will of the Most High. This affirmation is particularly made in the two following ways: by the portraits of the present and late chief magistrates, being imprinted on its metallic currency, with an inscription as to each, purporting that he holds his office in accordance with the divine will; and by this being also declared in various places in the common prayer-books of the church.

When things are said to be done in accordance with this holy will, the expression may be taken either that they are simply permitted by Heaven, as is the case with all unlawful acts; or that they are sanctioned by Heaven, as is the case with all lawful ones. In this latter sense, the inscriptions on our metallic currency, and the expressions in the prayer-books of the church, are obviously intended.

But, however clearly yourselves, and some, or all, the constituents of the elected legislative, may comprehend that the Constitution of this nation is lawful in the sight of God; it is undeniable, that very many Englishmen are too ignorant to understand that it is so:—of these, I am not ashamed to confess myself one; for, though I have diligently studied the subject for some years, comparing the Constitution with the Divine Law;—that is, the Law of Nature, republished in the Law of Revelation, comprised in the following words of the Lord Jesus Christ;—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself;' or thus,—'All things whatsoever ye would that men should do to you, do ye even so to them;'—I have not been able to discover that you have any right whatever, to make and execute laws for the people of this nation; nor that the constituents of the elected legislative have any right whatever to appoint that body. I desire to be understood, not as affirming any thing, either for or against the right of any of you, or of those that appoint some of you; all that I say, is, that I have not sufficient capacity to understand in what manner, what you call your and their rights, accrue.

As to the Constitution of a nation, or any other matter, there can be but one way of obeying the Divine Law. Thus, though different nations, or the same nation in different ages, may vary as to the number of persons that shall form their legislatives and executives, one mode only of appointing the legislative and executive of any nation or age; i. e., what the number for both shall be, and who the particular persons are to be that shall constitute such number; can be in accordance with the Divine Law. There cannot be two ways of obeying any law. The government of a nation must obviously emanate from the whole or part of such nation; there being no other mode con-

ceivable. Two things, therefore, demand inquiry:—the first, whether a Constitution, in accordance with the Divine Law, may, or may not, emanate from a part of the nation: the second, if it appears that it lawfully may, who, in accordance with the Divine Law, should constitute such part? Though it shall appear it may issue from a part, comprising, suppose, an hereditary executive, hereditary legislative, and an elected legislative, emanating from certain of the people; this will only make known, what the Constitutions of all the nations of the world should be; leaving the determination of the question as to the persons who are to be the chief magistrates, members of the two legislatives, and the constituents of the elected legislative, in all nations, and all their ages, wholly untouched.

It is therefore necessary to determine;—first, whether the British Constitution is in accordance with the Divine Law or the will of God, and if it shall be found to be so; secondly,—how it appears, also in accordance with this holy Law, that the chief magistrate has any exclusive or greater right to the chief magistracy, than any other adult native male of this nation;—how it appears, also in accordance with the Divine Law, that of the members of the lords' house of parliament, any one of them individually has any exclusive or greater right to assist to make and execute the laws, than any other native adult male;—or that all the lords collectively have any exclusive or greater right to assist to make and execute the laws, than any other like number of native adult males of this nation:—and, lastly, how it appears, also in accordance with the Divine Law, that of the constituents of the members of the commons' house of parliament; any one of such constituents individually has any exclusive or greater right to assist in appointing persons, to assist to make and execute the laws of this nation, than any other native adult male; or that all the constituents collectively, have any exclusive or greater right, to appoint persons to assist to make and execute the laws, than any other like number of native adult males of this nation.

And it being apparent to all good men, that the constant application of the name of God, as a sanction to a thing that is lawful, even when it is indisputably so; is an act of great impiety, in those who do not clearly comprehend its lawfulness:—it is expedient, that the rigorous accordance of the Constitution and Code of this nation, and of the rights of yourselves by virtue of such constitution, with the standard laid down by judge Blackstone—the Divine Law; should be made out to the satisfaction of all reasonable men.

Wherefore, *in the glorious and fearful name of the Lord God Almighty! and in vindication of his government of mankind;* I solemnly declare to you, that it is expedient, that,

with the least possible delay, you appoint a Committee; the members thereof all being 'able men, such as fear God, men of truth, hating covetousness,' selected from 'all the people;' —who in the sight,—not only of their own countrymen,— but of all mankind, the holy angels in Heaven, and the Lord God Almighty himself;—do make the undermentioned inquisitions.—And that your Committee be directed to report to you thereon, as well as of such other matters, as to it shall seem meet:—

1. Whether the Constitution and Code of this nation are appointed in accordance with the Divine Law?
2. Supposing they are found to be so,—Whether the persons who make and execute the laws, and those that elect some of those that assist to do these things, are or are not appointed in accordance with the Divine Law?
3. If the Constitution, as at present appointed, is not in accordance with the Divine Law;—what is that Constitution which does therewith accord?
4. Supposing the Constitution of any country in any age, and the persons appointed by virtue of it, are both in accordance with the Divine Law; whether any and what persons, may lawfully supersede, or alter the Constitution; and change any or all those appointed to make and execute the laws?

If, then, your Committee reports as follows:—

Let it be assumed, that precisely the same things may occur in North America, in reference to its Constitution and Code, as have occurred here, since the Norman conquest. In such case, at their termination, the Americans may be thus addressed:—

The Divine Law, as far as relates to the intercourse of men with each other, is all comprised in the following words:—'Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself.' And this law is binding on every individual of the human race, as to the whole conduct of each, in all nations, and in all ages; from the time of the appearance of the Lord Jesus on earth, now upwards of eighteen hundred years since, until another dispensation arrives from Heaven. He therefore who appoints himself, or actively permits others to be appointed to make or execute the laws in any nation, to the exclusion of any native adult males, from having a voice in such appointments; utterly contravenes the Divine Law; as, by so acting, he does *not* love his excluded neighbours as himself. "The greatest superiority," says Blackstone, "any man can obtain over another, is to make laws by which he shall be bound."

The only Constitution, therefore, that can be established and maintained in any country or age in accordance with the Divine Law, or will of God, is a legislative and executive appointed by all the native adult males, determining by their majority;—that is, a PURE DEMOCRACY. Hereby, *alone*, can those who appoint the persons that shall make and execute the laws,—and the members of the legislative and executive themselves, obey the Divine Law; that is, as to each, love his neighbours as himself.—Thus it is, *by this holy Law, that every man that comes into the world, derives from God himself, the Author of the Law, an exact equality of political right, with all other men!* Every man is therefore necessarily accountable to the Most High for the exercise of such right: *it being the divine prerogative alone, to determine the rights of any and all men.* And what God purposes,—who shall disannul?

Consequently, supposing a Constitution to be purely Democratic, the nation, declaring by their majority, have a right to supersede any or all the persons appointed to make and execute the laws, for no other reason, than that so to do is their will. As then, when the makers and executors of the laws of any nation,

in any age, are appointed in accordance with the Divine Law, the majority of the nation have a right to supersede any or all such law-makers and executors; no question can be made about their having the right so to do, when the makers and executors of the laws are not appointed in accordance with this holy Law.

No principles of *sound* law being more clear, than that *all the members of any nation in any age, declaring by their majority, are those who by divine appointment,—alone have the right to establish, maintain, or alter a constitution; and change* (whenever so to do shall to them seem fit,) *any or all the persons appointed by virtue of it, to make or execute the laws:* no power, human or divine, being lawfully able to interfere between men and their Creator.

But where from a long course of unrighteous government, the state of the people generally renders them unfit to have an instant change, made to that which is righteous; a legislative and executive appointed not in accordance with the Divine Law, may retain its power; but sufficiently long only, to prevent some of the evils arising out of such instant change.

With this exception, the assumption or retention of the legislative or executive offices is unlawful in the sight of God. And all the acts done by a legislative and executive, appointed in contravention of the Divine Law, for however many ages they may have been maintained, are not only null and void, to all intents and purposes whatever, as far as the object of righteous government is concerned; but each separate act is a treasonable one against the administration of Heaven.

The whole of the chief magistrates, from and including the Conqueror, down to and including the present one, have been appointed in contravention of the Divine Law. No one of them ever has held office for the purpose of superseding his appointment by a state of things conforming to this Law. No one of the chief magistrates, from the conquest to the demise of the late chief magistrate, consequently, ever had, nor the present one now has, any title whatever to his or her office, in accordance with such holy Law. All the acts of each, therefore, have been of *power without right!*

The members of the house of lords, having been appointed by the chief magistrates, it necessarily follows that neither such members, nor the descendants of any of them, ever had, nor the existing members now have; any title whatever, in accordance with the Divine Law, to assist in legislating for the American nation. All the acts of such house, from its foundation to the present hour, have, therefore, also been of *power without right!*

The constituents of the elected legislative, having been originally appointed by the chief magistrate and hereditary legislators living at the time of such appointment, and such constituents always comprising a part only of the native adult males; have never had any title whatever, either individually or collectively, in accordance with the Divine Law; exclusively to appoint, or exclusively to assist in appointing, an elected body, to assist in legislating for the American nation. All the acts of its constituents, have, therefore, also been of *power without right!*

The members, therefore, of the house of commons, appointed by such constituency, necessarily, neither individually nor collectively, have ever, in accordance with the Divine Law, had any right to assist in legislating for the American nation. All the acts of such elected legislative, have, therefore, also been of *power without right!*

The Constitution and Code of laws, having thus been appointed and maintained, in contravention of the Divine Law, *are utterly unlawful;* and therefore binding on the nation until such time only, as they can be conveniently superseded by those that accord with this holy Law.

Not only, therefore, *the chief magistrate, and the members of both houses of parliament, are all illegally appointed;* but necessarily all other persons by any of them chosen, or that they have directed others to choose, to administer the laws, or in any way uphold their administration.

The whole of the land is unlawfully held.

The whole of the taxation, whether parliamentary, parochial, or ecclesiastical, is unlawfully assessed and levied.

The term unlawfully, or any words synonimous, being, of course, considered in reference to the Divine Law, except otherwise mentioned.

It is therefore incumbent on the American nation to establish and maintain a Constitution and Code of laws, in accordance with the Divine Law. That it may be enabled to do so, it is requisite that the members of the two houses of parliament, and the chief magistrate, take the necessary measures, whereby they, or the successors of any of them, may be enabled in such manner, and with the least convenient delay, that comports with the glory of God; to resign, at such time as they shall appoint, all the offices and places, of what nature or kind soever, they now hold, or may hereafter hold, or the successors of any of them may hereafter hold, into the hands of the persons, whom the native adult males may, by their majority, appoint to make and execute the laws. And each of the members of both houses of parliament, and the chief magistrate, will necessarily further contravene the Divine Law, if he does not do all that lies in him, that these matters may be accomplished.

Provided, I repeat, your Committee makes a report to you, substantially agreeing with what is here set forth, and that no part of such report can be impugned, it will obviously be expedient for you to yield the most exact obedience to the will of God, as to the matters to which your Committee will have reported, and all others.

If any one, or more of you, neglects, or neglect, to act in accordance with this holy will; and you are, by such neglect or otherwise, in any manner the cause of anarchy, licentiousness, bloodshed, or other evils, arising from the people of this nation acting in comformity with the will of God; in forcibly compelling you to abrogate any offices and places you now hold, or may hereafter hold, in contravention of this holy will, or that the successors of any of you may hereafter hold, in contravention of it;—in such case, '*I call Heaven and earth to witness against you this day,' for all the iniquity and suffering that may thence arise, in your own, and future generations!*

And provided it is determined that there is no violation of the law of this country, in addressing the foregoing to you, but that any further notice thereof is declined; I further desire to be informed, whether the following may without any violation of the law of this nation, be addressed

TO THE WHOLE PEOPLE OF THE BRITISH ISLES.

Having sent a letter to the members of both houses of parliament and the chief magistrate, (a copy of which is hereunto annexed); to which they declined paying any other attention, than to declare there was no illegality in so doing; it is expedient that some of you, in behalf of all the others, appoint a Committee, to make the same inquisitions, the members of the two houses of parliament and the chief magistrate were to have had made.

Should such Committee be appointed, and it finds that the several propositions put by me in the Report which I supposed might be made by the government Committee, are *all of them*

truths enduring to all generations; and your Committee shall further state, that it is incumbent, as far as lies in you; by all measures in accordance with the divine will, even if necessary to the sacrifice of the lives of any of you, at such time, and in such manner as comports with the glory of the Most High, UTTERLY TO SUPERSEDE THE CONSTITUTION AND CODE OF THIS NATION, for those in accordance with the will of Heaven; and that each and every of you, in neglecting so to do, will be guilty of high treason to the government of God: in such case, it will be expedient that you cause a copy of the Report of your Committee to be delivered to each of the members of the two houses of parliament and the chief magistrate; accompanied by a requisition, that each of them will point out whatever appears to him in such report to be in contravention of the will of God. And provided neither any one of them separately, nor all of them together, can find any thing in the report contravening such will; in this case it is expedient that you yield the most exact obedience to the divine will, as to the matters on which your Committee will have reported, and all others.

And if, besides the members of the two houses of parliament and the chief magistrate, neglecting to appoint a Committee; you also shall neglect to appoint the Committee which I have recommended; or if your Committee is appointed, and it makes a report; and you neglect any means, especially those of earnest and repeated supplication to the Most High, for his all-powerful aid to ascertain that such report is in accordance with his will; or having so ascertained, if in carrying any or all the objects of the report into effect, you contravene the divine will; in wrong-doing as to any of these cases, '*I call Heaven and earth to witness against you this day,' for all the iniquity and suffering that may thence arise in your own and future generations.*

And as to you, the members of both houses of parliament and the chief magistrate, I humbly pray that the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ may be with you all;—a blessing which I fear *every one* of you, without a single exception, greatly needs; as had this not been so, an opportunity would never have been afforded, of your thus hearing from,—Sirs,

Your obedient servant,

VERITAS.

THE END.

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